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This article deals with the question of language, which exercised both American and Spanish Jesuits in the early decades of the American colonial regime in the Philippines. It brings to light the historical conditions and circumstances surrounding this question and rehearses the reasons given by key Jesuits for either shifting to English or maintaining Spanish in their institutions. Taking off from an essay of Fr. John N. Schumacher, S.J., this article seeks to reframe the controversy over language within the problematic of Filipino identity, arguing that marginalized in this debate between English and Spanish is the question of local languages.

KEYWORDS: SOCIETY OF JESUS · MISSIONS · MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION · COLONIAL EDUCATION · IDENTITY

The latest publication of Fr. John N. Schumacher, S.J., brings together essays that make a significant contribution to Philippine church historiography (Schumacher 2009). The book attests to Father Schumacher's status not only as a historian of Philippine "secular realities" (e.g., Philippine nationalism) but, perhaps undervalued by other professional historians and scholars, also as a church historian.¹ In his writings on Father Burgos, for example, it is perhaps inevitable that, in dealing with such a church figure during Spanish times, his work is read primarily through the prism of the history of Filipino national consciousness. It seems that less attention is paid to the fact that he writes on Burgos with a solid background in the history of ecclesiastical realities and theology as well. And this notwithstanding the fact that the institutional base of Father Schumacher for years was the Loyola School of Theology where he taught many generations of seminarians, scholastics, priests, religious men and women, and lay students as professor of all the church history courses offered by that institution. Furthermore, Father Schumacher is also a Jesuit historian, one who has applied the skills of his scholarship to the history of the Jesuits in the Philippines (see, e.g., Schumacher 1981). For many years, he taught Jesuit novices the history of the Society of Jesus in the world and in the Philippines.

This essay styles itself a footnote to the last essay in Father Schumacher's (2009, 247–262) latest book, entitled "‘A Hispanized Clergy in an Americanized Country’: 1910–1970," an admittedly preliminary study originally published in 1990.² It seeks to provide further information on the "linguistic battles" engaged in by Spanish and American Jesuits during a period of transition in the life of both the Catholic Church and the Society of Jesus in the Philippines. It hopes to raise historical and critical questions about culture and culture change as mediated by language in a setting that was the Philippines in the first quarter of the twentieth century. This cultural and linguistic war was waged it seems on behalf of Filipinos, but the historical question remains whether Filipinos considered themselves genuine stakeholders in this war.

The Historical Setting of Language Use in the Jesuit Philippine Mission

In Fr. Pablo Pastell's (1917) third volume on the history of the Spanish Jesuits of the restored Society of Jesus in the Philippines in the nineteenth century, two pictures among many stand out. These two pictures (located

between pages 424 and 425 and between 426 and 427, respectively) show Spanish Jesuits of the mission grouped together in 1899 in the courtyard of the Ateneo in Intramuros, the colony already transferred to American sovereignty but with the Filipino-American War in full swing. The caption of the second picture informs us that these Spanish Jesuits were all engaged in a crash course on the English language (see pp. 128–129). This decision to begin English classes for the Spanish Jesuits must have been an inspired moment. Acknowledged in the whole exercise was the revolutionary change then taking place in the country. It is difficult not to see in the exercise optimism about the future; Spanish Jesuits were going to learn the language of Shakespeare in order to meet the challenges that were sure to come.

A related development was the task of producing an English grammar book, which was connected with the desire to reopen the Ateneo—soon to drop its appellation "municipal"—and the *Escuela Normal*, a teacher-training institute run by the Jesuits. Asked to accomplish the project was Fr. Francisco Javier Simó. However, Father Simó's work, after being examined by the society's censors in the mission, was not allowed to be published, a decision that distressed its author and gave rise to a minor controversy within the ranks of the Jesuits themselves.³ Understandably perhaps, a work of English grammar written by a Spaniard not particularly educated in the intricacies of the Anglo-American language should have deficiencies. And yet, as Father Simó himself insinuates, there was more to the Mission Superior's refusal to publish the work than meets the eye. In a revealing footnote, Father Simó recalls how "Father Superior and several others were greatly disappointed when it was known through Father Algué that Father Clos, in arriving at Washington [D.C.], immediately set himself on the study of English because he knew almost nothing [of the language]."⁴ Were attitudes being formed about English as a possible threat to the Spanish language this early? There can be no doubt that the Spanish Jesuits would lament the passing of the Spanish language to a position subordinate to that of English as the *lingua franca* of the islands.⁵

Ambivalence is the word that best describes in toto these attitudes. At its best, the orientation was ad hoc: the practical needs of the moment, duly recognized and acknowledged, required that there be English-speaking Jesuits in the mission. Partly to answer this necessity, the Jesuit province started to send some of its young men to begin or finish their theological studies in the United States. Thus we find the future Superior of the Mission, Joaquín

Vilallonga, recently ordained in Spain, being sent to St. Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., to do his fourth year of theology there.⁶ Like several Jesuits of the mission, he would also do his tertianship in mainland U.S.A.⁷ More Jesuits would be sent to the American mainland to do their theology and tertianship there. Thus, aside from fulfilling the requirements of Jesuit apostolic formation, these Jesuits sent to the United States for one reason or other were also supposed to learn the English language and thereby serve the needs of the mission in the Philippine Islands after their return. This arrangement would continue throughout the remaining period of the Spanish Jesuits in the Philippines.

Recognizing certainly that this arrangement was not enough to serve what were after all urgent needs, several English-speaking Jesuits, almost all of them American, would find themselves in the islands working in various capacities. Already mentioned was the need to attend to the Catholics among the American civil and military personnel in Manila. There was also a need for English teachers at the Ateneo de Manila, as well as several English-speaking Jesuits among the staff of the Manila Observatory. But all once again in ad hoc fashion.

For a full decade, this was the prevailing situation in the Philippine Mission: American and British Jesuits helping in ad hoc fashion the Spanish Jesuits of the mission to cope with the new pastoral and educational demands created by the new political dispensation in the islands. It would therefore be interesting to see how several Jesuits evaluated this period. To present a clearer picture of this evaluation and the alternatives presented, it would be instructive to take a closer look at what Jesuits, American and Spanish, had to say about the situation then obtaining in the mission. The evaluation of a Jesuit, who was neither Spanish nor American but British, would be adverted to; his thoughts may be taken as an independent voice in the “linguistic battles” that were being fought in the Philippine Mission, and this prior to the transfer of the mission to American Jesuit responsibility, partly in 1921 and definitively in 1927.

Father Monaghan’s “Memorandum”

One of the pioneer American Jesuits to work in the Philippines in the first decade of the twentieth century was Fr. James Monaghan, S.J., a member of the Missouri Province.⁸ Two years and a half of fruitful ministry in Manila had allowed him to reflect on the situation of Jesuit apostolic work in the

islands, but failing health constrained him to return to the United States. He was therefore in some position to evaluate Spanish Jesuit work and the American presence in the mission. At the request of Fr. Rudolph I. Meyer, who wanted to be better informed about the church in the archipelago, he wrote down his reflections on “the religious situation in the Philippines.”⁹ It was Father Meyer’s judgment that his reflections merited being made known to Father General himself, so Monaghan sent a copy of his reflections to Rome.¹⁰ The year was 1908.

In general, Father Monaghan characterized the religious situation in the Philippines after the first decade of American rule as critical and urgently in need of a remedy; he thought that “at the present rate it will go down in history that the Catholic Church abandoned her children in the Philippines, and that the fault lay in great part with the Society of Jesus.”¹¹ In summary, his analysis of the religious situation in the islands delineates the following trajectory. First, Protestantism was making great inroads among the Catholic faithful and was winning the propaganda war, particularly among the young.¹² In this area, dormitories set up by Protestants were proving particularly attractive to the boys and girls flocking to the cities to be educated in public schools. The employment of a majority of non-Catholic American teachers in the public schools was, in itself, having a negative effect on the public’s Catholic commitments:

though they are forbidden to give any religious instruction either in the schools or outside, the esteem and respect paid them in their official capacity cannot fail to react upon the religious sentiment of the children; and even in spite of the best intentions, religious questions (such as that of the “Reformation”) must come up in the teaching of history and they are necessarily explained as Protestants understand them.¹³

Second, and as a result of this American Protestant onslaught, “Religious indifferentism and practical infidelity are spreading with appalling rapidity, and are sapping the life of the Church.” Proof of this was the falling rate of attendance by young people at Sunday mass and the neglect of other sacraments. Monaghan, citing the judgment made by an American member of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands who was also a fervent Catholic, said that, if no remedy were applied, “in another ten years we shall be dealing with a generation of infidels.”¹⁴

What were the resources on which the Catholic Church in the islands could rely to counter a trend so destructive to the preservation of the faith among the Catholic faithful? The answer was crisp and simple: “the untiring zeal of her Bishops, the parish priests with their parochial schools, and the work of the religious Orders both in the ministry and in their educational institutions.”¹⁵ But the scarcity of priests in general, the inefficiency of the Filipino clergy, the practical absence of parochial schools, and the reduced number of the friars and their discredited state were making it extremely difficult to meet the Protestant challenge. With no trace of embarrassment, Monaghan was convinced that the “Jesuits alone are in universal favor, and upon their energy, prudence and foresight the fate of Catholicity will in a great measure depend.”

What then were the Jesuit resources which were so crucial for the struggle to defend and preserve the church? The Mindanao missions, seminary work in Vigan and Manila, the educational institutions of Manila, and the Manila Observatory are mentioned. But Monaghan focuses on one area as perhaps the most important of all: Jesuit educational work and the whole question of English as the medium of instruction.

On the whole, in Monaghan’s view, the educational standard of the primary institution of Jesuit educational work in the country, i.e., the Ateneo de Manila, would require three additional years of hard work for it to attain the same level of excellence of the Jesuit colleges in the United States. The great bulk of the students was to be found in the elementary grades that, in the American mainland, were relegated to the parochial schools. The primary preoccupation in these early grades was the learning of Spanish, which was the medium of instruction in all of the grades. The result was that “students completing the collegiate course do not know the [English] language well enough to fill the position of clerk in any of the government offices; and those completing the commercial course cannot obtain a position in any business house where a knowledge of English is required.”¹⁶ It was therefore reasonable to expect that “the leadership among the future business men of the Islands will not be held by our Alumni.”¹⁷

The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, in the area of ecclesiastical education. In the Seminario de San Javier, Spanish was the common language, with English remaining as an accessory language. In words that would see practical confirmation later, Monaghan complains:

All this is not in accord with the wishes of the Archbishop, for whom the seminary is conducted, and who expresses his opinion as plainly as his dependence upon our Spanish Fathers will allow. It is contrary, too, to the evident needs of the seminarians. They should be equipped to cope with the situation as they will find it at the time of their ordination to the priesthood and later. At that time the whole of the younger generation will know English, which even now is in more common use than Spanish. The young priests will meet with American methods of attack upon the Church, and might well be schooled in American methods of defense.¹⁸

Furthermore, he criticizes the “extremely limited” amount of “secular learning” given in the seminary, the inefficiency of the methods of instruction, and the “futile character” of the examinations as conducted in the seminary.

All these were in stark contrast to the education that was then being provided by the public school system, particularly those schools found in Manila: the government School of Commerce, the Philippine Normal School, and the Manila High School. In all these schools, English was the medium of instruction, with Spanish as the accessory, exactly the opposite of the situation then obtaining in the Ateneo and San Javier.¹⁹

In summary, the Jesuit educational effort was failing to respond to the demands created by a fundamental change in national life: English was fast becoming the *lingua franca* of the islands.²⁰ The Spanish Jesuits were deluding themselves in continuing to hold to the “supposed advantages in [the] use of Spanish.” Monaghan summarizes arguments *for* the retention of Spanish as the medium of instruction as follows: first, there were just not enough English-proficient Jesuits, Spanish and American, to run an English-language college; second, students themselves had expressed a preference for Spanish because of an anti-American sentiment and a conviction that English was not necessary for their future life; third, Spanish was the language already familiar to the students and it was well nigh impossible for the Spanish Jesuits to learn English; fourth, Spanish remained an official language of the country; and, fifth, “the uncertainty of the permanence of the American sovereignty in the Islands justifies the continuance of Spanish for the time being.”²¹

Monaghan then shows that these supposed advantages in the retention of Spanish as medium of instruction were illusionary. Responding to each supposed advantage for the retention of Spanish as the common language of Jesuit schools, he offers the following rebuttal. First, he alleges that “even during the past year there were sufficient English-speaking Fathers in the Ateneo to make English the medium of instruction in the entire classical course, exclusive of the two elementary grades preparatory thereto.” Spanish Jesuits like Vilallonga, Solá, Peypoch, and others were perfectly capable of teaching courses like Mathematics, Physics, and Philosophy in English.²² The question therefore could be posed as to what was restraining the mission from transforming the Ateneo into an English-language college. Monaghan insinuates that the answer in fact had nothing to do with academic and educational issues; on the contrary, he was convinced that patriotic or nationalist sentiments on the part of the Spanish Jesuits were determinative in this case.²³

Second, the contention that the Filipino students of Jesuit schools preferred Spanish to English was a misinterpretation of the fact that Filipinos were still flocking to Jesuit schools. “The students who come to us are the children of zealous Catholic parents who love and revere the Jesuits, and are eager to give their children a religious instruction. Moreover, they are led to believe that the Ateneo offers superior opportunities for instruction in secular branches generally, and an adequate knowledge of English.” Nevertheless it was also true that “many of the Alumni of our college, though they are devout Catholics, are sending their children to the government schools, because they cannot receive elsewhere the English education which the present situation demands.” In effect Monaghan says that Catholic parents were being made to choose between two false alternatives: either “a secular education without religion on the one hand,” or “on the other, a religious education without proper opportunities for worldly advancement.”²⁴ Presumably, a third alternative was possible: a religious education coupled with a program that would precisely teach the knowledge and skills necessary for “worldly advancement,” and this was possible only with English as the medium of instruction. Besides, Monaghan says, “the natives need *English*” (italics added).

Third, Spanish was indeed familiar, but only to those who were products of Spanish colleges themselves. It simply was not the case that the Spanish fathers could not learn English themselves.

Fourth, Spanish was not the official language at all. It was indeed the language used in court proceedings and in the Philippine Assembly (the lower house of the legislative body of the government); but in everything else that had to do with the government the language was English.

Several critical remarks may be made at this point. Monaghan was certainly right in putting the Jesuit educational effort on center stage at this point in Philippine history, but he was victim to a common prejudice afflicting many American Jesuits who did work in the islands, including those who came in the third decade of the century to replace the Spanish Jesuits in the Ateneo. The Philippine Mission had always considered the Mindanao missions as important as the Manila educational institutions. Therefore what constituted “the main work” of the Society in the islands could not be reduced to the educational effort. Indeed, some pressure had to be applied for the American Jesuits to value the work of the missions in Mindanao just as much as the educational institutions in Manila. Characteristically, and of course to the great benefit of the people of the southern island, the American Jesuits would later on work in or open schools that in the course of time would evolve into the big educational institutions on the southern island today: the Ateneos of Zamboanga (1912), Cagayan (1933: today, Xavier University), and Davao (1948).

The crucial point, however, was the whole question of American intentions vis-à-vis the clamor among Filipinos for independence. Without any ambiguity Monaghan opined that American sovereignty in the Philippines was “permanent.” Or at least he saw no *possibility* for Philippine independence to take place “within the space of one generation”; he considered that there was “little *probability* of it within the present century” (italics added).²⁵ In what seemed to have been a very significant remark, he further stated that he was “in a position to state that if an official pronouncement upon the intentions of the American government in the Philippines be desired, it can be obtained (*confidentially*) from the officials in Washington” (italics added).²⁶ In effect, therefore, this was hardly a reason that could be used against making English the primary language in the Ateneo. However, the question of Philippine independence was a crucial point that would be acknowledged by at least one American Jesuit in the period of transition in the beginning of the 1920s.²⁷ If, by 1921—the year that Father Duffy wrote his letter to the provincial in the United States—caution was urged so that American

Jesuits would not be seen as “enemies of Filipino independence,” it stood to reason that this question was of paramount importance in the first decade of American colonial rule. It provided a political context to Spanish hesitations about changing the medium of instruction in their educational institutions from Spanish to English. This context is overlooked in Father Schumacher’s essay where it is assumed that *awareness* of the *indefinite* length of American colonial rule, which would stretch from 1898 to 1935, was an established and incontrovertible fact in the first decade or two of American presence in the Philippines.

Monaghan was also convinced that the American civil government was keen to support Jesuit efforts across various fields of endeavor, but only if the Spanish Jesuits were to radically change their policy on the language to be used as the medium of instruction in their schools. It is difficult, however, to evade any suspicion that the American Jesuit was nothing short of naive in this belief. How true was his contention that Taft, in a conversation that the former civil governor of the islands and now a presidential candidate in the United States was supposed to have had with the archbishop of Manila, was quite willing “to consider a proposal on the question of subsidizing the Catholic schools”? If true, was it sincere? And if sincere, was it in any way practicable given the constitutional constraints involved?²⁸ Monaghan also asserted that, regarding the subject of state subsidies for Catholic schools, “Governor General Smith says that if English were taught generally in the Catholic schools it would save the day for the Church, and make it possible for the government to lend financial assistance.” He also reported that “Governor General Smith on several occasions told me and others that there is room for an American Catholic college in every province of the Islands and that he wants to see them established.”

The American colonial government was believed to be open to the establishment of a Catholic normal school, “whose graduates would be on an equal footing with those of the government Normal school and receive appointments, without further examination, as teachers in the public schools.” Negotiations seem to have been held with a view toward the foundation of such a normal school in connection with the Ateneo, but Monaghan said that “it was impossible . . . to obtain from Very Reverend Father Superior an unequivocal statement that the school would be conducted entirely in English, although the American Fathers volunteered to take up the work if the Superior would approve.”²⁹ All these pointed to

the difficulty of moving the mission in the right direction, where its works in the islands were concerned. In short, the Spanish Jesuits, in Monaghan’s view, “have utterly failed to understand the situation; they are unable to see whither the nation is tending.”

Was Monaghan aware that, as early as March 1900, General Otis had established a Department of Public Instruction under the direction of Capt. Albert Todd? In Glenn May’s (1980, 79) words: “On the basis of recommendations made by military commanders in the provinces, [Todd] formulated a plan for an educational system that would be organized, supervised, and supported by the central government and completely divorced from the Church.”³⁰ Monaghan underestimated the constitutional difficulties inherent in the proposal to subsidize Catholic schools and seemed unwilling to recognize a deeper and wider anti-Catholic prejudice among American colonial officials.

But perhaps the Spanish Jesuits did understand the situation as well as they could, given the circumstances, but they were not sure about “whither the nation (was) tending.” Furthermore, they certainly contested a more positive view of American educational policy, at least in the first decade or two.

Here it would be instructive to recall Glenn May’s (1980, 77–126) analysis and assessment of American educational efforts in the years 1900–1913, thus providing a larger context within which Monaghan’s evaluation could be subjected to critique. Perhaps unaware of May’s earlier work, Father Schumacher’s essay comes across as assuming American educational policy and strategies as an unqualified success; against such achievement, the failure of church institutions to adapt to the new environment is then attributed to an intransigent Spanish mentality. Although such a mentality did exist, it would be simplistic to attribute to such a mentality the “failure” of the church to adapt its institutions to the Americanization process in general and to the use of English in particular. Rather we need to highlight the complexity of American “social engineering” strategies and, in Glenn May’s estimation, their general failure, at least in the first decade or two of the American colonial regime. May states that there was “a vast gap between policy and practice” and that the “tragedy of the U.S. educational effort was that, despite benevolent intentions, the Bureau of Education prepared the Filipinos neither for citizenship nor for productive labor” (ibid., 126).

If there was a cultural and linguistic contest, it was one that pitted English (and therefore the American way of life) not against Spanish culture and

language but against Filipino culture and Filipino languages. When Father Schumacher (2009, 256), for example, notes that “the moribund Catholic newspaper *La Defensa* failed in 1935” and was replaced “by an English-language newspaper, *The Philippines Commonwealth*,” surely it must be worth mentioning as well that this English-language newspaper was translated into or had its counterpart in other Filipino languages. In the same year, for example, Bishop James Hayes of Cagayan de Oro, “realizing the great need of a Catholic weekly in the native dialect,” established the Visayan-language “*Ang Commonwealth*” as the diocesan paper (Repetti 1938, 379). It is just as conceivable therefore that this whole controversy over which language to use, English or Spanish, was bypassed and relativized in favor of Philippine regional languages.

What then would be the remedy for the situation as defined by Monaghan? The system followed so far, i.e., loaning American Jesuits to the mission, he considered a failure. He thought that the opposition from certain Spanish Jesuit quarters to the Americanization of such a Jesuit institution as the Ateneo was just too strong. And he lamented the fact that “most of the younger Spanish Fathers who have spent some time in the United States, instead of exerting their influence against this spirit of nationalism, seem to fear the accusation of having adopted American ideas.”³¹ What then was the remedy?

Monaghan wished to be reassuring: there was plenty of work to be done by the Spanish Jesuits in the islands. But, in the end, the only solution he could see was to transfer the Philippine Mission to one of the American provinces. This would mean in the concrete the appointment of an American Jesuit Mission Superior. The alternative proposed, that of establishing an American Jesuit house in Manila, he considered unworkable. In order to increase immediately the number of American Jesuits in the country, he proposed an exchange of personnel between the Philippine Mission, on the one hand, and the British Honduras and Jamaican Missions, on the other, with several Spanish Jesuits moving to the Caribbean mission stations (where, he says, the Spanish language would be an asset) and several American Jesuits transferring to the Philippine Mission.³² He further recommended that the Philippine Mission be attached either to the Maryland-New York Province or the Missouri Province; these provinces had the numbers to send men to the islands, and Maryland-New York had the added advantage of “being in close communication with the Government officials in Washington.”³³ In closing, in order that a fair judgment might be passed on his proposals,

he expressed the wish that the Father General “institute a thorough and impartial investigation, and perhaps even to send to the Philippines, with or without the powers of Visitor, a man of experience and prudence and capable of understanding the evil and the good of American institutions, who may report to his Paternity what course he deems most for the greater glory of God.”³⁴ In this way, the future of the Philippine Mission could be ascertained, once and for all, and the requisite changes made.

An English Jesuit's Report

The general lines of critique offered by Monaghan received independent confirmation from Robert Brown, the English Jesuit who had worked for several years in the Philippines.³⁵ In his estimation, the Spanish Jesuits in the Philippines were doing very little for English in Jesuit schools. In effect, they were turning a blind eye to the fact that English was the official language in the islands, that English was widely spoken even in the provinces, that all government officials needed to learn English, and that it was the language of trade and commerce in the islands. The Ateneo's one hour of English per day and the Seminario de San Javier's half an hour in some classes and three quarters in others were to his mind woefully insufficient. Almost all classes were taught in Spanish. He confessed to not understanding how it was that Spanish Jesuits could say that “People don't want English”; and he gives the example of how, in the convent-school run by the Assumption Sisters, not a word of Spanish is spoken and yet the school, “the most aristocratic in the Archipelago,” was full. He lamented the fact that the Mission Superior, the Prefect of Studies, and the First Prefect of the Seminario de San Javier did not know any English at all. He cited remarks made by a government official, who had always been under the impression that the Jesuits could adapt themselves to any circumstance, but now expressed bewilderment at Spanish Jesuit intransigence on the matter of English. He further noted how Jesuit students, brilliant in other fields, inevitably and invariably failed their public examinations in English. Although the Ateneo had put up theatrical plays in English, he doubted very much whether the student actors, despite careful training in perfect pronunciation, really understood the English lines they had to spout. Finally, he observed how students were preferring to be day scholars instead of boarders, so they could be free to take up English lessons in night schools that offered the language, something that otherwise would be impossible if they were to become interns of Jesuit schools.

Brown of course did not express himself on the political questions surrounding the matter of English as a medium of instruction in Jesuit schools; it is not clear whether he was aware of the problem as a political issue for at least some Filipinos. However, it is difficult to think that he was unaware of the problem. It could be that his attitude had changed from the time he first arrived in the islands; he could have realized that Americanization was here to stay, and that Filipinos themselves, unlike in the earlier years of the American colonial regime, had come to accept the *de facto* uses of the English language in many fields of political and public life. Initial distrust of the signs of Americanization could have given way to a more pragmatic attitude. What mattered the most was actual and present need. The Jesuits could not hope to make the impression they once had made if they continued to stick to a self-defeating policy in the matter of the primary language of instruction in their schools.

Spanish Evaluation of the State of the Mission: The Mission Superior

Almost two years after Monaghan had written his memorandum, the Mission Superior, Fr. Fidel Mir, S.J., submitted his own reflections on the state of the mission.³⁶ Mir was then in Barcelona to attend the provincial congregation and was most probably asked to submit a report on the state of the mission. His report touched on all aspects of Jesuit work in the islands. Here we shall focus on those items that are relevant to the matter at hand, i.e., the question of education, English, and ultimately the appurtenance of the mission itself. It is important to note that, in letters written to the Jesuit Superior General in the preceding years, he hardly touched on the matter of English as a medium of instruction, probably because he was convinced that the mission was doing all it could in this area.³⁷ He had to deal with other urgent problems plaguing the mission,³⁸ chief of which was his concern for the decreased number of Jesuits at a time when needs were expanding and Jesuits were being called on from all sides to respond to those needs.³⁹ Surely the mission's flagship schools in Manila merited a closer look that went beyond praise and satisfaction to a consideration of its future.

It seems clear from Mir's report that province officials themselves were very open to the Americanization of the Jesuit educational apostolate in the islands, particularly the Ateneo.⁴⁰ There were real anxieties however about the future, and Mir was candid in admitting that desires to go along with the

Americanization of Jesuit institutions could not be satisfied for the following reasons. First, Spanish Jesuits would have lost the trust placed in them by Filipinos.⁴¹ In a period when Filipinos were trying to move for a clearer picture regarding the question of Philippine independence, such trust could only mean that the Spanish Jesuits were expected to support Filipino aspirations. The Spanish Jesuits could not afford to be seen as collaborators of the American colonial regime. Second, the Spanish Jesuits were not and could never be in a position to provide all of the instruction in English in a decent manner, if the mission itself had to rely only on personnel coming from the Aragon Province; this was clear from the experiment that the Ateneo had been carrying out for several years. In his estimation of English proficiency among Spanish Jesuits sent to the United States to study the language, he thought that only three out of ten or twelve Spanish Jesuits could worthily sustain a conversation. Equally clear was the negative attitude that the students had toward learning the language.⁴² Mir suspected that the use of the English language was precisely the means being employed by American civil authorities to consolidate their hold on the islands. American ecclesiastical authorities were themselves of the same mindset.⁴³ In effect, Mir confirmed everything that Monaghan reported as the reasons why Spanish Jesuits were reluctant to Americanize their Manila schools. What remedies then did the Mission Superior see to this problematic situation?

Mir thought it impossible to provide a solution by presenting the issue in either-or terms: either Spanish Jesuits or American Jesuits. He opted for continuity of the policy of having American Jesuits on an *ad hoc* basis, but with greater flexibility in the arrangements for the presence of American Jesuits in the islands and, in a dramatic move, in view of the opening of a novitiate for Filipino aspirants to the Society of Jesus. In effect, the problem for him was reducible to the question of manpower: not who or which nationality, but how many.⁴⁴ However, he saw it taking place within a framework that would have the mission remain firmly in Spanish Jesuit hands.⁴⁵ To a certain extent, this was an evasive strategy; it did not meet head on the problem of English as the necessary medium of instruction in Jesuit schools. But it was clear that, for the Mission Superior, the important and urgent problem was Jesuit manpower, not the language question.

The mission in fact would continue as before; the basic principle operative was continuity. The mission would remain in the hands of Spanish Jesuits of the Province of Aragon, with a contingent of American Jesuits helping out

here and there where they were needed. At this time the mission was in a kind of limbo; twice the Mission Superior had to leave for Spain, leaving behind Fr. José Clos as Vice-Superior, and Clos did not sense himself enabled to make decisions of great import for the mission. Not surprisingly the question came up again, indeed at least twice on the occasion of visitations made to the mission (1912 and 1919) by province officials. One gets the impression that, by the end of the second visitation, it was just simply too late for the Spanish Jesuits to resolve the question of English as medium of instruction and official language of Jesuit education and seminary formation. The inertia that had set in, coupled with the lack of a determined “political will” to change things on the part of mission and province officials, would leave the Ateneo having to play catch up in the area of education and create dissatisfaction on the part of some bishops in the area of seminary training and formation.

The Jesuit Visitors and the Problem of English

More than fourteen years after the American military forces had taken Manila, i.e., in October 1912, the provincial of Aragon, recently arrived in Manila to formally visit the mission, found himself needing to discuss, among many things, the whole question of English with the mission consultants.⁴⁶ He posed the question to them: what should our attitude be regarding the English language? The answer was clear: English must be given all the preference and importance possible, but to implant the language as the “official language” in all the classes remained impossible for various reasons. First, not all the professors actually knew the language. Second, not all the students in all the classes were in a position to receive instruction in the English language. For the same reasons, neither could English be the official language of the mission itself.⁴⁷ To remedy the situation, several possibilities were discussed: the Jesuits must learn the language; Jesuit recreation could be done in English; table-reading at supper could be in English also. But difficulties were all adduced as making the one and other almost impracticable or well nigh impossible. Many Jesuits were just too old to begin learning a new language. To learn English during recreation time was in fact to defeat the purpose of recreation. And there were just too few English speakers in the community to be assigned to table-reading, and much time would be required to prepare the readings themselves. The provincial did mention that many coadjutor brothers had requested to learn English and something could be arranged for them.⁴⁸

The difficulties were real and great enough. The provincial, concerned about the health of his men in the islands, had advised a reduction of the work load for some Jesuit professors in the Ateneo and the employment of lay teachers to take some of the pressure off; he just could not promise more Jesuits from the province to be sent to the Philippines.⁴⁹ The provincial also realized there were other urgent problems that needed attention.⁵⁰ But one gets the impression that inertia had set in and there was just no enthusiasm for remedying the problem at all. Missing was that “political will” for radical change.⁵¹ The death of Superior General Wernz in 1914, the outbreak of the First World War, and in consequence the inability of the new general, Ledóchowski, to exercise his office in any significant fashion during these years of war all contributed to this problem being set aside. Only at war’s end would the question come up again, and this time other factors would surface to force the hand of the general on the issue: the problem of providing a replacement for the German Jesuits of the Bombay mission in India.

Seven years later, in 1919, on the occasion of the official visitation of the Philippine Mission by Fr. Juan Guim, S.J., the question of English would be raised again.⁵² So important was the matter that the visitor, in his final report, would dedicate Appendix III and twenty-four pages to the whole question.⁵³ He cited Father Barrachina’s own *Informatione* regarding the matter several years earlier and noted his strong recommendation of the English language.⁵⁴ The Spanish language continued to be acknowledged as useful and necessary.⁵⁵ But this time more concrete measures were proposed and approved in the interest of getting Jesuits to learn and practice the language.⁵⁶ Thus the visitor and the mission consultants agreed to set up in the Colegio de San José an “Academy of the English Language” for Jesuits, with a regular and permanent character; its first students were to be some of the Spanish Jesuits set to arrive from Spain in the next missionary expedition and “others who can.”⁵⁷ It was also accepted that it might be necessary to send some of the men to Australia or Hong Kong to obtain a much better grasp of the language through constant practice.⁵⁸ In addition, they decided to ask the general to intercede with the provincial of Maryland in getting permission for Fr. Mark McNeal to transfer from the Japanese Mission to the Philippine Mission; McNeal, “who is presently teaching English in the University of Tokyo and who has offered to come [to Manila],” spoke Spanish. They thought that his teaching in Japan could be taken over by any other American Jesuit.⁵⁹ Finally it was suggested that the provincial of Aragon enter into an agreement with the provincial of



Jesuits gathered in the courtyard of the Ateneo de Manila, studying English, 1900
 Source: Arcilla 2009, 6-7

an American province regarding the exchange of two “profesores-maestros”; those from the United States could teach English in Manila and those from the Aragon Province could teach Spanish in the United States.⁶⁰

In the conclusion to his report on the visitation just made, Guim ends with what seems to be prophetic words: if the Province of Aragon could not respond better to the pressing needs and urgent demands of apostolic work in the islands, then it would be better for the Spaniards to relinquish the Philippine Mission to some other Jesuit province that had the resources to do so.⁶¹

To make a long story short, this in fact was what transpired. When the first big group of American Jesuits took over the Ateneo de Manila from the Spanish Jesuits in 1921, the shift to English occurred automatically. Spanish, or more accurately Castellano, would become the secondary language of Jesuit education. It would take twenty-three long years for this radical change to take place. It would take almost another ten years for the Seminario de San José to follow suit, making English the language of ecclesiastical education and training.⁶²

The question of course could be posed about the handicap of the Spanish Jesuits in the area of English. Surely there must be some irony in the fact that, when the Spanish Jesuits were asked to take over the Bombay Mission from the German Jesuits, they found themselves having to deal with the issue of the English language once again. India was a British colony, and English was the language of power, education, and social mobility there as well. In taking over the schools formerly run by the German Jesuits expelled from British colonial possessions during the First World War, the Spanish Jesuits needed to learn the English language as if they had never left the Philippines! When three Spanish Jesuits, on their way to the Philippines as members of a missionary expedition from the Aragon Province, were ordered to disembark in Colombo, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), in order to reinforce the Jesuit presence in the Bombay Mission, they were instructed to go to Shembaganur in South India to commence studies in the English language.

This question certainly could be posed: if the Spanish Jesuits had only committed themselves fully to the English language as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, could they have avoided giving the impression of a growing uselessness in meeting the challenges offered by the Americanizing times in the Philippines? And would not their move to India have proved less trying, at least in the area of Jesuit education and

ecclesiastical formation?⁶³ These are speculative questions no doubt, but the impression is given nevertheless that, precisely because there had not been a much clearer commitment to the practice of the English language among the Spanish Jesuits of the mission, the decision to transfer the mission to an American Jesuit province would seem to be a less disruptive and dangerous option.

The Question of Tagalog: Some Observations

It cannot be denied, however, that in this long period of transition from the Spanish to the English language in Jesuit institutions, one language got sidelined: Tagalog, the native idiom in Manila and the surrounding region. Tagalog was still far from being made into the base of a national language at that time. Only with the transfer of sovereignty from American to Filipino hands would the question of a national language arise. For a long time after that, the islands would have three official languages: Filipino, English, and Spanish. The national language, “Filipino,” would need the push of a second nationalist outpouring in the 1960s for it to gain some respectability, not only in official circles but also in the academe.

Nevertheless, it is cause for regret that the Spanish Jesuits in Manila did not feel the same urgency of learning the local idiom as they certainly did in learning the Visayan and other languages in their missions in Mindanao. Fidel Mir had dreamed of having a regular team moving around the island of Luzon conducting classic and intensive missions among the scattered towns and villages; a knowledge of Tagalog would have been a prerequisite for the realization of such a dream.⁶⁴ There was no lack of good will to be sure, but the inertia produced by decades of being Manila-centered could not be reversed. The existence of so many other languages must also have been a deterrent; Ilocano and Pangasinan in the north, Bicolano in the southeast, Kapampangan in the center—not even the natives could speak the language beyond their own regional borders. Ultimately the shortage in Jesuit manpower forced the Mission Superior to scrap the idea of a Jesuit team for missions.

A Spanish scholastic then recently arrived in Manila and teaching in the Ateneo had the insight to see that Tagalog was indeed necessary for pastoral work in Manila and environs.⁶⁵ Thus, even in Manila itself, Jesuit “operarios” attached to the San Ignacio Church could have had a greater reach if they had a firm grasp of the Tagalog language. A bias for the elite in Jesuit

education existed even then; and the elite naturally aimed to learn Spanish and English, the languages of power, privilege, and social mobility in the islands in the first decades of the twentieth century. In this regard, the Manila-based American Jesuits would prove to be of the same orientation as their Spanish confreres.

Furthermore, the American colonial regime, differently from the Spanish one where Castellano was concerned, was much more aggressive in its promotion of English. For better or for worse, the Americans were convinced that English was one, perhaps the most, important way of unifying the archipelago. The American Jesuits would accept this strategy as a matter of course. Moreover they would promote English through their schools and institutions. As the twentieth century unravelled, the American Jesuits, convinced that education was a potent way of serving the church in Mindanao, would open schools and develop them to become instruments of progress. But in so doing, they would see less and less reason for themselves to learn the regional and local languages. It is no secret that the Mindanao missions would prove a daunting task for many an American Jesuit, not least because of the need to learn an idiom other than English.

By Way of Conclusion

In 1929, almost a decade after the arrival of the first group of American Jesuits sent to take over responsibility for the Philippine Mission from the Spanish Jesuits, there did not seem to be any policy set by the mission superiors on learning the local languages. The following story told by Fr. Joseph Mulry, S.J., illustrates this point:

If you take the map of Luzon, you will find the provinces of Batangas, Tayabas, Pangasinan, Laguna. The names of the towns have a certain music, Santa Cruz, Sariaya, Lipa, Lingayen, Batangas. In all these places we make the Sisters' school our theatre, and prepare to give our lectures. About dark, Father Smith connects the lantern with the electric current, signals to me on the platform and we are ready. Attention is easily won and the slides follow, each receiving a few words of simple explanation. Father Smith used to tell me that the noise was considerable; at first, he thought we were 'miles over their heads,' until he discovered that what we heard was merely the translation of my words for those present who did not follow or who did not know

English. I remember watching a little lass who waited until I had given most of my explanation, then turned to six or seven tots and delivered the ideas in Tagalog. She invited and satisfied questions, serenely unconscious of her usurpation of my position. The townspeople are very simple and they cry out whenever they recognize the person in the picture. Very often I felt that *I might as well not have been there at all*, but I figured as a focus of attention, and that was something. (Mulry 1929, italics added).

Mulry stated that Father Smith and he had been doing this for three years, visiting "small communities with the idea of giving, by means of pictures, some features of our religion. We have given over sixty lectures. The titles vary; the Mass and the Passion, Life of the Little Flower, Life of Our Saviour, Dante's Divine Comedy, indicate the instructive tone of the work . . ." But he seemed unperturbed by the fact that all of these lectures were conducted in a language that was not understood by everybody. Even more interesting was that he did not attempt, it seems, to know whether the young girl's "delivering (his) ideas in Tagalog" was in fact accurate or not. Nowhere do we find any concern on his part about the dynamics of translation. Why not?

I would like to underline Mulry's own words when he called attention to the young girl translating his words: *I might as well not have been there at all*. He was there, but he was not there. He was seen, but was he heard? The inability of the Jesuits Mulry and Smith to communicate in the local idiom leads me to make several concluding remarks, some of them in the form of questions.

1. The linguistic battles engaged in by Spanish and American Jesuits had, as a common presupposition, a view of language that was primarily, if not exclusively, instrumental.
2. Practically lacking was the view of language as, to use the words of the German philosopher Heidegger, "the house of being." Language is not purely and simply an instrument; it is what enables human beings to be at home in the world, in a local place and in local time.
3. The primacy to which English aspired and which Spanish sought to preserve for itself, therefore, could only be an instrumental utility.
4. This utility is certainly seen on the superficial plane of social and political institutions in Manila and other urban centers; it failed to penetrate

the realm of the family and the local community, particularly in the provinces.

5. In the Philippine setting, the Filipino soul or, in other words, Filipino identity, remained largely impermeable to articulation in English and Spanish, at least where the great majority of the Filipino people was concerned. Spanish and English did succeed to some extent in defining the Filipino soul, but only among the elites.
6. Today English continues to play an important instrumental role in setting the Philippines among the nations of the world. But Filipinos continue to think and feel in their local languages on the level of the family, the local community, and the region.
7. The aim of developing a national language was meant to consolidate Filipino identity on the national level. The success or failure of this aim continues to be debated.
8. Filipinos are de facto called to be, at least, trilingual: it seems to me that every Filipino is called to express herself and her world in three languages: the language of the local, the language of the national, and the language of the global. I speak Taosug at home. I deliver my homily in Tagalog in Montalban. And I write to foreign-born friends abroad in English.
9. Filipino identity in its complex integrity can only be a negotiated identity doomed to or fractured by various expressions in different languages, with shifting degrees of adequacy, depth, and coverage.
10. Historical analyses of “cultural change” (e.g., from “Hispanization” to “Americanization”) would seem to demand a usable concept of “culture,” “language,” and “cultural change.” In verifying supposed cultural change through adoption of and adaptation to a different language, what does one make of the contemporary fact of religious practices like the devotion to the Black Nazarene of Quiapo and the Sinulog celebration of the Santo Niño in Cebu engaged in by millions of Filipinos? Are these religio-cultural practices “hispanic” that would have been better eradicated by “Americanization”? Or do we misconstrue them by failing to recognize their Filipino ethos?
11. Jesuit linguistic/cultural battles between the Spanish and the American basically put the Filipino in the shade; but it is conceivable that the Filipino, true to character, dealt with his spectral presence in this debate as a positive thing. It was not his debate, it was not his battle. In the words

of May (1980, 183): “The Taft period—indeed, the entire U.S. colonial period—was only a brief ‘deviation’ in the course of Philippine history. On balance, the Philippines remained fundamentally Filipino; there was far more continuity than change.”

Abbreviations used

AHSIC	Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesús de Catalunya, Barcelona
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
APPSJ	Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, Quezon City

Notes

Salustiano P. Macatangay Sr. and Jun Aguilar translated extracts in these notes from Spanish to English; while Fr. Albert Cecilio Flores, Director of the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila, and Fr. Rex Mananzan, S.J., Professor at the Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, translated extracts from Latin to English. The editorial office thanks Ramoncito Ocampo Cruz, CEO and Publisher of Media Wise Communications, Inc./Muse Books, for permission to reproduce the photo of Spanish Jesuits studying English that appears on pages 128–129.

- 1 His textbook in Philippine Church history continues to be used at the Loyola School of Theology and other seminaries. Cf. Schumacher 1987.
- 2 This essay is perhaps the most “tentative” in the collection. Schumacher (2009, 248) himself states: “Of necessity, this can only be a preliminary study, given the lack of systematic study of twentieth-century Philippines, particularly of the history of the Church. It is to be hoped that other scholars may further investigate its findings and conclusions and that this may serve as a stimulus for such study.”
- 3 Cf. an exact copy of the letter written by Fr. Francisco Javier Simó, S.J., to Fr. Luis Adroer, S.J., Provincial of Aragon, 8 July 1900, Phil. 1002–I, 3, ARSI. The work was given to a board of censors, but Father Simó was not convinced of their ability to judge his work in a competent, if not exactly professional, way.
- 4 Ibid. Father Simó added: *La bomba fue gorda. Los que le conocíamos no nos extrañamos de ello* (“It was a huge bombshell. We who know him are not surprised”) (ibid.).
- 5 “In the public schools, the Castilian language, with which Filipinos learned religion, has been almost completely put aside, or has become just an adornment. Public instruction knows no God (*A Dios no se le conoce en la enseñanza oficial*); and this is so as though the students had no soul in need of salvation, or religious obligations to fulfill . . .” Fr. Manuel Ma. Sauras, S.J., to Fr. Pablo Pastells, S.J., Zamboanga, 30 Sept. 1916, CF 10–6–56, AHSIC.
- 6 Aside from Vilallonga, two scholastics were also sent to the United States in 1901: Manuel Peypoch, S.J., and José Coronas, S.J.; these three “seem to have been especially chosen, for they were certainly among the more brilliant of their group.” Peypoch and Coronas would go on to finish their theological studies at St. Louis; tertianship was at Florissant, Missouri. Peypoch would be a fixture at the Ateneo de Manila and Coronas would be assigned to the Manila Observatory, “where

he was to do important work in terrestrial magnetism." Cf. Bernad 1996, 392–411. Peypoch would return to Spain much later; there he would be martyred in July 1936, at the height of the civil disturbances. Bernad, however, failed to mention three other Spanish Jesuits sent to the United States in the same period: (1) Joaquín Añón, S.J., who was also doing a fourth year of theological studies; (2) S. Miguel Martí, S.J., who was doing studies in dogma; and (3) H. Juan Novellas, S.J., who was engaged in domestic work. All six Jesuits were assigned to the St. Louis University, Missouri. Cf. *Catalogus Provinciae Aragonensis Societatis Iesu*–1902, available at the APPSJ.

- 7 Tertianship is the last stage of Jesuit formation, usually gone through after a few years of ordained ministry.
- 8 Father Monaghan arrived in the Philippines on 4 Oct. 1905 and worked in the Ateneo de Manila (1905) and Colegio de San Javier (1906). Because of ill health he had to go back to his home province; he left Manila on 3 Mar. 1908 after two years and seven months of working in the Philippine Mission.
- 9 Father Meyer had been American Assistant during the generalate of Fr. Luis Martin, S.J. He wrote the document on 27 Sept. 1908, a little over six months after he had left Manila. Cf. Fr. James Monaghan, S.J., St. Louis, Missouri (U.S.A.), to Father Mullen, S.J., Rome, 8 Dec. 1908, Phil. 1002–VI, 21, ARSI. Father Mullen was substitute English assistant during the generalate of Father Wernz. Father Monaghan was convinced that the other American Jesuits working in the islands at that time (really the first decade of American rule in the Philippines) were of the same opinion as that expressed in the document; he had read the document read to Fr. James McGeary, S.J., also of the Missouri Province, who fully concurred with what Monaghan had written. And he stated: "I have reason to believe that my conclusions would be confirmed as well by Father Stanton (now in British Honduras), who spent three years in Manila in the early part of the American occupation; and also by Mr. O'Neill, a scholastic, who had about one year's experience there. Both of these men were well liked by our Spanish Fathers. Of those still at work in the Philippines, Fathers Thompkins and Finegan have had longest experience. Father Lynch should know the situation in Mindanao; though he has not been in Manila and has no personal acquaintance with conditions there." Thompkins, Finegan, and Lynch were members of the Maryland-New York Province, and Monaghan said that he was sending a copy of the document to Father Hanselman, the Maryland-New York Provincial, because "his subjects in the Islands had requested him [Monaghan] to make known to him [Hanselman] his views on the situation." However, his characterization of Father Lynch as not having "personal acquaintance" with conditions in Manila is at least open to question. Other American Jesuits then in the islands at that time were Father Zwack, of the Buffalo Mission; Father Semmes, of the New Orleans Province; the Scholastic Christopher Reilly, of the Missouri Province; Father Becker, of the Maryland-New York Province; and Scholastic John Daley, also of the Maryland-New York Province.
- 10 Fr. James P. Monaghan, S.J., Memorandum on the religious situation in the Philippines, Phil. 1002–VI, 22, ARSI. Together with the memorandum he also sent a "Synopsis" and three newspaper clippings from the *Manila Times*; the clippings were from the 7 Oct. 1907, 8 Oct. 1907, and 17 Oct. 1907 issues of the American-owned English-language daily. A copy of the "Memorandum" is found also in II–3–039, APPSJ, mistakenly attributed to Fr. William McDonough, S.J.
- 11 Monaghan to Mullen, Phil. 1002–VI, 21, ARSI. It would not be difficult to see the Spanish Jesuits agreeing to Monaghan's evaluation of the situation as "critical"; but it would seem that they agreed but from a different perspective on the problem. In Monaghan's own words, "the

authorities in Spain seem to be under the impression that the Americanizing process has been carried much further than it has been: a natural effect of exaggerated reports of concessions made to the English language,—of successes achieved,—and of the satisfaction of the American government."

- 12 "[The Protestant Missionaries] have mastered the native dialects. They publish the Bible in several of the native languages, and flood the Islands with protestant tracts containing the vilest attacks upon the Catholic Church and the clergy. Leaflets of this kind are sent by mail not only to grown people, but also and especially to the children of the public (i.e., government) schools. Amongst the latter are also distributed copies of the 'marked' New Testament, in which the sources of protestant arguments are underscored in red." Father Monaghan put the number of children in the public schools at more than 300,000 and said that "outside of the few large cities, practically no Catholic religious instruction has been given in the Islands for the past ten years; and in the large cities, only a small minority is reached." Cf. Monaghan, Memorandum on the religious situation in the Philippines, 2, Phil. 1002–VI, 22, ARSI. Monaghan exaggerated what nevertheless must be something close to the truth.
- 13 Ibid., 2–3. He wrote that the "Protestants themselves have looked forward to a 'revolt from Rome' in consequence of the system of Public Schools."
- 14 Ibid., 4. Monaghan stated that, ironically, the Mission Superior, Fidel Mir, S.J., was in basic agreement with this assertion, although a different time frame was proposed: Mir was supposed to have confessed "that in another quarter of a century every vestige of [Spanish Jesuit] influence will have passed away" (ibid., 20).
- 15 Ibid., 4.
- 16 Ibid., 6.
- 17 Ibid., 7. Monaghan then referred the reader to the opinion of Mr. Carpenter, "a prominent government official, who is himself a Protestant," who had often said "it is a matter of wonder, amongst the members of the Philippine Commission, that the Jesuits, who are always supposed to be in the advance in educational matters, can be so blind as to adhere to the Spanish language and Spanish methods." In verbatim, he quoted Carpenter as saying: "It is a matter of common remark that you are really harming yourselves and interfering with the plans of the government. For, as everyone knows, the Jesuits are the best educators; their pupils come from the best families, and from all parts of the Islands, and the government would be glad to appoint them to official positions in the Provinces. They would be the support of their Church and render invaluable assistance to the civil government; but under your present system this is impossible" (ibid., 17–18).
- 18 Ibid., 7–8. The Archbishop of Manila was Jeremiah Harty. It is nevertheless ironic that, when the archbishop reclaimed his seminary from the Jesuits, he gave it to the Spanish Vincentians to run. Apparently the archbishop was influenced by reasons other than the linguistic in this decision.
- 19 In Monaghan's estimation, the instruction provided by these schools in the area of Mathematics was "far superior" to that given in the Jesuit schools. Cf. ibid., 9.
- 20 "[English] is now more widespread than Spanish ever was, and in another decade will almost entirely have superseded it. Another lesson is that the people, as far as education is concerned, are fast slipping away from our influence. Time was when anything beyond elementary education was largely in the hands of the Jesuits. That day has passed; and at the present rate we will soon be an insignificant factor. Yet this is our main work in the Islands." In Monaghan's thinking,

the goal of Jesuit education "should be to train men for present and future leadership" and he considered that "our chances for leadership are fast disappearing" (ibid., 9–10).

- 21 Ibid., 10.
- 22 Monaghan opined that the "teaching faculty might have been made up as follows:—In the two years of Philosophy the mathematics could have been taught in English by Father Vilallonga, the Physics by Fr. Solá, and the chemistry by Fr. Marrugat. The Philosophy is taught in latin. The 'Fourth year Latin'—Fr. Peypoch: 'Third year Latin'—Fr. Agreda: 'Second year Latin'—Fr. Burniol: 'First year Latin'—Fr. Vivés. 'Suprema'—Mr. Daly (American): 'Media'—Fr. Rello: 'Infima'—a Filipino. This schedule does not include two American Fathers who have volunteered to teach even the elementary classes. I have assigned most of the teachers to the very same classes which they are now teaching in Spanish; and those men know English at least as well as the Americans know their Spanish . . ." (ibid., 11).
- 23 He suggested as much when he said that "Very Reverend Father Mir himself told me that he is not certain that the college would be conducted in English, even if a continuous supply of American Jesuits were guaranteed, sufficient for all their needs." Ibid. Much farther down in his letter, he finally wrote: "It is difficult to believe, but it seems to be true, that this opposition [to American Jesuits and their work] arises from a spirit of nationalism. It is not a question of conservatism. The charge of nationalism I realize to be a serious one; and I am pleased to be able to say that while I have no room for doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion, I am not less certain that our Spanish Fathers are not aware of and therefore not responsible for their fault. Against this very charge we have often been obliged to defend them with the Archbishop, the Apostolic Delegate and the Civil Authorities. Governor-General Smith, for example, (a devout Catholic and a monthly communicant) asserts that the Catholic cause has received a most serious set-back from the nationalism of the Spanish clergy" (ibid., 22–23). The articles appended from the *Manila Times* were precisely meant to demonstrate this nationalist sentiment still regnant among the Spaniards, whether religious or not, in Manila. It is arguable that attachment to the Spanish language was seen, at least by the Spanish element in Manila, as necessary to preserve the integrity of the Catholic faith in the islands, under attack as it was from various Protestant groups.
- 24 He cited the example of Mr. Araneta, the attorney-general of the Philippine Islands and a fervent Catholic, who "is very out-spoken in his disapproval of the policy of the Jesuit Fathers in adhering to the Spanish tongue." Mr Araneta was forced seemingly to hire a private tutor to teach his son, an Atenean, the English language because the Ateneo was not teaching it as it should. Cf. ibid., 12–13.
- 25 Cf. ibid., 14–15.
- 26 Philippine independence was viewed by Monaghan as one of three possible scenarios for the islands in the future, but all three he considered ultimately void: "Now the withdrawal of the American government will result either from (1) the return of the Islands to the Spanish dominion, or (2) from their sale to some other Power, or (3) from their becoming independent. But (1) it is folly to dream of the restoration of the Spanish flag. (2) Nor is there any prospect of a sale of the Islands to any Power whatsoever. We have this from an official announcement of the Secretary of War, and we infer it also from the vast sums of money devoted to defense. Prior to this declaration, it is true, a report was circulated concerning a prospective sale; but this seems to have been a political measure, one of the effects of which was to put a quietus on the political agitation of the Filipinos, who have a dread of falling into the hands of the Japanese. (3) There is no possibility of

independence within the space of one generation; there is little probability of it within the present century" (ibid., 15). The question may be raised at this point about American Jesuit relations with the civil American authorities both in the islands and in the United States. As we shall see, at least one Spanish Jesuit suspected several American Jesuits of some kind of collaboration with American political designs over the future of the islands.

- 27 Cf. Fr. Edward P. Duffy, S.J., to the Provincial of Maryland-New York, Manila, 12 May 1921, V–2–055, APPSJ. Duffy wrote: "The Acting Superior [Fr. Miguel Saderra Mata, S.J.] wrote to all urging caution in speaking of the change [from Spanish to American Jesuits in the Philippine Mission] with externs and at present it is especially needed. The American Commission is here investigating conditions and the independence of the people which seemed so near last year [1920] is not certain now. If the Filipinos heard of this change they would immediately jump to the conclusion that they were not going to get independence and we were coming to strengthen the American cause. And we would surely be set down as enemies of Filipino Independence. . . ."
- 28 "By recent legislative enactment a government university has been created;—a thing that would never have been possible had either our Fathers or the Dominicans been broadminded enough to take advantage of their opportunities." Monaghan, Memorandum on the religious situation in the Philippines, 19–20, Phil. 1002–VI, 22, ARSI.
- 29 Cf. ibid., 17–19.
- 30 To regulate private educational institutions, a Bureau of Private Schools would be set up later. Of course, May (1980) concludes that the American "social engineering" experiment in the Philippines was largely a failure.
- 31 Monaghan, Memorandum on the religious situation in the Philippines, 23, Phil. 1002–VI, 22, ARSI. But Monaghan perhaps failed to consider the possibility that, precisely because of their experience in the United States, some of these younger Spanish Jesuits might actually have been convinced that, as it was, the American system was not going to work in the Philippines. This view of course is highly debatable; but the point is whether Monaghan had read the intentions of the younger Spanish men who had been to the American heartland well enough. Monaghan's frustration is understandable. But he did not do justice to men such as Vilallonga when he reduced what he saw as their inactivity and lack of criticism to "fear of having adopted American ideas."
- 32 "In Honduras alone we have some twenty men engaged in a field where the Spanish language is a necessity, and where the total Catholic population does not exceed thirty-five thousand. If these men were working in the Philippines, they could with the same effort personally reach ten times that number and exert, besides, an influence upon the destinies of the nation. They would moreover, have the advantage of their own native tongue and would find the climate less than severe than in Honduras" (ibid., 25).
- 33 As indeed, several years later, at least one Spanish Jesuit scholastic studying in the United States suspected the American Jesuits of having done. Juan Villalonga, S.J., is reported to have written, in language that was meant to hide identities, the following: "I suppose that the Very Reverend shall have been informed by Father Benedet of other trifle matters in accordance with the style by which they proceed and of others that might be added, for instance, the particular incident of our Father Benedet having gone to the neighboring city of Baltimore [Maryland], to receive the two young Spaniards who came to study philosophy; they accidentally met Father Monajan [Fr. James Monaghan], who was surprised and partly amazed on seeing our Father, as he has just arrived from San Luis [St. Louis] and found Fr. [Philip] Finegan, who arrived that same afternoon from

New York, waiting there, and those whom the young Fr. [John] Daley joined, who recently arrived from Georgetown [University] to study . . . what? We don't know; what appears certain is that that same afternoon they went to Washington [D.C.] where, accordingly, the more youthful one (*el mas jóven*) of the three [Father Daley?] had earlier seen the secretary of the president whom he knows personally: up to here, such as has been said, I do not want to add anything more, but would rather go to other subject matters." Cf. De una carta del H. Juan Villalonga, S.J., Woodstock College, 31 Dec. 1912, CF 8–3–54, AHSIC. It is not clear who is referred to by "el mas jóven": either Father Daley, who was the youngest of the three American Jesuits named, or Father Finegan, who was the American Jesuit to return the most recently from the Philippines to the United States. In any case, what is certain was the atmosphere of suspicion that loomed over relations between American and Spanish Jesuits. This could be traced to the fact that Father Finegan, when he was still in Manila, had expressed publicly his opposition to Philippine independence, an act which cost him his stay in the islands and which prompted the Mission Consultors to recommend to his provincial that he should not be allowed to return to the islands. Cf. Libro de Consultas, no. 658, 12 May 1913, IV–1884–b, APPSJ. The provincial of Maryland-New York would send a telegram, asking whether he should retain Father Finegan in the U.S.; the answer was crisp: "Retinendus." The Mission Vice Superior also would inform the provincial of Aragon and the general in Rome about this affair. Cf. Libro de Consultas, no. 662, 2 Aug. 1913, IV–1884–b, APPSJ.

34 Monaghan, Memorandum on the religious situation in the Philippines, 25, Phil. 1002–VI, 22, ARSI. As we shall see below, a visitor will indeed come to the Philippines, but it will be no other than the provincial of Aragon himself, Fr. José Barrachina, S.J.

35 For what follows, cf. Robert Brown, S.J., [1908?] Liverpool, England, Notae quaedam (6) de difficultatibus docendi linguam anglicam in Philippinis. Oppositio ex parte Missionarior. Hisp. Phil. 1002–VI, 20, ARSI. It is not clear when the report was actually written, but from internal evidence it must have been written sometime after his departure from the islands in 1906. It is possible that Brown's thoughts on the matter had been requested by the Roman curia; the possible conjunction with Monaghan's report cannot be overlooked.

36 Cf. La Misión de Filipinas, Phil. 1002–VIII, 31, ARSI. The report was written in Barcelona on 22 July 1910. There is another report touching basically on the same points: Misión de Filipinas, Phil. 1002–VIII, 30, ARSI. The report itself, to which is attributed the same date of composition (22 July 1910), could have been written by Mir himself. But internal evidence seems to suggest it was written by Fr. José Barrachina, who took over as provincial of Aragon on 27 Sept. 1909, when the report opens thus: "The best way to attend to the welfare of those regions [the Philippines], according to the opinion of my predecessor [Fr. Antonio Iñesta] together with the Consultors of the Province and myself . . ."

37 See, e.g., the ex officio letters written by Fr. Fidel Mir, S.J., to Father General Wernz, Manila, 20 Jan. 1907, Phil. 1002–VI, 2, ARSI; and Mir to Wernz, Manila, 20 Jan. 1908, Phil. 1002–VI, 13, ARSI.

38 Other problems, perhaps not as important and as urgent as the manpower status of the mission, were nevertheless as vexing. Thus the Jesuits were concerned about efforts by the Dominicans to supposedly have Our Lady of the Rosary made the official patroness of the Philippines. And of course the fate of the San Jose Haciendas was under review at that time. Cf. the letters of Fr. Mariano Suarez, S.J., to the Spanish Assistant (Manila, 28 June, 29 June, and 8 July 1907), Phil. 1002–VI, 6, 7, 8, ARSI.

39 This will come to a head two years (1912) after Father Mir had written his report. Father Mir would return to Spain, leaving Father Clos as the Vice Superior of the Mission. Cf. Fr. José Clos,

S.J., Mission Vice Superior, to Fr. José Barrachina, S.J., Provincial of Aragon, Manila 13 Mar. 1912, CF 8–3–29, AHSIC.

40 "In the centers of learning the name of the Society, over all other establishments, has been sustained and is sustained well, except in English, not because it is taught better in other centers, outside of one or two official ones, but because we cannot satisfy the more or less just and legitimate desires of the Superiors. They have wanted us to labor [or to sweat or to lose ourselves in] at English (*nos hubieramos estado de bruces al inglés*), to become Americans [make Americans out of Filipinos?] after they have Americanized us (*hacer americanos despues de americanizados nosotros*) . . ." Phil. 1002–VIII, 31, ARSI. It seems clear that province officials in Barcelona had a more relaxed view of the process of "Americanization" in the Philippines than the Spanish Jesuits in the islands, who were less sanguine about the desirability of such a process and more conscious of their own limitations in such a venture. One should note that the Jesuit perspective from Barcelona was quite different from that of Manila. The Aragon Province after all was responsible for Jesuit work not only in the Philippines but also in the Latin American countries of Argentina, Paraguay, and Chile.

41 His great fear then: "we would have lost the confidence of the Filipinos" (*ibid.*). There were of course Filipinos who sent their children to the Ateneo not for love of Spanish but for love of the church and a certain anti-American feeling. Monaghan tended to play down or ignore this reality. As we shall see, American Jesuits were suspected of being against Philippine independence. Ultimately, in my view, this suspicion was what Mir meant when he talked about Filipinos losing confidence in the Society of Jesus. Once bitten (during the revolution), twice shy, as it is said. In the estimation of the Spanish Jesuits, the society could no longer afford to be seen as anti-Philippine independence. As the Finegan case would demonstrate (three years after Mir had written his report), the Spanish Jesuits were wary about American Jesuits causing controversy over such a sensitive political issue: "I think I am obliged to give you some information concerning Fr. Philip M. Finegan. As you know well, Fr. Finegan has been here in our Mission for about five years working hard and well. But now because he has put himself before the public eye through the papers as being opposed to Philippine Independence, there is here, at the present time, among the Filipinos, a very strong current of antipathy against him, and for this very reason we are inclined to believe that perhaps it would be better for him to delay for a while his return to these Islands." Cf. Fr. José Clos, S.J., Mission Vice Superior, Manila, 20 Jan. 1913, IV–319, APPSJ.

42 "We are not and never shall we be in the position of providing all instruction in English decently (*decentemente*), if we rely solely on those of the Province; even though for some years the Ateneo was compromised. Of the 10 or 12 who had been to America to study [English], only three can engage in a conversation decently (*dignamente*), and proceeding with much caution; the others, at most, understand what they read with the dictionary on hand; how then would they conduct class in English properly (*dignamente*)? Neither are the students ready to understand it, because in general they study English with reluctance (*repugnancia*), and this cost them much, as has been proven by experience." Phil. 1002–VIII, 31, ARSI.

43 "In conclusion, we can neither satisfy nor please the authorities on this aspect; to the community, because they like English only because they believe it is the only way to become established in the country; to the rest it matters little to them; to the priests, because they well understand that they cannot do away with Castilian in teaching religion, they would have more of English and more Americanism (*quisieran algo más de inglés y más americanismo*)" (*ibid.*).

- 44 "In summary I say: first, that the Mission in the Philippines, in order to be sustained and move forward, needs more personnel; second, that this personnel for now need not be only Spaniards or only Americans, but a mix (with a dozen Spaniards and the rest Americans, it should get by); third, that it has to acquire Filipino personnel by means of a novitiate, for them to be more rooted in the land, to have laborers who would work in their own dialect, and to prepare ourselves in the event that whites (*blancos*) lose their power; fourth, that by then we would have enough houses in Mindanao; a seminary, a college, a residence, a novitiate, and an observatory in Manila; and if the American Fathers could direct a school for teachers, that would be recognized by the government, I believe we would have in our hands the salvation of the Philippines; fifth, that the Mission would have the means to bring it forward, relying on what it has and what it can expect. Everything therefore can be attributed (*reduce*) to the lack of personnel. With fit and adequate personnel, everything is saved" (*ibid.*).
- 45 "I believe that, divided, we cannot obtain satisfactory results; but united, working under the same criterion and with the same purpose, I believe we will succeed. If 20 Americans would come, who would know and would like to adapt to our customs, who would accept our manner of working, which is more in keeping with that of Filipinos to whom we must be grateful (*en lo que tenga de bueno*), and adopting the best from them, introducing them little by little and not very strictly (*no a rajatablas*), the salvation of the Church in the Philippines would be attained" (*ibid.*).
- 46 Cf. Libro de Consultas, no. 640, 28–30 Oct. 1912, IV–1884–b, APPSJ. Present at this meeting were the provincial and Fathers Clos, Vilallonga, Codina, Lencina, and Suarez.
- 47 "By the way the English language is carried into effect, all the Consultors were of the opinion that it now has to be given all the preference and importance possible. But in spite of English being studied in all and every class for several years, it cannot yet be introduced in all of them as the official language, first, because in reality not all professors know English; second, because not all students in all classes are ready to receive instruction in this language; third, for a similar reason, it still cannot be the official language of the college because neither the students nor the inspectors know it" (*ibid.*).
- 48 "It was asked if it would be good for the community to learn English and devote their leisure time to this language? The response was: in theory, it appears very well; but in practice it is very difficult because for many there is no time left to study it and many are already old. To the proposal that it would be easy to have the class in English at night in the dining room, the reply was that practically it was not feasible because it would be left to a few teachers (*lectores*) in the community and this would mean much time and work for them in class preparation. The Reverend Father Provincial said that many of the brother coadjutors had asked him to study a little English. He said it was not difficult to request authorization from the Most Revered Father General for them to hold a small class" (*ibid.*).
- 49 "That measures be taken to alleviate our work, and, if it is necessary, take lay professors because the Province cannot send more personnel than those it has sent" (*ibid.*).
- 50 Such as the question of the sale of the haciendas of the Colegio de San José, the problem of the unpaid debt of the archbishop of Manila and his opening of a new seminary, the need to build a new Ateneo de Manila, the dwindling Jesuit personnel in the Mindanao missions, and others.
- 51 In its report for the year 1915, the American insular government would issue the following information: of the prominent Catholic private schools in Manila, only La Salle had a significant number of American teachers: seven. The Jesuits had none. La Salle, however, had less than a third of the total enrolment of students in the Ateneo: 313 to 1,145. But La Salle was not running a college department. It was fast becoming known as an "American school." For this and other data on the state of private education in the country, cf. U.S. Philippine Commission 1916, 219–23.
- 52 The first Consultors' meeting with the Visitor in attendance would be held on 22 July 1919. Cf. Consultas tenidas durante la visita del R. P. Juan Guim a la Misión de Filipinas desde el 22 de Julio de 1919 hasta el 31 Agosto 1920, IV–1885, APPSJ. In his fifth meeting with the Consultors, "The Father Visitor (*P. Visitador*) has read a letter of Our Father, in which he recommends support for the study of the English language, approving some measures proposed for it." For this and the following, cf. Consulta V (4^a de Misión), 30 Aug. 1919, IV–1885, APPSJ. The Father Visitor is a Jesuit sent by the General to visit a province, mission, or region of Jesuit work to examine Jesuit life and work, sometimes with powers to make decisions and even to override those made by provincials or superiors; he acts in the name of the General.
- 53 Cf. Informatio de Missione Philippina post ejusdem visitationem a P. Joanne Guim inceptam die 30 Julii 1919, with Appendic III. De lingua anglica et aliis linguis regionalibus a nostris Patribus addiscendis, Phil. 1401–Varia, ARSI.
- 54 "Regarding the study and use of the English language, which Fr. Jose Barrachina wrote in his report (pp. 3–4): 'Furthermore, knowledge of the English language, which I have strongly recommended, is deemed desirable. But it is not correct to assert that it is neglected by Ours. At present, there are six professors of the language. Moreover, on the board, which contains all the subjects of the Ateneo from the lower levels to the highest, including the baccalaureate year, I see that, of late, the English language is the more dominant than the Spanish. Nevertheless the intent is there among the directors to gradually bring it about that the other levels, either all or the majority, be conducted in English'" (*ibid.*, 3).
- 55 Guim gave six reasons why the Spanish language continued to be needed: (1) it was still used by the representatives of the people in government; (2) public and official documents were in both Spanish and English; (3) Spanish was still the ecclesiastical language; (4) many Filipino families still spoke the language; (5) no change seemed to be in the offing for the near future in the status of having both English and Spanish as official languages; and (6) the political status of the islands remained uncertain, but in the scenario where autonomy was won by the Philippines, Spanish would remain the public and common language (*ibid.*, 4). Guim then provides a breakdown of periodicals in their use of language, and based on his listing we have the following figures grosso modo: twenty-three publications exclusively in English, thirty-two exclusively in Spanish, ten bilingual or trilingual (i.e., English, Spanish, and some regional language), and seven in the native languages (*ibid.*, 6–9). There was a marked tendency, however, for secular papers to be in English while many of the Spanish-language papers were ecclesiastical in nature.
- 56 Guim also provided a breakdown of just how many Jesuits in the various houses in fact knew the language, and to what degree it was known and spoken. In Mindanao, fewer Jesuits knew the language, and understandably so (*ibid.*, 12–15). In the end he admitted that there was much to be desired in this area, comparing the Jesuits with missionaries of other nationalities working in the islands. The solution to the problem he saw in three ways: a learning center, the sending of scholastics to England or the United States, and an exchange of regents between the Province of Aragon and some American Jesuit province (*ibid.*, 15–17).

- 57 "It has been said . . . of the way of adopting (the methods), agreeing in principle on: (a) the advantage of founding in the Colegio de San José an Academy of the English language for us, which will be regular and permanent, which some of those who come from Spain in the next expedition, and others who can, must attend." Consulta V (4^a de Misión), 30 Aug. 1919, IV–1885, APPSJ.
- 58 The Visitor and the Consultors were also agreed on "the necessity of sending some to Australia or to Hong Kong to practice the said language" (ibid.).
- 59 They were agreed on the need to ask "the Most Reverend Father General, to intercede with the Father Provincial of Maryland, for the latter to permit the arrival and transfer to this Mission of Fr. Marcos McNeal, who is presently teaching English in the University of Tokyo and who has offered to come, for he knows Spanish very well, and his work over there could be taken over easily by any North American Father" (ibid.).
- 60 They wanted to propose "to the provincials of Aragon and whatever North American Province the exchange of two *profesores-maestrillos* (regents, or scholastics assigned to teach, usually in a Jesuit high school), well chosen on both sides, so that those for the English language would come to do classes (*hacer sus colegios*) in the Philippines, and those for the Spanish language would go to North America for classes in Castilian, which over there is so necessary as Englishes (*las inglesas*) are here" (ibid.).
- 61 "God forbid what one of Ours has predicted: if the Province of Aragon does not devote itself better to the needs and attendant circumstances of the Philippine Islands, then it will have to relinquish the Philippine mission to others, who know how to carry out their office better!" Cf. Appendix III of the "Informatione de Missione Philippina," Phil. 1401–Varia, ARSI. Nevertheless, there was great surprise at the decision to transfer the mission to the Province of Maryland-New York in 1921. Nevertheless, there was great surprise at the decision to transfer the mission to the Province of Maryland-New York in 1921.
- 62 American Jesuits were vociferous in their demand that San José be turned over to the American Jesuits. But all through the period of transition it remained in Spanish Jesuit hands. Perhaps Spanish Jesuit anxieties can be traced to a certain conviction that the Spanish language was necessary for the transmission of Christian doctrine. Implicit here is not only a "politics" of language but also a "theology" of language deemed adequate to the Christian task of evangelization in the Philippine context.
- 63 "No Jesuit in Spain or in the Philippines could grasp the extent and magnitude of the task committed to the Province [of Aragon] by Ledóchowski's Decree [of transfer]. An immense territory, two thousand kilometres long, interlacing many nations, races, cultures and languages: Marathas, Konkani, Gujaratis, Kathiawaris, Cutchis, Sindhis, Baluchis and Adivasis of various tribes, extending from Afghanistan to the Goa Border: millions of Hindus, millions of Mahomedans, millions of Animists, thousands of Christians of sundry denominations and Parsis. A second Babel indeed. A full-fledged University College, flourishing high schools, Parishes requiring linguist scholars, and finally Missions to the pagans. . . . Not even Guim, the Provincial, just returned from a visitation of the Far East, could fathom the obstacles and setbacks, which would slow down and hinder the efforts of his missionaries. First of all, where to get them from, with all the academic requisites and languages?" (Suria 1990, 233–34).
- 64 Something of the idea must have inspired the Visitor, Fr. Guim, when he wrote the following lines "de linguis regionalibus" (concerning the regional languages): "Some similar consideration, but

kept within defined limits, should be applied to the other regional languages that need to be learned as well, so that those who exercise the spiritual ministries would be studying them while engaged in these ministries, either through some academy in the community or by employing an external teacher or by their staying in the place of ministry in which the language is needed." He then concluded the section: "Finally . . . would that our churches and ministries were so organized that we will have at least some Fathers who, expert in their respective languages, will gain them [the people] for Christ." Cf. Phil. 1401–Varia, ARSI.

- 65 The scholastic Francisco Javier Rello lamented that the practice of the Tagalog language was "above all what our Fathers lack. Fathers who have been here for years, yet do not know the grammar (*palote*) of the country's language, I say "Tagalog" which can be considered as such language. All our missionaries in Mindanao know Visaya, some speaking it with assurance (*soltura*) and perfection, but hardly any know Tagalog." He was of the conviction that "it is necessary to perform ministries in Tagalog, if we want to be fruitful." For all this, cf. Francisco Javier Rello, S.J., to R. P. Antonio Iñesta, S.J., Provincial of Aragon, Manila, 17 Mar. 1906, CF 6–12–1, AHSIC. Almost thirty years later, when the Philippine Mission was already under the jurisdiction of the American Jesuits of the Maryland-New York province, similar sentiments would be expressed, this time by the American Jesuit Mission Superior in the Philippines, Fr. Henry Coffey, in a letter (dated 20 August 1935) he wrote to Fr. General in Rome. Cf. Phil. IV, 564, APPSJ

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