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Francisco De Paula Sanchez

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Francisco de Paula Sanchez, 1849-1928

LEO A. CULLUM

SEVERAL members of the Society of Jesus were very close to José Rizal. He himself seems to award first place to Father Pablo Pastells, well-known for his correspondence with Rizal while the national hero was an exile in Dapitan. Writing to Blumentritt, November 28, 1886, Rizal reminisced: "Father Pastells was my best friend, the most distinguished and most travelled of the Jesuit missionaries." Others who held a special place in his affections were Father José Vilaclara, his professor in philosophy, and Father Pedro Torra to whom he taught Tagalog. Through all the years and turns of fortune he retained an affectionate memory of his former professors: "Eran hermosos tiempos aquellos," he wrote Blumentritt nostalgically.

However, the Jesuit name most intimately associated with Rizal is Francisco de Paula Sánchez, his teacher and mentor for four years of student life, and his companion later at Dapitan. Rizal in his *Memorias*, written a few years after he finished at the Ateneo, when he was 18, has a flattering description of Father Sánchez: "Our professor was a model of correctness, enthusiasm and zeal for the advancement of his pupils. So great was his zeal that I, who hardly spoke passable Spanish, in a short time succeeded in writing fairly good compositions. His name is Francisco de Paula Sánchez. With

his assistance I acquired some proficiency in mathematics, rhetoric and Greek."

Father Sánchez on his part always kept a special place in his affections for the boy he met in 1872. Down to the last years of his life, Rizal's name was often on his lips, and, still a teacher, his sternest rebuke to his pupils was that they did not measure up to the standards of "Pepito."

Francisco de Paula Sánchez was born on January 12, 1849 at Flix, Tarragona. His parents were José Sánchez and Antonia Llecha. He had an uncle, Father Francisco Sánchez, who was administrator of the parish of Catí in Maestrazgo, to whose care the parents entrusted the boy at an early age. In 1862, when he was only 13 years of age, Francisco enrolled in the seminary of Tortosa where he proved himself an able student. Three years later, on May 11, 1865, he entered the Jesuit noviceship, then at Balaguer, Lérida, where he took his vows two years later.

The "glorious" revolution of September 1868 which overthrew Isabel II had its effects on the Society of Jesus. A decree was issued confiscating all Jesuit property and forbidding Spaniards to be members of the Society. Young Sánchez was sent home to wait out the storm, and after a short time received word to proceed to France. Immediately he set out for Barcelona where he took ship for Marseilles and from there proceeded to Avignon to finish his literary studies. Sánchez was in France from late 1868 to the beginning of the school year 1871-1872. He had begun his literary studies in Balaguer, and completed them in a few months in France. Father José Clotet, who wrote a short biography of Father Sánchez for *Cultura Social*, says that Father Sánchez studied humanities in Avignon and rhetoric in Saint-Cheman, where he manifested unusual facility in Latin. In 1869 he moved on to begin philosophy at Aix-en-Provence, shifted next year to Avignon "ad S. Chamandi" (Is this Father Clotet's Saint-Cheman?) and for his third year returned to Spain to the conciliar seminary at Vich. This was his fifth¹

¹ Or fourth, if as is likely, Avignon and St.-Cheman are the same place.

move in less than four years. At Vich he took an examination in all philosophy and was ready for his life work — the Philippines.

I

With Father Gregorio Parache, another scholastic named Victor Ledesma, and a lay brother, Salvador Valldeperas, Francisco Sánchez set sail for the Philippines, arrived October 31, 1872² and joined the community of the Ateneo Municipal.

In 1872 the Ateneo was a motley group of buildings on the west side of Arzobispo street, acquired piecemeal and renovated upon acquisition to suit the purposes of a school. The Superior of the Mission and Rector of the Ateneo was Father José Lluch. The educational situation was uncertain in view of the proposed reforms of the liberal government, and the political atmosphere was tense with the memory of the recent Cavite Mutiny and the execution of Fathers Burgos, Zamora and Gómez in the beginning of the year. Two thousand Spanish troops were quartered in the city. The Jesuits had a normal school for teachers one block over on the spot which later became well-known as the site of St. Paul's Hospital. There were 31 missionaries working in Mindanao. The Observatory had begun to achieve renown throughout the east. The community of the Ateneo numbered 25³ and the school had awarded its first Bachelor of Arts degree two years before on March 31, 1870, to seven young men. The June before Father Sánchez' arrival an eleven-year old boy came late to register after the Calamba fiesta, and—a warning to all deans who make themselves difficult—was almost refused admission. His name was José Rizal.

Young Sánchez arrived when the school year was half over. It is not clear what work he was given to do. We do know that during his almost six years of "regency" he taught various literary and scientific subjects. For three years he

² The date is Clotet's; but the necrology of Father Parache gives October 30. Cf. *CARTAS EDIFICANTES DE LA PROVINCIA DE ARAGON* II (1914), 330.

³ Figures are for the beginning of 1872.

was assistant director of the Observatory—which post was not as important as it sounds since it was a kind of appendage to the science class. In 1877-78, however, he was director of the Observatory.

In the school years 1873-74 and 1874-75 Father Sánchez taught *suprema*, a class roughly corresponding to third year high school. In 1873-1874 among his pupils was Anacleto del Rosario, who later became famous as a scientist, and who was to be the father of Archbishop Luis del Rosario of Zamboanga. The following year 1874-75 Father Sánchez had José Rizal among his pupils.⁴ It is rather strange that this is not mentioned by Rizal in his *Memorias*, but the reason may be that the boy was not very happy over the year's results. Neither were his parents, who the next year placed him in the school as a boarder.

On December 25, 1874, Father Juan Bautista Heras was appointed Superior of the Philippine Mission and Rector of the Ateneo. Father Heras had arrived in the Philippines the same year as Sánchez but some months before him, and had been his Prefect of Studies since 1873. Apparently he esteemed his qualities, for when on April 3, 1875 the new Superior left for his first visitation of Mindanao he took Sánchez along with him as a companion.

When the school term began on June 16, 1875, José Rizal was again in Father Sánchez' class, a boarder for the first time. Rizal's memory of his professor at that time has been quoted above. Father Sánchez taught him rhetoric, Greek and geometry, and in spite of periodic illness the boy won five medals, two for conduct, one for rhetoric and poetry, one for French, and one for drawing. Rizal records the progress he made in Spanish composition. Fourteen years later, on May 26, 1890, he recalls the reputation Father Sánchez had among the boys: "He is somewhat of a pessimist and always looks on the dark side of things. We used to say of him when we were at school that he was enigmatical (*espiritu oscuro*); the

⁴ The Catalog shows that Father Sánchez taught *Suprema*. Rizal was in *Suprema*. There was only one *Suprema* class.

students called him *paniki*, a kind of bat." This recollection of Rizal is puzzling, for it does not agree with what we know of Father Sánchez' character from men who knew him with the intimacy of community life.

At the end of this school year, in order to perfect Rizal's poetic style and to occupy him healthily during vacation, Father Sánchez gave the boy a Spanish prose version of an Italian versified drama called *St. Eustachius, Martyr*, to be turned into Spanish verse. He also commissioned him to write a poem to his native town, Calamba. Rizal faithfully executed both tasks and promptly on the first day of class of the school year 1876-77 turned the completed verses over to his professor.⁵

Rizal's introduction to the *St. Eustachius* poem says among other things: "And you, my beloved professor, Father Francisco de P. Sánchez, S.J., receive my most complete gratitude, incapable as I certainly am of repaying your efforts. And You, Martyr of Calvary, my sweet Redeemer, receive the life of a martyr written by your servant for your greater glory. Calamba, June 2, 1876."

Father Sánchez' interest in Rizal did not cease when the boy passed to a higher class under Fathers Vilaclara and Minovés. Rizal tells us the story:

I returned after three months to the college and began again to study...I was now in the fifth year; now I was a philosopher. I had other professors, named Fathers Vilaclara and Minovés. The first of these liked me and I was rather ungrateful to him. Notwithstanding the fact that I was studying philosophy, physics, chemistry and natural history, and notwithstanding Father Vilaclara's warning to drop my dealings with the muses and to say a last goodbye to them (an order that made me weep), I continued in my free hours to speak and cultivate the beautiful language of Olympus under the direction of Father Sánchez.

This was while he was still at the Ateneo. But even after Rizal graduated from the Ateneo and while he was studying

⁵ CULTURA SOCIAL IV (1916). The *St. Eustachius* verses are printed in this and subsequent issues as appendices. Pages are unnumbered.

at Santo Tomás it seems clear that he continued to submit his poems to Father Sánchez for criticism.⁶

II

On May 15, 1878, Father Sánchez left the Philippines to continue his studies in Europe. He had been five years and six and a half months at the Ateneo. Besides Rizal he had known other famous Filipinos, like Anacleto del Rosario and Antonio Luna.

Sánchez passed through Rome bringing with him the plans of San Ignacio Church for the approval of Father General Beckx. He spent a month in Italy and then resumed his wanderings. He first went to France to St.-Cassien-près-Muret, Haute-Garonne, where the Spanish theological students were at the time. However he finished his first year at Veruela, Aragón, made a second year at the Colegio Máximo of Tortosa in Catalonia, and there was ordained priest on September 18, 1880. He sang his first solemn Mass in the cave of Manresa on September 24. He then spent a third year at Manresa, a year of spiritual renewal and ascetical concentration. His instructor was Father José Ma. Pujol.

Father Sánchez was back in the Philippines on September 5, 1881, to begin eleven years of teaching at the Ateneo. His first assignment upon his return was to teach science and take charge of the famous Ateneo museum. This museum was to grow under his care and to become the work at the Ateneo with which his name is most constantly associated. He was forever writing to the missionaries for information and specimens and he himself made several expeditions to enrich its collection.

He was at this period briefly connected with the Observatory. On February 2, 1882, he pronounced his last vows in the Society of Jesus. In the school year 1883-1884, in addition to teaching science, he was prefect of discipline for day

⁶ Sánchez was able to help R. R. Guerrero date a poem written by Rizal, Dec. 8, 1877. W. E. Retana, *VIDA Y ESCRITOS DEL DR. JOSE RIZAL* (Madrid, 1907), pp. 457-458.

scholars and had charge of the students' sodality. The sodality flourished under him and in 1885 he divided it into two sections, one for the boarders and one for the day scholars.

In 1887 he made an expedition to Surigao in quest of scientific data and materials. The account of this expedition was published in the Jesuit serial publication, *Cartas de Filipinas*, and ran to fifty-five pages. He and José Florencio Cuadras, a Spanish government official, arrived on the *Aeolus* in Surigao on April 24, 1887, and spent almost a month and a half in scientific exploration. Father Martín Luengo, the local superior and former Ateneo rector, had been apprised of their purpose, and therefore when they arrived he had a plan of campaign drawn up for them indicating where they would find what they were after. Their headquarters for most of their expedition was a hut on the island of Balagnan where they lived a rugged existence, softened however by the kindness of the people. On April 30 they went over to Tagana-an on the opposite coast for its fiesta. Father Tramuta and Brother Morros were delighted to have visitors, and the missionary yielded to Father Sánchez the privilege of celebrating the *canta-misa* next morning at 7 o'clock.

The fiesta over, they returned to Balagnan and continued their work there and at other points indicated by Father Martín Luengo. They returned to Surigao on May 15, their boxes, bottles and notes full of the booty of science.

During the school year 1887-1888 Rizal returned briefly to the Philippines. He arrived in early August and left again in early February. While abroad he had written *Noli Me Tangere*. During his stay in Manila he called on the fathers at the Ateneo several times, once to give them a copy of his novel. He spoke with Father Faura, Father Bech and Father Sánchez. There are several versions of the visits but Rizal's own account of his meeting with Father Sánchez is contained in a letter he wrote to Blumentritt on February 2, 1890. Rizal wrote: "But Father Sánchez, my professor of rhetoric, dared to defend me in public and to praise the book." However, Rizal says, the Jesuit told him in private that the book was

a mistake and that he should have written about good priests to point up the contrast. Rizal answered that there were enough books about good priests; he wanted to wake his countrymen up. Father Sánchez asked him: "Do you not fear the consequences of your daring?" (Rizal says: "Me tutea: he used the affectionate *tú*.") Rizal answered that if Father Sánchez did not fear the consequences of fulfilling his mission, neither did he his.

During the vacation following the school year 1888-1889 Father Sánchez made another scientific expedition to Mindanao. In the evening of April 1, 1889, with Father José Clotet and Francisco Nebot and Don José F. Cuadras, he left the Pasig river. On the 4th they anchored for two hours at Masbate, Masbate, where they were cordially received by a Señor Bayot, who had boys at the Ateneo. Shortly after leaving Masbate they passed the spot where the previous January the *Remus* had run on an uncharted reef and gone down in eight minutes with Father Ramón, former Ateneo rector, on board. Their ship spent the 5th at Mambajao, Camiguin Island, where the fathers were able to say Mass and visit with the hospitable Recoleta *cura*, Father Domingo. Here, too, Ateneo friends were attentive: Vicente Elio, an alumnus, and the Borromeos, who had sons in the school.

They arrived at Cagayan on the 6th at 6 a.m. Don José Roa had a carriage waiting, and behind two spirited horses the party was whisked off to Tagoloan in two hours. There Father Juan Heras, Father Juan Terricabras and Brother Pascual Lasala greeted them with open arms.

Both Father Sánchez and Father Clotet made their annual retreat at Tagoloan, and after it Father Clotet proceeded on with Father Heras, Father Sánchez remaining in Tagoloan for the Holy Week services. He describes them in detail: the washing of the feet of the twelve apostles (which he personally performed), the Seven Last Words preached by Father Terricabras, and the "encuentro." On the 23rd he piled his equipment and collections into a cart and himself with them, and was bounced and jostled a fifteen-minute trip to the shore.

Father Ferrer of Balingasag had sent his clean, well-fitted *baroto*, and as soon as the tide was high they set out. A short stop was made at the various towns along the coast: Jasaan, Balingasag, Lagonglong, Casulug and Kinoguitan, where a rough sea forced them to remain for some time. Their next stop was Talisayan from which base they explored the islet of Sipaca. After leaving Talisayan, they stopped at Luna, the estate of Don Miguel Peláez whose vessel they were now using. The journey to Gingoog was rough, and especially between Gingoog and Nasipit the rounding of storied and dangerous Point Diwata proved perilous. Father Sánchez suffered a slight touch of the sun on this leg of the journey. When an old man he was always quick to warn careless scholastics to be sure to put on a *gorra* or cap. Perhaps Point Diwata had taught him respect for the tropical sun.

They arrived at Butuan on May 8 at 3 p.m. On the 9th Father Urios took Father Sánchez to visit the Manobo barrio of San Vicente. At dawn on the 13th, in the *baroto* of Father Falomir, missionary of Mainit and Jabonga, they set out from Butuan. Skirting the north coast of Mindanao, by 10 in the morning they had turned into the Tubay river and started the picturesque journey upstream, past Santa Ana and the Mamanua village of Santiago. In places they had to portage their craft because of the rapids; they spent one night on the river bank.

Finally, at 5 in the afternoon of May 14, they reached Jabonga to the great joy of Father Falomir. They stayed with him until dawn of the 17th when they set out for the town of Mainit across the lake of the same name, a distance of 20 kilometers. They remained in Mainit and its vicinity until the morning of the 20th; then they proceeded overland to Surigao, their precious findings borne on the shoulders of a line of porters. They were back in Manila by the end of May.

Father Sánchez' description of this expedition is very revealing of his character. He is not merely a scientist collecting specimens. He is interested in everything. And his observations are humorous and kind. At Jasaan he noticed a

fifteen-foot crocodile near the dock, "entirely at home," he says, "but hoping with affected unconcern that some unwary person would be his breakfast,"—"paseándose por allí como Pedro por su casa, esperando a algun incauto a quién merendarse como quién no hace nada." He notes, too, the fine band and the tasteful Stations of the Cross there, a monument to some previous artistically gifted Recoleta *cura*. At Balingasag he is impressed by the big houses, comparing favorably with the better homes of Manila, the excellent school, a splendid choir and a forty-piece band directed by a former Manila musician. Obviously Father Ferrer was a man of enterprise. And Brother Costa, his right hand man, had a clay works, manufacturing not only tiles but water conduits and holy water fonts. He also had an ambitious plan to use his conduits for bringing good water to the town. This same Brother Costa was later to work with José Rizal on a similar project in Dapitan.

They were able to get a big monkey at Lagonglong. In Kinoguitan, Don José, a dead shot, brought down three eagles on the wing, much to the delight of the citizens. When Father Sánchez had his slight sunstroke at Nasipit, Don José turned nurse for the occasion and administered wine with water and sugar. And it cured him. The rowers called on Saint Lawrence when the wind blew and sang songs "called *tiranas*, of a certain oriental flavor, which in spite of melancholy and monotonousness, possess an indefinable attraction." Butuan impressed him (as had Balingasag) with its neat regular streets and its big dock. He tells of the crocodiles in Lake Mainit and the pythons in the neighboring forests (*python reticulatus* Boie, he is careful to add) over thirty feet in length and the thickness of a man's body. And throughout, he is full of appreciation for the charity of his fellow Jesuits in the mission stations, and of love for the people.

III

In the school years 1890-91, 1891-92 and 1892-1893 Father Sánchez was teaching scientific subjects at the Ateneo and had charge of various sodalities. In 1890 he finished a term of nine years as house consultor, which would indicate that he was a

man whose prudence was esteemed. He was thus pursuing a quiet orderly existence when an event happened which was to send his life into very different and more exciting channels.

José Rizal came back to Manila on June 26, 1892 and in less than three weeks was exiled to Dapitan, Mindanao. Dapitan was Jesuit territory and it is not impossible that Father Pastells, Superior at the time of the Mission and Rizal's close friend, had something to do with the choice of place. In the year of Rizal's exile—he arrived in Dapitan about July 22nd—the parish priest was Father Obach who had taught in the Ateneo the year before Rizal enrolled. The parish priest in the subsidiary mission station a few kilometers away—Dipolog—was that Father José Vilaclara who had taught him philosophy, who, Rizal said, liked him. It is certain that Vilaclara had been in correspondence with Rizal since graduation.

However, Father Pastells did not think that these circumstances were enough nor the instructions he had sent to the Jesuits there sufficient. He wrote to his Provincial in Spain: "These instructions have already gone but I hope to send another living instruction, namely, Father Sánchez, of whom Rizal thinks highly, to see if this strayed sheep can be brought back to the right path." The change of Father Sánchez took place after the school year was under way but there was a talented young scholastic recently arrived who was able to step into Father Sánchez' shoes, and so the switch was made smoothly. The scholastic's name was Joaquín Vilallonga.

Sánchez arrived in Dapitan in August. It was at this time that Father Pastells and Rizal had their well-known correspondence regarding Rizal's religious opinions. Father Sánchez in conversation again and again returned to the same subject: "el naufragio de la fe, como diría mi querido profesor P. Sánchez," Rizal wrote. Neither Pastells' letters nor Sánchez' companionship produced any visible results at that time. According to Carnicero, the Spanish officer who recounts these events, the conversations were frequent and at times spirited, but the two always remained good friends. Their scientific interests also brought them together a great deal. Rizal wrote to

Blumentritt concerning his opportunities for scientific work while in exile, and mentions the presence of Father Sánchez: "el ilustrado jesuita... que conoces ya." Blumentritt knew Father Sánchez from his ethnological studies, which the Austrian savant had translated or reported in the technical journals of Europe. In fact when Blumentritt prepared a map of the Philippines for publication, the Cartographical Institute of Gotha urged him to give titles to some of the nameless rivers that appeared. Blumentritt obliged by naming some of them after Jesuits whose scientific studies had appeared in the *Cartas*. Among those so honored was Father Sánchez after whom a river in Agusan was called. Blumentritt thought it a silver lining to the cloud of Rizal's exile that he had the companionship of Jesuits in Dapitan and would not be isolated completely from men of learning.

Sánchez had brought scientific equipment with him and Rizal shared it. Together they made archaeological excavations which Fr. Sánchez described in the *Cartas*. They worked, too, on the big relief map of Mindanao which still graces the plaza of Dapitan. They made plans to bring in good water for the town, a project heartily endorsed by Father Sancho, the Mission procurator. Brother Costa, who had experience in such work at Balingasag, was brought over the following year to carry the project through. But by that time Father Sánchez was gone.

Though during all this time Father Pastells and Father Sánchez never gave up hope of winning Rizal back, their holy war never engendered any bitterness or ill feeling. Far from resenting their efforts, Rizal appreciated that they were motivated by genuine love. He wrote to Father Pastells expressing his affection and admiration for him: "not only for what you are and have been to me in the years of my youth (a memory to me always dear and sacred) but also because Your Reverence is one of the few people who instead of forgetting me in my adversity has extended to me the hand of friendship." Father Pastells sent Rizal books through Fathers Sánchez and Obach: a collection of Sarda y Salvany, and copies of Chirino, Delgado and the *Cartas*. Rizal felt free to ask the Jesuit Pro-

cure to act as his agent in transmitting money to him, and when Brother Titllo went to Manila, Rizal wrote to Hidalgo to see him and get the news about his exile.

But the main objective was not being accomplished. Perhaps seeds were sown that later flowered in Fort Santiago. But there were no palpable results in Dapitan. But at least the dialogue was maintained, which was itself an advantage.

IV

On February 18, 1893, Father Juan Ricart succeeded Father Pastells as Superior of the Mission. It is possible that Father Ricart did not agree with the policy of Father Pastells regarding Rizal's conversion. He may have thought that the familiar association of the fathers with two men who had little esteem for religion (Carnicero, Rizal's host and warden, was a free-thinker) may have been harmful to the faith of the people of Dapitan, to whom, of course, Rizal was very dear not only because of the principles for which he suffered, but also because of his unfailing personal kindness and courtesy and his medical services. It seems clear that Father Ricart made representation with the Spanish authorities in Manila to have Carnicero reassigned. Pastells wrote his last letter to Rizal in April, 1893. Carnicero left Dapitan May 4th following. Moreover Father Ricart may have felt with some justice that everything had been done that could be done, and nothing remained to be done that Father Obach, also a good friend of Rizal, could not do. Whatever Father Ricart's reason, he sent Father Sánchez to Tagana-an, Surigao, in 1893, probably in the annual assignment which took place about April.

Whether Father Sánchez went first to Manila or directly to Tagana-an is not clear. The first evidence we have of him in his new parish is on January 5, 1894, but it seems fairly clear that he was there some time before that. He was never to see his Pepito again.

His life at Tagana-an was the usual life of a missionary. He writes of narrow escapes in storms, "learning", he says, "by my own experience what I had been reading in the letters of

the missionaries." Brother Guardiet, his companion, died in October 1894 and was not replaced until almost a year later, by Brother Juan Anglés. On July 16, 1894, a new pier was erected at Tagana-an and named after St. Joseph; the blessing took place with the attendance of numerous guests from Placer, Mainit and Gigaquit. On December 8 of the same year a new pier was blessed at Placer. The governor of Surigao was there, Don Manuel Rioja, with a large number of the Spanish community of Surigao. The pier was called "Pantalán de la Inmaculada." Next morning after Mass Father Sánchez hurried back to Tagana-an to get ready for the blessing of the new bridge over the Dapia, which the governor and party would also attend. This was an iron bridge ("sistema Eiffel," scientific Father Sánchez is careful to note) twelve meters long.

In 1895, Avilés, the Director of Civil Administration, decided to promote an exposition in Manila. To prepare for it and to gather exhibits, he ordered expositions to be held in the provinces. The governor of Surigao, Señor Rioja, told the civil authorities of Tagana-an and Placer, but for some reason said nothing to Father Sánchez. That this was more than an oversight is suggested by the fact that another Spaniard, Dr. Sánchez Mellado, went about saying: "We do not need the Jesuits for our exposition."

Father Sánchez manifested no resentment but urged the people to cooperate fully with the government's efforts. As a result, eight *bancas* full of specimens were sent from Tagana-an and Placer, in four classifications: minerals, woods, shells and textiles. As Father Sánchez despatched the rich findings he no doubt had a twinkle in his eye: the eight boatloads of materials were unlabelled. When they arrived in Surigao, Dr. Sánchez Mellado found himself in a predicament: he had not the remotest idea how to classify the collections, and neither did anyone else in Surigao. So he had no choice but to ask the Jesuits whom he "did not need".

Father Parache was Superior in Surigao at the time. He and Father Sánchez were old friends, having come to the Philippines together in 1872. Apparently he was in on the joke,

for he proved very reluctant to let Father Sánchez come to sort the materials. Finally after repeated requests by Governor Rioja, he yielded. Father Sánchez came to Surigao and sorted out the specimens in no time. The Tagana-an-Placer exhibits won several prizes and Father Sánchez made their distribution the occasion of town celebrations.

Towards the end of October 1895 the Benedictine Abbot José Deás came to Surigao with another Benedictine father to survey the field with a view to replacing the Jesuits in some of the parishes. As a result of their study the Abbot decided to take over the three parishes of Gigaquit, Tagana-an and Dinagat, as soon as three fathers could prepare themselves sufficiently in Visayan. In the following year, 1896, they would take over three more: Cantilan, Numancia and Cabuntog.

As a result of this change Father Sánchez was sent to Tandag, a town some distance south of Tagana-an but on the same east coast of Mindanao. His companion in Tandag was Brother Sebastián Minguijón. We know nothing special about his life in Tandag during the first two years. Father Llopart towards the end of November 1897 made the difficult trip from Lianga to Tago, then a *visita* of Tandag, to make his retreat, to get a chance to go to confession to Father Sánchez and to help celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception with due solemnity. Early in 1898 Father Sánchez returned the charity by undertaking the long and arduous journey from Tandag to Lianga for the Feast of the Holy Child. They were able to have a solemn high Mass because Father España came down to the coast from Prosperidad. Some time in 1897 Father Sánchez received as a companion Father Francisco Ceballos, a veteran missionary, now 67 years old and stone deaf.

V

At the beginning of February 1899 somebody in Tandag told Brother Anselmo Pérez, who had replaced Brother Minguijón, that the fathers in Surigao had been made prisoners. This rumor seems to have been the first hint that the wave of political strife was about to break upon the remote shores of

Tandag. As Father Sánchez and his little community were involved in its effects from north and south, it will help us to understand his part if we briefly review what happened to the area in general.

In the north, in Surigao, Spanish rule ended December 24, 1898. The principal citizens of the town met to set up an interim provincial board and asked Father Masoliver, the superior of the Jesuits, to preside at the deliberations. As a result of this meeting, elections were held and officials duly chosen. Everything was done with sobriety and zeal for the common good, and the result was a peaceful and orderly regime.

Suddenly, however, there arrived in Surigao two brothers, Simón and Wenceslao González. They were sons of a well-known Surigao family and had been exiled the previous year for revolutionary activities. Father Pastells, who knew the family well, had interceded with the Spanish government to have the place of exile changed from the Marianas to Jolo. These two men now arrived in Surigao claiming to come from Malolos with orders from General Aguinaldo to take over control of the government. No one had the hardihood to ask for credentials, and they established themselves, Simón as general of the army for Mindanao, and Wenceslao as provincial president. They immediately proceeded to a systematic concentration of all the Spanish missionaries of Surigao and Agusan, confiscating church money and other properties. Obviously such a policy could not be carried out without hardship and heart-ache for the fathers. And the González brothers were not always considerate in lightening the blow. However, to their credit be it said that they were never quite able to forget whom they were dealing with and what Surigao and Agusan owed to the Jesuit missionaries. Wenceslao was far the worse of the two and his failure to make decent provision for the fathers and brothers from Agusan, who arrived in Surigao in a pitiable condition, caused a permanent breach between the brothers González.

Meanwhile in Mati in the south, though there were interruptions of shipping and rumors of trouble, things went on

normally until about September 1898. The usual town fiesta was held in that month. However, on September 20th the ship *Surigao* arrived with news of an uprising in Caraga and Baganga. The climax of these stirrings was that on September 26, 1898, Prudencio García, the captain of the Baganga police force, declared for independence, and was able to surprise and disarm the local garrisons. Associated with him in this uprising was a Spaniard named Manuel Sánchez, who had been deported from Cuba. García sent Manuel Sánchez from Baganga to take charge in Caraga, with orders not to attack Spain or the Church. Sánchez failed to obey these orders, demanded money from the missionary, Father Manuel Vallés, and then took him prisoner and marched him to Baganga. García was informed of this abuse of authority and half way on the journey between Caraga and Baganga had Sánchez shot for disobeying orders. Father Vallés was immediately released to return to his work. Meanwhile García had assured Father Mateo Gisbert in Baganga that he had nothing to fear. The missionary was able under these favorable circumstances to act as mediator between García and the Spanish troops which came to put down the uprising and to persuade the Spanish officer, Lieutenant Neila, to accept the *status quo*. This he agreed to do and bloodshed was averted. Prudencio García was left in control of the southern coast, a control which he exercised with great moderation.

As this and other news reached the fathers, they gathered at Mati. Orders had come from Manila from the Superior, Father Pío Pi, to leave Mindanao and come to Manila, since in the circumstances they could be of help neither to the faithful nor to the pagans. While the Jesuits were considering what to do, a small merchant steamer of British registration, under Chinese management, the *Labuan*, arrived and was engaged at exorbitant rates to carry the Jesuits to Zamboanga. The missionaries made inventories of their belongings, crated valuable articles and entrusted them to the people of the parishes they were forced to leave. The *Labuan* proceeded from Mati up the east coast of Mindanao, picking up the fathers and brothers at Manay and Baganga. It then returned, rounded Cape

San Agustín and proceeded towards Zamboanga, touching at Davao, where five more Jesuits came aboard to bring the total company to 22. In the event the ship never went to Zamboanga. Its captain found it more to his advantage to proceed to Sandakan in Borneo, and there the fathers and brothers disembarked to shift for themselves. Fortunately they found a Spanish ship just about to weigh anchor for Zamboanga and they boarded it. Father Sánchez was on this ship. What was the strange sequence of events by which he got there?

Shortly after the Jesuits were concentrated in Surigao, a school teacher of Tagana-an, Father Sánchez's old parish, the daughter of an interpreter name Capanás, visited Father Masoliver in Surigao in the convento-prison, and told him that she had heard that the newly established regime intended to put Father Sánchez to death. Father Masoliver had no means of communicating with Father Sánchez and therefore asked the woman to get the information to him herself. This she undertook to do. She started south but unfortunately when she got to Cantilan was unable to proceed farther because of the weather. Luckily, however, she met there a man from Cortés, also a school teacher and also a good friend of Father Sánchez. He volunteered to take the news to Father Sánchez and she gave him a letter for the Jesuit. This man then left southward in search of Father Sánchez.

Meanwhile, after Father Sánchez heard from Brother Pérez of the imprisonment of the Jesuits at Surigao, he went to Cortés, a dependent parish, to settle some difficulties which had arisen as a result of the withdrawal of the Spanish authorities. In Cortés he received confirmation of the news about the concentration of the Jesuits in Surigao. After putting things in order at Cortés, Father Sánchez went to Tigao where the messenger caught up with him about 10 o'clock at night. Father Sánchez read the letter, then tore it into a thousand pieces. He was alarmed and set out immediately for Tandag.

This alarm of Father Sánchez seems significant. It is hard to understand unless there was some reason why Father Sánchez believed the report antecedently true. Father Sánchez

was a sensible man and apparently not excessively timid. He knew that the Jesuits in Surigao had only been imprisoned. His reaction to the message (it is a pity we do not know what the woman wrote) and the subsequent conduct of the González brothers lead one to suspect that there was a special reason why Father Sánchez believed they might kill him. They had been deported the previous year; possibly Father Sánchez was connected with that. One of them, Simón, is described as a manufacturer of nipa wine in Tago, one of Father Sánchez' towns. Wine-making was a trade that might bring a man in collision with the missionary, always at war with drunkenness.

Whatever be the truth in these conjectures, Father Sánchez returned to Tandag forthwith. He arrived there early in the morning of February 16, 1899, and told Brother Pérez to prepare some food immediately as he had to flee south; they wanted to kill him. When he was ready to leave, the boys could not find the convento horse which had been turned loose to graze, and so Father Sánchez set out on foot for Tago, eight kilometers away, his suitcase carried by a boy. This abrupt departure seems to confirm the suspicion that there was something very personal in the threat. Father Sánchez, though minister of the house, felt no compunction in leaving behind him old Father Ceballos and Brother Pérez. Apparently he did not feel that they shared his peril. The only provision he made in their regard was to order a *baroto* prepared, which was to take them off later.

Father Sánchez arrived about 6 p.m. in Tago, weary from the long hike in the hot sun. He immediately arranged with a friend, a mestizo named Bernardo Barcons, to have a *banca* prepared for him. Barcons volunteered to accompany him for protection, but Father Sánchez refused the offer and asked him instead to stay and guard the convento. Father Sánchez spent the 17th and 18th at sea and arrived on the 19th at Lianga where Father Juan Llopart and Brother Bernardo Beamonte were unaware of any danger or reason for alarm. The three of them set sail again on the 20th for Hinatuan where they found Father Salvador Buguñá, Father Matías Roure and Brother Sebastián Minguijón. From there the

Jesuits went to Baganga and were among the group evacuated on the *Labuan*.

The same *banca* that brought Father Sánchez and the other Jesuits to Baganga carried Don Prudencio García out of Baganga northward. Though Father Sánchez has escaped, it seems part of his biography to see what happened after his departure, and what were the consequences of Don Prudencio's trip.

A commission sent by Simón González to arrest Father Sánchez and the other Jesuits at Tandag was headed by Pío Caimo who had received a free education at the Escuela Normal and the Ateneo and was an old pupil of Father Sánchez. With him were a man named Cortés, whose son had graduated from the Escuela Normal, and Captain Bernardino, a former police official, not too enthusiastic about the González techniques. They did not have much stomach for their task and purposely delayed their arrival to give the Jesuits an opportunity to escape. When they arrived at Tandag they went shamefacedly through the formalities of arrest and confiscation, but nothing drastic happened.

Meanwhile Wenceslao González, travelling in a ship south along the coast, had received news of Father Sánchez' escape. He immediately conceived the plan of heading him off, and ordered the ship's captain to steam for Caraga. The captain, however, was also a friend of Father Sánchez. Fortunately for his reluctance, a storm arose and the captain was able plausibly to protest that he dared not round dangerous Point Cawit. Besides, his propeller was out of order. So they put in at Cantilan. There Wenceslao González instituted an inquiry to discover who it was that had warned Father Sánchez. He was able to ferret out the information that only one traveler had passed down the coast at that stormy time, the teacher from Cortés. González ordered the man arrested but he denied any part in the affair. González then had him unmercifully flogged and threatened to shoot him unless he confessed. However, some of the leading citizens of the town interceded for the poor man and he was released.

Wenceslao González then continued to Tandag where he arrived on March 5th at 9 a.m. He was very angry with the commission. He told Brother Pérez (who had to be spokesman since Father Ceballos was stone deaf) that he would catch Father Sánchez even if he burrowed under the earth. González agreed to delay the departure of the two Jesuits until after the rains and storms had ceased. But it happened that Father Ceballos that very day was reported as having made some disparaging references to the new order of things in his sermon. González was enraged at this. He stripped Pío Caimo of his commission and jailed him for allowing the father to preach. He then revoked his permission to delay departure till the end of the rainy season. Next he went to the convento and stormed at Brother Pérez who disclaimed any knowledge of the allegation. González at this turned his wrath upon Father Ceballos and gave him a tongue lashing. Father Ceballos let him finish and then said: "Don't tire yourself. I don't hear a thing. I'm deaf."

Wenceslao had both Pío Caimo and the two Jesuits sent to Surigao, Caimo on March 6, the Jesuits on March 7. He himself followed later. Some agents of Prudencio García had been in town during the González visitation, observing his procedure; they privately told Brother Pérez to have patience and not to be afraid.

At Surigao Brother Pérez was interviewed by Simón González; Father Ceballos was too sick to appear. Simón treated them considerately. He asked about Father Sánchez, about the parish money and the sermon. Of Father Sánchez he exclaimed: "Wretched fellow! Does he think we won't catch him?"

The Jesuits and Benedictines who had been concentrated at Surigao had not been allowed to remain there. One group had been sent to Placer; a second larger group to Gigaquit, ten Jesuits and seven Benedictines. On the evening of March 26, 1899, Wenceslao González reached Gigaquit on his way from the south. He was still angry over the escape of Father Sánchez and told the concentrated religious at Gigaquit that

when he caught him he would cut off his head. That night he vented his spite on the community by having the band play till dawn in front of the convento.

It was his last gesture. The very next morning he was placed under arrest by order of Prudencio García and put in jail. His brother had been served in like manner in Surigao. Both were exiled to Baganga under military escort. For some reason that is not clear they never reached their destination; they were shot on the shore at Cortés. It is possible that the brutal treatment meted out to the Cortés school teacher a few weeks before had something to do with the unhappy end of the González brothers.

Father Sánchez and his party arrived in Zamboanga from Sandakan on March 21. On March 31, 1899, Good Friday, at 6 p.m. the steamer *Puerto Rico* left Zamboanga with forty-one Jesuits on board; Father Parache was their superior and Captain Inspector Don Adolfo Chaquer was in command. They arrived in Manila on April 4, Tuesday of Easter week, but had to spend the whole day in the harbor before being allowed to land. Along the Cavite shore and closer in towards Parañaque rested the corpses of the Spanish fleet, mute witnesses to the political upheaval that had taken place. Inland over Fort Santiago fluttered the Stars and Stripes. The missionaries surveyed the scene with heavy hearts. God had sent them a heavy cross; but they were men whose *métier* was the cross.

VI

The Manila to which Father Sánchez returned was completely under the administration of the American military forces. Outside the city were the Filipino troops, uneasy over the turn events had taken. The United States authorities had treated and were treating the Jesuits with every consideration. The fame of the Manila Observatory had been one key to their esteem. The Ateneo de Manila was functioning after a fashion with only day scholars and half-boarders. The Normal School was, as Father Pastells reported, proceeding under half-steam. On April 7, 1899, three days after the arrival of Father Sánchez,

the American government began paying a subsidy for the continuation of the Observatory.

Father Pío Pí, Superior of the Mission, decided to seize the opportunity of such a large concentration of specialists with so much time on their hands to prepare what was really an encyclopedia on the Philippines. The collaborators were various fathers of the Observatory, the Ateneo and the Mission, and the result was the monumental *El Archipiélago Filipino*, a two-volume work containing a complete summary of information on the Philippines in the fields of history, geography, science and statistics.

Requests soon began to come in from Mindanao for the return of the missionaries. Father Raymundo Peruga, returned to Cateel, writes on August 8, 1900, that the people of Tandag were looking for a priest. A petition dated August 13, 1900 (probably a suggestion of Father Peruga) carried the same message: "Instancia de los principales de Cortés, Tandag, Tago, Tigao, La Paz." It was addressed to the Jesuit Superior in Manila and begged for the return of Father Sánchez, "knowing from our own experience his zeal and true apostolic virtue, . . . their old missionary, so beloved of his parishioners for his love for their moral and material advancement."

Father Pío Pí sent two priests and a brother to Hinatuan in November 1900, but Father Sánchez went back to the classroom at the Ateneo for seven more years. Once again his subjects were the sciences: biology, botany, physics, mechanics. Once again he was in charge of the Museum and again moderator of sodalities. In 1901 he wrote a history of sodalities in the Philippines. His name appears occasionally as present at one function or another, but he seems to have been leading a very quiet existence.

On May 26, 1906, Father Sánchez left Manila to become a member of the residence of Caraga, where Father Bernardino Llobera was Superior. For the next three years Father Sánchez worked in this area, living at Caraga or Baganga, and having as companions of his apostolate at various times Father Ramón Vila, Father Raymundo Peruga and Brothers Pedro Llull, Mi-

guel Llull and Mateo Nadal. Now with the number of missionaries reduced the men must cover wide territories. Father Sánchez reported from as far south as Mati, Kabuaya and Luban almost at the tip of Cape San Agustín, and in the north from Maculin, Dapnan and Quinablangan.

Father Sánchez' activities on the occasion of his pastoral tours were not confined to the immediate sacramental needs: baptism, marriages, confessions and communions. He taught the people methods of sanctifying Sundays and holydays in the absence of a resident pastor by reading the catechism and reciting the rosary. For this purpose he distributed copies of the *Catechism of Pius X*. Nor was he unmindful of their material needs. He urged them to plant camote and corn and to improve their abaca crop. And—an unexpected chore in this remote strand of the world—"recogió varias novelas de Dumas."

In 1909 Father Sánchez was forced by ill health to return to Manila where he arrived April 9, the jubilee year of the Ateneo. During this year the decision had been reached to organize an Ateneo Alumni Association. However, nothing happened until 1911, when it was launched at a banquet at the Hotel Metropole on December 9, 1911. Among the personages at the main table was Father Sánchez, whom an orator described as having the distinction of educating three generations of Ateneans. It was thirty-nine years since he had begun his teaching as a scholastic.

Father Sánchez was in delicate health at this time. On April 14, 1912 he returned from Baguio just at the moment, three o'clock in the afternoon, when his fellow novice, Father Jacinto Alberich, was dying. Superiors feared the effect of this news on Father Sánchez and therefore prudently directed him to the Seminary of San Francisco Javier. The next day the news was broken gently to him. Shortly after this he and Father Joaquín Vilallonga, the Rector of the Ateneo, went to Sibul Springs in the hope that the waters there would benefit his health. But the results were not very encouraging.

On May 11, 1915, Father Sánchez celebrated his golden jubilee in the Society of Jesus. He received congratulatory mes-

sages from Father General Ledóchowski of the Society, from the Provincial of Aragon, Father Ramón Llobera, and from innumerable friends in the Philippines and Spain. Most valued of all was a greeting from his Holiness, Pope Benedict XV, a picture of the Sacred Heart on which His Holiness had written in his own hand, "Pedimos al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús llene de gracias al P. Francisco Sánchez, 5.11.1915. Benedictus PP. XV." The Society and the Ateneo arranged a splendid celebration for the jubilarian. A beautiful program was printed bearing his photograph. San Ignacio Church was lighted and decorated as for a great feast of the Church. Father Sánchez said a low Mass at 6:30, attended by many of the old students and old sodalists, the latter wearing their medals and ribbons. After Mass there was Solemn Benediction and a *Te deum*. Father Sánchez was celebrant with Father José, Rector of San José Seminary, as deacon, and Father Joaquín Vilallonga, Ateneo Rector, as sub-deacon. In the evening at six there was an entertainment in his honor, at which he spoke.

On July 22, 1918, we find him strong enough to represent the Ateneo at the golden jubilee of Father Mariano Suárez at the College-Seminary in Vigan. Father Sánchez even made a speech recalling the various posts the jubilarian had held. In 1923 he was transferred to San José Seminary where he taught scientific subjects. As was to be expected, he also started a museum. This was his work until he died.

On March 15, 1925, he celebrated his 60th year as a Jesuit. Again Jesuits and other admirers and friends united to offer him a splendid testimonial of their admiration and love. Hundreds of doctors, lawyers, journalists, politicians, businessmen, came to greet him. The jubilee program was held in the auditorium of the Ateneo de Manila. The Municipal Council of Manila unanimously approved a resolution making him an adopted son of Manila. His friends and old students presented him with an album of cordial greetings, and many valuable gifts.

His interest in scientific collections never waned. Between 1910 and his death he wrote twenty-eight articles, mostly brief,

for the *Cultura Social*, about collections in Baguio, the Ateneo, Vigan and San José Seminary. Many of these notes described paleontological findings in the vicinity of Baguio, where he went faithfully every vacation. He himself roved the countryside alone or in the company of other Jesuits, searching for fossils and other scientific items. On one occasion he failed to return to Mirador at night and a general alarm was circulated through Baguio. But he showed up the next day none the worse for his experience. He had lost his way and been forced to spend the night in an Igorot hut.

On December 11, 1927 the Alumni Day celebration took the form of a cruise to Cavite. The ship *Cayetano Arellano* of Casa Yangco took the alumni from the Pasig to Cavite where it docked at the Yangco pier. The celebration was held in the Dreamland Cabaret. There were many speeches, among them one from Father Sánchez. We may safely say that this was the first time Father Sánchez was in a cabaret in his life.

When Father Sánchez returned from Baguio after the vacation of 1928 he was unwell. His old stomach ailment seems to have returned. From about the first week of July he had to stay in the infirmary. He remained there until his death in the evening of July 21, 1928. The following day the body lay in San José Seminary chapel where a constant stream of visitors came to pay their last respects. The office was recited in the afternoon and the burial took place immediately afterwards in La Loma cemetery.

VII

Father Sánchez was many things; in fact, his versatility was his outstanding trait. He taught literature, philosophy, languages, sciences competently. He was an active and beloved missionary parish priest. He was an indefatigable collector and classifier of flora and fauna, minerals and fossils, enriching and making famous the Ateneo Museum by his labors, and achieving sufficient prominence in the work to have his name attached

to a river in Agusan, a beetle in Baguio, a tree in Dapitan⁷, and a street in Mandaluyong.

However, it is more likely that this last honor came to him because of his best-known title to fame: he was the friend of Rizal. But Father Sánchez was the friend of many; he made friendliness an apostolate. He was loved by his fellow Spanish Jesuits as their extensive correspondence with him testifies. Filipinos never tired of manifesting their affection for him. When the American Jesuits came in 1921 he took them to his heart and was happy to spend his vacations with them in Baguio.

He was a happy, cheerful man, often counselling "alegría". One man remembers that he was "never cranky", even in advanced years. And all his contemporaries agree that he was a simple man. He quite obviously enjoyed his role as "teacher of Rizal." He was naively happy on his pedestal as a scientific "lion" emeritus, with a special key to the University Medical School.

And especially he was a religious man: an observant Jesuit, a devout propagator of Mary's Sodality, and a man of God. Here was the ultimate explanation of his love for men: for the boy from Calamba, the farmers on the island of Balagnan, the rowers in the *baroto* off Balingasag, the Americans with their new ways. He had a heart full of the charity of Christ. He loved God and he loved all men in God.

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⁷ Father Obach called Sánchez' attention to a strangely poisonous tree in Dapitan. Sánchez described it in the CARTAS and was instrumental in having it classified. It is called *MANGIFERA VERTICILLATA*. Father Sánchez had an important collection of *COLEOPTERA* in Baguio. One species bears his name.

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