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The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1959

H. DE LA COSTA

THE first Jesuits to come to the Philippines arrived in Manila on 17 September 1581. They were Father Antonio Sedeño, the superior of the group, Father Alonso Sánchez and Brother Nicolás Gallardo. A fourth member, the scholastic Gaspar Suárez de Toledo, younger brother of the theologian Francisco Suárez, had died during the voyage from Mexico.

They had been sent at the request of Don Guido de Lavezaris, the second governor of the Philippines, and Fray Domingo de Salazar O. P., its first bishop. Father General Mercurian's instructions were that they should familiarize themselves with conditions in the colony and report on the advisability of establishing a permanent Jesuit mission.

While carrying out these instructions, they made themselves useful in various ways. They had been given a house outside the walled city in a fishing village called Lagyo, between the present districts of Ermita and Malate; but they went daily into the city to perform their priestly ministry among the Spanish settlers, their Filipino domestics, and the Chinese and Japanese immigrants who were beginning to flock to the Philippines, attracted by the trade.

Father Sedeño is credited with having introduced the arts of stone-cutting and brick-making to the Philippines, and with having supervised the construction of the first stone buildings

in Manila. Father Sánchez was entrusted with highly important tasks by both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. When Bishop Salazar convoked a synod in 1582, he appointed Sánchez its secretary. Later that year, Governor Ronquillo sent him on a delicate mission to Macao. Philip II of Spain had just won the disputed succession to the crown of Portugal, and it was important that the Portuguese of Macao should be persuaded as quickly as possible to give him their allegiance. Sánchez accomplished this mission successfully. Upon his return, the Spaniards in the Philippines met in an assembly to deliberate on their necessities, and sent him back to Europe as their accredited agent with the king and the pope.

FIRST MISSIONS

Meanwhile, a few more Jesuits had been sent to assist Sedeño, and it now became possible to undertake mission work in the provinces. In 1591 the missions of Taytay and Antipolo, in the present province of Rizal, were founded, and in 1593 Father Pedro Chirino was sent on a temporary mission to the island of Panay. It was here, in the village of Tigbauan some miles west of the modern city of Iloilo, that Father Chirino established the first Jesuit school in the Philippines, an elementary school for Visayan children.

After finishing his business at Madrid on behalf of the Philippine colonists, Sánchez reported to Father General Acquaviva at Rome. He strongly recommended that the Society establish itself permanently in the Philippines. Father Acquaviva concurred and raised the Philippine Mission to the status of a vice-province dependent on the Province of Mexico. Word of this decision and of the appointment of Father Sedeño as vice-provincial reached Manila in 1595 with a large contingent of missionaries: eight priests and one brother.

THE COLLEGE OF MANILA

With these welcome reinforcements, Father Sedeño did two things. He informed the governor, Don Luís Pérez Dasmariñas, that he was now ready to comply with the government's request that a Jesuit college be opened in Manila. Ever since

1585, not only the government but the bishop and the colonists had been urging him to take this step, but uncertainty as to the status of the Jesuit mission and lack of personnel obliged him to refuse. He now had the men he needed, and in September 1595 Father Juan de Ribera, professor of moral theology, and Father Tomás de Montoya, professor of grammar, delivered the inaugural lectures of the new College of Manila. By this time, the Jesuits had transferred their residence to a large compound just inside the southwest gate of the walled city, then called the Royal Gate. Sedeño had built a church there, facing northeast along what is now General Luna Street, and the attached residence was enlarged to accommodate the college. Not long afterwards a wealthy settler, Don Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa, gave it a generous endowment which relieved the government of the burden of supporting it.

SAMAR AND LEYTE

Father Sedeño's second step was to request that the vice-province be entrusted with the evangelization of the islands of Samar and Leyte, where no permanent mission stations had as yet been established. Upon the request being granted, he ordered Father Chirino to proceed there immediately with a small band of missionaries and to select suitable sites for the first stations. They chose Carigara on the north and Dulag on the east coast of Leyte. While these stations were being opened Father Sedeño went personally to Cebu to establish there a central mission house. He had barely completed the arrangements for it when he fell sick and died (2 September 1595), only a few days before the formal opening of the College of Manila.

Some years later, Father General Acquaviva directed Diego García, a priest of wide administrative experience in Peru and Mexico, to conduct a visitation of the Philippine vice-province, organize its expanded work on a sound basis, and determine along what lines further expansion should proceed. Father García arrived in the Philippines in 1599. He reported to the General that the vice-province now had five mission stations in Leyte, one in Samar and one in Bohol; and that

these, together with the mission of Antipolo near Manila and the mission of Mandaue near Cebu, comprised 54,330 souls, of which 12,696 were already Christians. One of the Leyte missionaries, Father Alonso de Humanes, had opened a boarding school for boys at Dulag. This produced such excellent results that García himself opened a similar school at Antipolo.

THE COLLEGE OF SAN JOSE

At the College of Manila the need for boarding facilities for the students was felt even more keenly. In the opinion of the professors, unless the students were withdrawn from the numerous distractions of life in a colonial outpost, they could not be made to pay proper attention to their books. García took immediate steps to remedy the situation. In 1601, with the full approval of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, he founded a residential college attached to the College of Manila, and this residential college was named the College of San José. It occupied a separate building in the Jesuit compound. Here the resident scholars lived under the supervision of Jesuit prefects, though they attended classes in the College of Manila with the day scholars.

Like the College of Manila, the College of San José received its endowment after it had been founded, and from the same source. Rodríguez de Figueroa, who had endowed the College of Manila, drew up a will in 1596 in which he set aside a sum of money to establish and maintain a boarding school in Manila under Jesuit auspices. This grant was, however, conditional, for the testator wished in the first place to provide for his children, and it was only in the event that his daughter Juana should die in her minority that the endowment would actually take effect. Juana perished in a shipwreck while being taken by her tutor to Mexico, and thus part of the Figueroa estate, consisting of a cattle ranch in Panay and properties in Mexico, became an *obra pía* or trust fund administered (not owned) by the Society of Jesus for the pious purpose indicated by its donor. This is important to bear in mind in view of the later fortunes of the College of San José.

PHILIPPINE NOVITIATE

García had the vision to foresee that the Philippine vice-province could not be adequately supplied with men from Europe and America; it should as soon as practicable draw at least a part of its membership from the Philippines itself. Actually, Sedefio and his successor, Ramón Prat, had already received into the Society several candidates, who were being trained in the Manila residence. García conceived the plan of establishing a separate novitiate at Antipolo, but he ran into financial difficulties and the transfer was not actually effected until 1606. Two years later Captain Pedro de Britto and his wife offered their estate in San Pedro Makati, a district near Manila, for a novitiate. The offer was accepted, but the construction of a suitable building took so long that the novices were not able to occupy it until 1622. Less than a decade later they were sent back to the College of Manila because it was found to be more economical to support them there than as a separate community.

CHIRINO'S REPORT

To go back a little in our narrative: in 1602 García sent Chirino to Rome to give Father General Acquaviva a detailed account of the state of the vice-province and its works. Acquaviva was so favorably impressed by Chirino's report that he had him edit it for publication. It appeared in Rome in 1604—the first published work on the Philippines by a Jesuit, and a primary source of information on Philippine history and culture ever since. Moreover, the General decided on the basis of Chirino's information that the organization of the vice-province was sufficiently advanced for it to be made a full-fledged province independent of Mexico. True, it was not self-sufficient as far as men were concerned and would not be for a long time to come; but as regards finances it was already self-supporting. Moreover, distance and slowness of communication made it imperative that its superior should have the powers of provincial.

THE PHILIPPINE JESUIT PROVINCE

In 1605, therefore, the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus was erected with Father Gregorio López as first provincial. It had a total membership of 67, distributed among 11 residences, namely, a college of secondary and higher studies (the College of Manila), a residential college annexed to it (the College of San José), seven mission residences and two mission stations. Ten candidates, six for the priesthood and four for the brotherhood, were undergoing their novitiate.

CURRICULUM AT THE COLLEGE OF MANILA

The courses at the College of Manila had been expanded and brought into conformity with the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* or educational code. They consisted of five years of "grammar" (for which a year or two of primary schooling was a prerequisite), and a two-year arts course leading to the degree of bachelor of arts, and a four-year theology course leading to the degree of licentiate in theology. "Grammar" of course meant the study of languages and literature—Latin, Greek and Spanish. "Arts" meant philosophy and science. In 1603 there were 60 students in the grammar classes and 30 in the arts course. Of the latter, about 20 were resident scholars of San José. There were eight theological students. Tuition was completely free as in all Jesuit schools of the time. The San José scholars paid for their board and lodging, but when the Figueroa endowment became effective, a number of foundation scholarships were made available which took care even of board and lodging. Subsequent donations by public-spirited citizens added to the number of scholarships. A day school in which boys were taught their first letters and prepared for entrance into the grammar classes was attached to the college. We have definite evidence of its existence in the early years of the seventeenth century but we do not know exactly when it began.

THE VISAYAN MISSIONS

The principal difficulty encountered by the Jesuits in the Visayan missions was that of persuading the people, whose way

of life was based on shifting agriculture, to abandon their dispersed clan villages and come together in large, permanent towns where they could be properly instructed in the Christian faith and the arts of civilization. They saw at once that mere compulsion was ineffective; for the change to be permanent, the Visayans had to be made to realize the advantages and learn the techniques of settled agriculture. While this process, necessarily slow, was going on, the missionaries experimented with several different ways of carrying on their work until they decided what they considered to be the most effective. This was to form themselves into several groups ("task forces," to borrow naval terminology), each group consisting of three or four priests and two or three brothers, based on a central residence. From this residence they would go out in teams to visit the clan villages of their area by turns, preaching, baptizing, administering the sacraments and providing medical assistance. As soon as one team returned to the residence, another set out, and so throughout the year. Thus, until a settled parish life could be evolved in which the people went to their priest, the priest went to the people.

THE MORO WARS

One big obstacle to the formation of large settled communities in the Visayan islands in the seventeenth century was the almost yearly expeditions made by the Moros or Muslim Malays of southern Philippines for the purpose of securing slaves. The monopoly of the carrying trade of Southeast Asia established first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch took away from seafaring communities such as those of Magindanau and the Sulu archipelago their principal means of livelihood. On the other hand, the increased demand for spices and other tropical products resulted in expanded production and a call for plantation labor. The Magindanaus and Sulus were not slow to perceive that this fact provided them with a highly profitable alternative to their former trading activities. Their geographical location placed them strategically between the slave markets of Indonesia and a vast reservoir of human quarry, the unwarlike peoples of the Visayan islands. With their

swift, shallow-draft *caracoas* or cruisers and their superlative seamanship they could steal upon an unsuspecting sea-coast village, fall upon it and be off with their captives and booty before anyone had time to organize a defense. They started with small hunting packs in the last years of the sixteenth century; but as the profits of the traffic came to be realized, the raiding expeditions grew in size and scope until, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, predatory fleets of thirty, forty and more cruisers were ranging as far north as Manila Bay itself.

The early Spanish governors made several attempts to reduce the Moros to submission, but without success. Rodríguez de Figueroa, the great benefactor of the Philippine Jesuits, perished leading one such attempt. The government then resorted to purely defensive measures. A fleet of armed galleys was organized to patrol the interisland seas, but these heavy vessels, built on the Venetian model, were too slow and lay too deep in the water to be effective against the Moro cruiser. The galley commanders themselves believed that the only way to stop the raiders, short of carrying the war into their own country, was to establish a base at the tip of the Zamboanga peninsula and thus control Basilan Straits; for it was through these straits or past them that the Moros had perforce to pass during the season of the southeast monsoons in order to strike at the Visayas.

MINDANAO MISSIONS

This plan had the full support of the Visayan Jesuits, whose missions were the hardest hit by the raids. They had taken their own measures of local defense, such as building watchtowers, training and arming militia, and fortifying their mission compounds to serve as citadels for their flocks; but such measures were not always proof against surprise attacks. The government finally fell in with the plan after repeated urging by Father Pedro Gutiérrez, the founder of the Jesuit mission of Dapitan in northern Mindanao. In 1635 the military and naval base of Zamboanga was set up with an initial force of 300 Spanish and 1,000 Visayan troops. Another Jesuit,

Father Melchor de Vera, designed and supervised the construction of the fort.

Soon afterwards a new and vigorous governor, Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, decided to take the offensive. In 1637 he took Lamitan, the principal stronghold of the Magindanaus, by assault, and two years later conquered and occupied Joló, the capital of the Sulu sultanate. The Moros of the district around Lake Lanao, faced with simultaneous attack from north and south, submitted. In all these expeditions, Jesuits went as chaplains to the troops and stayed to minister to the garrisons and to begin the conversion of the Moros.

It was difficult and dangerous work. They had the millennial tradition of mutual hatred between Muslim and Christian to overcome, besides the fact that the government with which they were necessarily identified had come bringing not peace but a sword. They made sincere conversions chiefly among the laboring classes and the slaves; the warrior class, if they accepted Christianity at all, did so out of policy. Yet, even the most resolute Muslims among them could not altogether withhold their friendship from such men as Father Alejandro López, whose absolute integrity and fair-dealing won their reluctant admiration. The Spanish government wisely chose Father López as its plenipotentiary to conduct the difficult negotiations leading to the treaties of 1644 and 1645. Father López's Peace, for we may justly call it that, lasted for a decade. It was broken in 1655; and when Father López went to Magindanau to piece it together again, they killed him. With him perished a fellow Jesuit, Father Juan Montiel.

In 1663, Governor Manrique de Lara took the hasty step of withdrawing all troops from Mindanao, including the garrison of Zamboanga, in order to concentrate them in Manila against a possible attack by the Chinese warlord Koxinga (Cheng Ch'engkung). The attack did not materialize, but neither was the Zamboanga station restored. It was a serious blow to the Jesuit missions among the Moros, for at that time the fathers had not won the confidence of the Moro rulers

sufficiently to be able to dispense with the support of the Spanish government.

Zamboanga was not reoccupied until 1718. Once again, the Moro missions were entrusted to the Society. They made enough progress to warrant the elevation of the Zamboanga residence to the status of a "college"—not in the sense of a school, but of a central house which had dependent upon it a series of mission stations extending southwards into the Sulu archipelago and eastwards along the southern coast of Mindanao as far as Cotabato. In 1748, it even looked as though the Sultan of Sulu, Alimud Din I, might become a Christian. The authorities whisked him to Manila and had him instructed for baptism. He was baptized, however, against the advice of the Jesuits who knew him best. Their cautiousness was confirmed by the event, for the sultan soon belied his profession of Christianity. When the Spanish government put him under arrest for treason, the Sulus mounted an offensive which was, in the judgment of an expert, Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy S.J., "the most savage war in the history of the archipelago."¹ The Visayan settlements defended themselves heroically under the leadership of their Jesuit and Recollect pastors. In northern Mindanao, particularly, military honors were shared by the Recollect Fray Agustín de San Pedro, surnamed *El Padre Capitán*, and the Jesuit Francisco Ducós, defender of Iligan. Strange honors for messengers of the gospel of peace; but the times were desperate and demanded desperate measures.

TAGALOG MISSIONS

Yet, although raiding Moros remained an ever-present peril, the Visayan missions made considerable progress during the seventeenth century. The massive mission churches of Bohol, Leyte and Samar, many of which still stand, though they are only now beginning to be appreciated as particularly splendid examples of Philippine colonial architecture, prove that by the latter part of the seventeenth century when they were built, the Jesuit missionaries had largely succeeded in transforming

¹ Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy "Philippine Islam and the Society of Jesus" *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* IV (1956) 215-245.

the semi-nomadic tribes they had found upon arrival into a settled Christian population. Among the Tagalogs, they added to their original mission of Taytay-Antipolo the towns of Silang, Indang and Maragondong, in the present province of Cavite, besides accepting the chaplaincy of the troops and shipyard workers in the great naval base of Cavite proper. They also took charge of the island of Marinduque, off the southern coast of Luzon, and mission stations along the east coast of Mindoro.

NON-SPANISH JESUITS

This, in spite of the fact that the supply of men from the Spanish provinces of the Society was thinning down to a trickle. The noble Spanish nation, exhausted by its magnificent effort to provide missionaries for half the world, could do no more. Father General Oliva sent out a call for volunteers for the Philippines to the rest of the Society, and the provinces of northern and central Europe rose to the challenge. It is not generally known that the Philippine Province of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, though still largely Spanish in composition, had a generous admixture of Jesuits of other nationalities. The reason is chiefly because these Belgian, Italian, German and Czech Jesuits sank their individuality in the common cause to the extent of adopting not only the Spanish language and Spanish ways but even Spanish names. Who, without access to the catalogues preserved in Jesuit archives, would suspect that Father Pablo Clain, for instance, was really Paul Klein of Bohemia, or Father Ignacio de Monte was really Walther Sonnenberg of Switzerland, or Juan de Pedrosa was really Adolf Steinhauser of Austria?

THE GUAM MISSION

With these reinforcements, the Philippine Jesuit Province felt sufficiently strengthened to undertake a foreign mission of its own. In 1668 Father Diego Luís de Sanvítores and a small band of companions founded the mission of Guam. The Guamanians did not at first take kindly to their ministrations, killing several of them and their successors. Among the most

illustrious of these martyrs was the founder of the mission himself, who gave his life for Christ in 1672. The resulting drain on the personnel of the province stopped further expansion for the time being, even within the Philippines. It was resumed early in the eighteenth century with the establishment of a chain of mission stations in the western half of Negros island, the reactivation of the Moro missions referred to above, and the discovery, exploration and evangelization of the Palaus, where two Belgian members of the province, Fathers Jacques Duberon and Joseph Cortil, were martyred in 1711 or 1712.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN MANILA

Meanwhile the College of Manila and the affiliated College of San José made slow but steady progress through the seventeenth century. The former, although not a university in the strict sense, granted university degrees in philosophy and theology by virtue of the privileges conferred by the Holy See on colleges of the Society of Jesus. Its right to do so was challenged in 1648 but was confirmed by the Council of the Indies in 1652. In 1733 Philip V of Spain founded two regius professorships in the college, one of canon and another of civil law. Starting from that date the institution is frequently referred to in contemporary documents as the University of San Ignacio. In 1750 Governor Ovando founded a chair of mathematics, a discipline which at that time embraced certain applied sciences such as navigation and military engineering.

The institution made important contributions to original research in the fields of moral theology, botany, linguistics, history and geography. In the early part of the seventeenth century Fathers Juan de Ribera and Diego de Bobadilla were often consulted by the government as well as by the clergy and private persons regarding moral problems arising from the often unprecedented conditions of European rule in an Asian country.

PUBLICATIONS

From the printing press attached to the college issued many grammars, lexicons and works in the native languages written

by the Jesuit professors or by Jesuit missionaries of long experience. A Czech pharmacist of the college in the late seventeenth century, Brother Georg Kamel, corresponded with the Royal Society of London and achieved a gorgeous if largely unperceived immortality through the great Linnaeus naming a flower after him—the camellia.²

In 1663, Francisco Colín published his *Labor evangélica*, a history of the Jesuit missions in the Philippines to 1616. Four years later Francisco Combés came out with a history of Mindanao and Sulu. And in 1749 Murillo Velarde brought Colín's narrative down to 1716. But this author, for many years professor of canon law in the College of Manila, is perhaps better known abroad for his canonical treatises which ran through several editions in Mexico and Europe after their first publication in the Philippines, and above all for his famous map of the Philippines (1734), beautifully engraved by the master printer of the college press, the Filipino Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay. In the 1750's Juan José Delgado composed a *Historia General sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas*. It was in short an encyclopedia of the Philippines, and a good one, but which unfortunately remained in manuscript until 1892.

TRAINING OF THE CLERGY

Although the residential College of San José was not founded exclusively or even explicitly as a seminary for priests, it obviously lent itself to this purpose. Many of the scholarships founded in the institution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were burses for the training of secular priests. The college remained a small one by modern standards. The highest recorded enrollment is 49, in 1753. From its foundation to 1768, when the Jesuits ceased to administer it, an estimated 992 students passed through its halls. Among the alumni whom it has been possible to identify are one archbishop, eight bishops, 40 secular priests, 11 Augustinians, 11 Augustinian Recollects, three Dominicans, eight Franciscans, 46 Jesuits and 93 laymen.

² See Leo A. Cullum "Georg Joseph Kamel: Philippine Botanist, Physician, Pharmacist" *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* IV (1956) 319-339.

SPIRITUAL MINISTRIES

The church built by Sedeño was so badly damaged by successive earthquakes that it had to be replaced. Work on the new church began in 1626 under the direction of an Italian Jesuit, Father Gianantonio Campioni. It was completed in 1632, a fine example of baroque architecture, with a cruciform ground plan, an octagonal dome, and two towers on the facade, one a bell tower and the other a clock tower. From the very beginning the college fathers sought to make it the church of the Filipinos and other non-Europeans who resided in the walled city either as domestic servants, artisans or shopkeepers. Sermons and instructions were given not only in Spanish but in Tagalog, and a Sodality for Tagalogs was organized as well as one for Negroes (which included Indians, victims of the slave trade).

Outside the walled city, the Jesuits had charge of the Chinese parish of Santa Cruz and the Japanese parish of San Miguel. Closed retreats for laymen were conducted both in the Manila college itself and in the San Pedro Makati residence, which was used as a villa and house of retreats after the removal of the novices. Closed retreats for women were conducted in the house of a religious community which came to be known as the *Beatas de la Compañía de Jesús*, but whose official title today is the Religious of the Virgin Mary. This, the first religious congregation of women to be organized in the Philippines, was founded in 1684 by a Chinese-Filipino mestiza of Binondo, the saintly Ignacia del Espíritu Santo. Mother Ignacia's spiritual director, Father Paul Klein, helped her to write the constitutions of the congregation, which she modelled closely on the constitutions of the Society of Jesus. It was this, and the fact that the sisters lived near the college and performed their devotions in the college church, which led to their being called *beatas de la Compañía*, although there never was any juridical connection between the two communities.

Beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth, the Manila Jesuits made the giving of Lenten missions in Manila, its suburbs and the

neighboring towns a regular part of their ministry. Since missions of this sort require a fairly stable parish organization to be effective, they are an indication—one of many—that by this time the Tagalog provinces were no longer mission territory in the strict sense. The same may be said of other long settled provinces in Luzon and the Visayas. This raised the question of what the Philippine Jesuits ought to do with those of their mission stations which they had transformed into parishes. The provincial congregation of 1724 discussed it at length, and although no decision was arrived at, a strong current of opinion was that all stable parishes should be turned over to the secular clergy in order that the Society might expand its educational work. It was even proposed that provincial colleges be opened specifically for the imparting of secondary and higher education to Filipinos, as a necessary step towards the formation of a native clergy and cultured laity—a remarkable foreshadowing of the later decision, in the twentieth century, to open provincial Ateneos imparting the same type of education as the Ateneo de Manila.

EXPULSION

As it turned out, the Jesuits were soon relieved of the responsibility of making a decision on this matter. In 1767 Charles III of Spain, for reasons which he preferred to keep locked in the royal bosom, decreed the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from all the Spanish dominions. The decree reached the Philippines the following year. The Manila Jesuits were immediately placed under arrest, their books and papers confiscated, their houses sealed. Those in the provinces were conveyed under escort to Manila. Of the 140 members of the Philippine Province, 21 were certified by the government physician as being too ill to travel. The remainder were sent in four groups to Spain between 1769 and 1771, and from Spain deported to the Papal States.

The Jesuit parishes and missions in Leyte and Samar were transferred to the Franciscans, those in Cebu, Panay, Negros, Bohol and northern Mindanao to the Recollects. and those in the Tagalog provinces to the secular clergy. All the buildings

and properties of the Order were confiscated by the Crown. An exception was made of the endowment of the College of San José, which was regarded as a pious foundation administered but not owned by the Society. Its administration was transferred to the archbishop of Manila, along with the physical plant of the College of Manila which Archbishop Sancho made over into a diocesan seminary.

In 1773 Clement XIV, under pressure from the Bourbon courts of France, Spain and Naples, suppressed the Society of Jesus throughout the world. Pius VII restored it in 1814. Spain was in the throes of revolution, with anti-clerical liberals arrayed against clerical conservatives. The restored Society had barely returned to Spain when it was expelled again in 1822. Readmitted, it was suppressed by royal decree in 1834; restored in virtue of a concordat with the Holy See in 1851; expelled a third time in 1868; and permanently legalized in 1880.

RETURN

In 1852, soon after one of its short-lived restorations, the Jesuit Province of Spain was asked by Queen Isabella II to return to the Philippines to undertake, or rather to resume the evangelization of Mindanao and Sulu. The Spanish Jesuits accepted the commission, along with the attached condition that they would not try to recover any of the property confiscated by the government from the Old Society. On 4 February 1859, six priests and four brothers under the leadership of Father José Fernández Cuevas set sail from Cádiz for Manila. They landed on 14 April, being received with great charity by the Augustinians, who had them stay in their house at Guadalupe until they could set up for themselves.

A grant from the government enabled them to purchase a house at the corner of Anda and Arzobispo streets in the walled city, and this became and remained the central residence of the Philippine Mission until it was destroyed in the recapture of Manila by the American forces in 1945.

THE ESCUELA MUNICIPAL

Soon after the Jesuits' arrival the city council of Manila put in a request that they take charge of the Escuela Municipal, a public primary school for boys. Father Cuevas at first refused on the plea that his orders were only to take charge of the Mindanao missions; but Governor Norzagaray finally persuaded him to accept by taking the responsibility of explaining the step to the home government.

On 10 December 1859 Don Lorenzo Moreno Conde, the schoolmaster then in charge of the Escuela Municipal, formally handed it over to the new Jesuit faculty, consisting of Father José Ignacio Guerrico, prefect of studies, Fathers Pascual Barado and Ramón Barúa, teachers, and Brother Venancio Belzunce, prefect of discipline. They found that there were 33 boys registered but only 23 in actual attendance. Nine days later they moved the school to a building across Anda Street from the mission house; by that time the enrollment had risen to 76. On 2 January 1860 it stood at 120 and the following March at 170. The school closed at the end of June and reopened in August with an enrollment of 210.

The statutes drawn up by Father Cuevas and approved by the governor (15 December 1859) provided for an elementary school of five grades, namely, *infima*, *inferior*, *media*, *superior* and *suprema*. The subjects taught in the first three grades were Christian doctrine, good manners and right conduct, oral and written Spanish, arithmetic, geography and history. The last two grades were devoted to Spanish literature and composition, algebra, geometry, trigonometry and elementary science, besides Christian doctrine, good manners and right conduct. Boys in the upper grades could take lessons in French, music and drawing, at the option of their parents. Latin, philosophy and the higher sciences were to come later: the school was at first strictly a "primary" school.

It should be noted that the Escuela Municipal was a public school primarily for Spanish boys, since the city council which supported it represented at that time the Spanish residents of Manila. However, the Jesuits from the very beginning

of their administration opened the school to Filipinos and boys of other nationalities, so that by the end of the nineteenth century nine-tenths of the student body were Filipinos or *mestizos*.

MINDANAO MISSIONS RESTORED

In 1860 Father Cuevas made an exploratory trip to Mindanao, and two years later the first mission station of the restored Society in that island was opened by Father Guerrico and two lay brothers at Tamontaka, Cotabato Province. A second station was founded the same year at Tetuan, Zamboanga Province, and a third at Isabela on the island of Basilan. All three were in Moro territory. In 1868 work among the pagan tribes was begun with the foundation of the mission of Davao. Since the Spanish government wanted the Jesuits to have complete charge of the evangelization of Mindanao, the Recollects began turning over to them the largely Christian towns on the north coast of the island, starting with Dapitan in 1870.

The Moro commonwealths of southern Mindanao and Sulu had lost much of their former prosperity and power. They could no longer raid at will through the islands, for Western technology now enabled the Spanish government to oppose them with faster ships and deadlier weapons. Father Guerrico at Tamontaka observed that the Moros were quite willing to sell their young slaves and even their children in times of scarcity. With funds collected for the purpose, he and his successors ransomed a number of these waifs. Their idea was to organize a model Christian community in the heart of Moroland and thus convert that people by living example rather than by words. While they were growing up, the boys lived, studied and worked under the Jesuits in one compound of the "reduction," the girls in a separate compound under a community of the Religious of the Virgin Mary. As soon as they came of age, the young people were suitably matched and married. Each couple was given a house and lot, a piece of farmland and tools. Gradually, a peaceful and prosperous agricultural community, free from the recurrent famines and feuds that plagued the area, formed around the Tamontaka mission. It attracted

the admiration and interest of influential Moros and might have led to greater things had not the disturbances consequent upon the Revolution of 1896 intervened. After the establishment of American rule the experiment was not resumed.

Neither the Jesuits of the Old Society nor the Recollects who took their places after their expulsion did much to evangelize the pagan tribes of the rugged east coast of Mindanao, the upper reaches of the Agusan River, the Davao hinterland or the Bukidnon plateau. The Jesuits of the Restored Society did. Using essentially the same methods as those by which their confreres had achieved the christianization of Bohol, Leyte and Samar two centuries earlier, they penetrated far into the interior of the island and induced the semi-nomadic tribal peoples to settle down in stable farming communities. Many towns and villages in these areas still bear the names which these pioneer missionaries had given them. In the intervals between missionary journeys the fathers wrote detailed reports about their work to the superior of the Philippine Mission and to that of the Province of Aragon. Those of general interest were collected and published at intervals between 1877 and 1895; and the resulting ten volumes of *Cartas de Filipinas* constitute, even today, an indispensable source not only for the historian of Christian missions, but for the social and cultural anthropologist.³

THE NORMAL SCHOOL

The Mindanao Jesuits reported to the provincial of Aragon because it was to Aragon that the Philippine Mission was attached when the Spanish Jesuits were divided into several provinces in 1863. That same year the royal government issued a decree instituting a public-school system in the Philippines, and providing for government support of a normal school for men teachers under Jesuit direction. The preliminary studies which led to this decree had been made some years previously in Manila by a committee in whose deliberations Father Cuevas had been invited to take part. The decree incorporated many

³ See Frank Lynch "The Jesuit Letters of Mindanao as a Source of Anthropological Data" *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* IV (1956) 247-272.

of his suggestions; in particular, that the medium of instruction in the system should be Spanish, a proposal which he advocated strenuously in the face of strong opposition. The opposition came from a powerful segment of the Spanish community which opposed the teaching of Spanish to the Filipinos on the ground that it would unite the Filipinos against Spain, put them on an equality with Spaniards, and place in their hands a potent weapon against the mother country. The fact that the Jesuits advocated giving to Filipinos the same opportunities for education as Spaniards put them in the same camp as Rizal and other Filipino patriots who were later to agitate for the same thing. And later when the Revolution broke out, the Jesuits, in Spanish eyes, shared the blame with the Filipino patriots for having caused it.

On 24 January 1865 the Escuela Normal de Maestros opened with an enrollment of 69 in a rented building not far from the Escuela Municipal. Father Francisco Baranera was the first rector and Fathers Jacinto Juanmarti and Pedro Llausas the first professors. In 1886 the school moved to its own quarters in the Ermita district. By 1901, when it ceased to be a government institution, it had conferred the title of *maestro asistente* on 340 graduates, that of *maestro* on 1,693, and that of *maestro superior* on eight.

THE MANILA OBSERVATORY

The street running past the Escuela Normal was at one time called Calle del Observatorio and later Padre Faura Street. This was appropriate, for the Escuela Normal property was shared by another Jesuit institution: the Manila Observatory, of which Father Federico Faura was the first director. The beginnings of the Observatory go back to 1865, when two scholastics of the Escuela Municipal, Francisco Colina and Jaime Nonell, published in a local paper observations on a typhoon which had recently passed near the city. The observations were taken by Colina with some meteorological instruments which he had put together himself. They suggested the possibility that the approach of a typhoon might be forecast in time to save lives and property. The interest of the business

community of Manila was aroused and enough money was subscribed to purchase the universal meteorograph, a continuously recording instrument designed by the Italian Jesuit, Father Angelo Secchi.

When the meteorograph arrived, it was assembled and operated by another scholastic interested in scientific work, Federico Faura. After completing his theological studies, Father Faura worked for a time in the Jesuit observatories at Stonyhurst and Rome. He returned to the Philippines in 1878 as director of the Manila Observatory, a post which he held until his death in 1897. In 1879 he issued his first typhoon warning. These warnings became a regular and valued service of the Observatory thereafter. To extend the scope and increase the accuracy of the service, the Spanish government in 1884 made the Observatory a state institution with a network of subsidiary stations throughout the archipelago. A seismic section was added to the Observatory in 1880, a magnetic section in 1887, and an astronomical section in 1899.

THE ATENEO MUNICIPAL DE MANILA

To return for a moment to the Escuela Municipal: in 1862 the city council of Manila, pleased with the way the school was being conducted, invited Father Cuevas to submit a plan for its expansion to a school of secondary instruction. Two years later he did so. The plan, modelled on that already in operation in Cuba, called for a modification of the last two grades of the existing five-grade curriculum and the addition of three more years. Latin and Greek grammar would be added to the subjects of the *superior* and *suprema* grades, while the additional years would be devoted to the standard "college-level" subjects of the Jesuit system, namely, poetry, rhetoric and philosophy. Thus, the original five grades would be preserved as a terminal course for those who did not intend to make any further studies, while boys preparing for university studies would be ready for them upon the completion of the entire eight-year curriculum. The plan met with the government's approval and went into effect in 1865. To fit its new status,

the name of the school was changed to Ateneo Municipal de Manila.

That same year, the acquisition of additional property in the same block enabled the Ateneo to offer boarding facilities. In 1870, the first ten students to complete the secondary curriculum received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Two years later, a new boy entered who was later to make history: José Rizal.

The school made steady progress during the following decade, and in 1881 the student body consisted of 150 boarders and 500 day scholars. Hitherto the superior of the Mission had also served as rector of the Ateneo. The two offices were now separated and Father Pablo Ramón was appointed rector. During Father Ramón's term of office the curriculum was revised to bring it into closer conformity with the Jesuit *ratio studiorum*. At the same time, a group of technical courses which were being experimentally developed earlier to keep pace with the economic growth of the country received their final organization. These were the courses in commerce, surveying, and industrial mechanics, in which the title of *perito* (expert) was conferred upon completion of one or two years supplementary to the basic college curriculum.

An extensive building program was also completed during this period. By 1883, the physical plant of the Ateneo consisted of a square three-story structure occupying half a city block and enclosing two interior courts. A church adjoining the mission house, begun in 1878, was completed in 1889 and dedicated to St. Ignatius. It was planned and executed by Don Félix Rojas with the assistance of Brother Francisco Riera. The magnificent interior of Philippine hard woods was carved by native workmen.

RIZAL

In 1896 the Revolution broke out. The colonial government, panic-stricken, tried José Rizal on a trumped-up charge of treason and shot him. Rizal was no traitor, though he was prominent in the campaign for a reform of long-standing abuses

in the administration of the Philippines. He began to take active part in this campaign when he went to Europe for further studies in medicine. Unfortunately, political liberalism in the Spain of that period was practically identified with anti-clericalism, and during his sojourn there Rizal lost his Catholic faith. However, his former Jesuit teachers at the Ateneo never gave up hope of winning him back. On the eve of his execution their efforts in this direction were rewarded. Rizal made a formal retraction of Masonry and received the sacraments. Passing by his old school on his way to the firing squad he said, "I spent there the happiest years of my life."

AMERICAN OCCUPATION

The course of events whereby the Revolution was interrupted by the Spanish-American War and the Philippines became a possession of the United States is well known. The American authorities decided to retain the Manila Observatory as a government institution, but to withdraw the government subsidy from the Escuela Normal and the Ateneo Municipal. Accordingly, the Escuela Normal became a private college in 1901 and the Ateneo a year later. To indicate this change, they were renamed Colegio de San Francisco Javier and Ateneo de Manila respectively.

One result of the transfer of sovereignty was that many Spanish priests working in the Philippines returned home. Because of the dire need of Filipino priests to take their places, the archbishop of Manila requested the Society to transform the Colegio de San Francisco Javier into a seminary. The request was granted. The institution functioned as a seminary from 1905 to 1913, when the archdiocese was able to make other arrangements. It then reverted to its former status of a college until 1915, when it was closed in order to enable the Society to take charge of the Apostolic Seminary of San José.

THE COLLEGE OF SAN JOSE

The College of San José remained in existence even after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, as we have seen. It func-

tioned first as a seminary for priests, then as a liberal-arts college, and in 1875 it was incorporated into the University of Santo Tomás as a college of medicine and pharmacy. With the transfer of sovereignty from Spain to the United States, the question arose as to whether the endowment of San José, consisting chiefly of the San Pedro Tunasan and Lian Estates, was the property of the state or of the Catholic Church. In 1909 the supreme court of the Philippines decided in favor of the Catholic Church. The following year, St. Pius X issued a brief returning the San José endowment to the Society of Jesus, to be used for the support of an apostolic seminary devoted to the training of secular priests. The transfer of the college and its properties was not completed until 1915, when the Seminary of San José opened in the building formerly occupied by the Escuela Normal and its successor, the Colegio de San Francisco Javier. When the Ateneo de Manila buildings in Intramuros burned down in 1932, San José Seminary gave up the Padre Faura site to the college and moved, first to the old mission house and then to a building of its own in the district of Balintawak. When this was destroyed in the recapture of Manila in 1945, it transferred to another site in the same district, within Quezon City, where it is at present.

THE COLLEGE OF VIGAN

Another seminary entrusted to the Society during the American period was that of Vigan. At the request of Bishop Dougherty, the Jesuits took charge of it in 1905 and continued to conduct it until 1924. Besides teaching in the seminary, the fathers, Father John Thompkins in particular, undertook considerable mission, retreat and catechetical work in the diocese, thus helping to preserve the Catholic faith of the Ilocanos against the proselytizing activities of Protestant and Aglipayan ministers.

EL ARCHIPIELAGO FILIPINO

In 1901, Father José Algué, director of the Manila Observatory, saw through the press in Washington two large volumes and an atlas entitled *El archipiélago filipino*, a valuable col-

lection of scientific and anthropological data. It was prepared by the Observatory staff with the assistance of other Jesuit fathers and was published at the expense of the U.S. government. The status of the Observatory as the government weather bureau was confirmed by law the same year.

THE OBSERVATORY

Under the direction of Father Algué (1897-1926) and of his successor, Father Miguel Selga (1926-1942) the Observatory achieved international repute as a center of meteorological, astronomical and seismic research. The barocyclonometer designed by Father Algué was used extensively by ships sailing in tropical waters until the advent of radio communication, and Father Charles Deppermann's researches in the genesis and paths of typhoons constituted a distinct advance in the meteorology of the Pacific.⁴

Less well known is the fact that the Observatory staff conducted research in other fields as well. Father Robert Brown, continuing the entomological studies begun by Father William Stanton, presented the Smithsonian Institution with specimens of one new genus and eleven new species of hymenoptera. Father William Repetti, for many years chief of the seismic section, whose work in this field is known to seismologists and geologists, collected documentary material on the work of the Jesuits in the Philippines in his spare time, published several monographs on the subject, and was writing a full-scale history when failing eyesight obliged him to abandon the project.

The seizure by the Japanese Occupation Forces of the Observatory's buildings, instruments and records and their total destruction in the Battle of Manila of 1945 put an end to its meteorological work and hence to its status as the government weather bureau. However, it reopened at Mirador in Baguio City with Father Deppermann as director. Seismic work was resumed with new instruments, ionosphere research was under-

⁴ See James J. Henessey "Charles E. Deppermann S.J., Philippine Scientist" *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* V (1957) 311-329. A bibliography of Father Deppermann's works is found *ibid.* pp. 330-335. Other articles on the Manila Observatory have appeared in *PHILIPPINE STUDIES*.

taken by Father James Hennessey, the present director, and solar research is now in progress under Father Richard Miller.

NEW DEGREES AT THE ATENEO

Government recognition was extended to the Ateneo de Manila when in 1908 it was authorized to confer the degree of Bachelor of Arts and certificates in commerce, stenography, mechanics, electrical engineering and topographic measurement. The course in electrical engineering had been introduced the previous year at the suggestion of the Manila Electric Company. English gradually replaced Spanish as the medium of instruction and adaptations were made to the American system of education as introduced in the public schools of the Islands, without sacrificing the basic objectives and methods of Jesuit education. By 1914, the school had been reorganized into three departments: a department of elementary instruction consisting of three grades (*infima*, *media* and *superior*), corresponding to the three intermediate grades of the public-school system; a college department comprising six years of humanistic and scientific studies, corresponding to the four-year high school and two-year college of the public-school system; and a department of applied studies, in which courses were given in commerce, surveying, mechanics and electricity. Electives were: painting, music, stenography, typewriting and gymnastics.

THE ATENEO UNDER AMERICAN DIRECTION

It became increasingly clear, however, that the changed social milieu demanded more than merely a reorganization of studies. It demanded American teachers. Accordingly, arrangements were made for the Maryland-New York Province to send twenty American Jesuits to the Philippines. They arrived in 1921 and were assigned principally to the Ateneo with Father Francis X. Byrne assuming the office of rector. Under American administration the A.B. course was lengthened to four years, organized athletics were introduced, and greater stress was laid on extra-curricular activities, particularly those with a social orientation. A cadet corps was formed with U.S. Army instructors (1921) and the teaching of Christian doctrine to

public-school children was undertaken by the Ateneo Catechetical Instruction League (1924). One of the Ateneo's great teachers of the humanities, Father Joseph Mulry, took his students on tours of the neighboring provinces to observe conditions in the rural areas at first-hand and to explain the social encyclicals to planter and peasant alike. This Bellarmine Club later developed into the Chesterton Evidence Guild, which made use of the radio and the pamphlet for the same purpose, the present Social Order Club, and a separate Institute of Social Order.

THE FIRE OF 1932

On 13 August 1932, a fire which started in a store on Real Street at about 8:45 in the evening swept through intervening buildings to the Ateneo and razed it to the ground. The mission house and San Ignacio Church were saved and no lives were lost, but the loss in physical plant and equipment was staggering. Particularly regretted was the magnificent natural history museum, with its practically irreplaceable zoological and ethnological collections, and the prized collection of Rizaliana. It was quickly decided to move the school to the Padre Faura campus. Additions and changes in the old Escuela Normal building were started at once; and classes were resumed on the new site on 19 September of that same year.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY

A course in sugar technology had been started in 1925 in response to repeated requests by sugar planters in the Visayas, many of them Ateneo alumni. This was expanded in 1936 by Father Eugene Gisel into a separate department of industrial technology. At the same time, two other departments were inaugurated: a law school and a school of commerce. The Ateneo de Manila was thus well on the way towards becoming a university when the second World War intervened.

WORLD WAR II

The school was shut down during the entire period of Japanese occupation; but the concentration in it of several Jesuit communities in the Manila area enabled it to function as

a house of studies for Jesuit scholastics and San José seminarians. When the Japanese authorities seized the buildings, the scholasticate moved in with the Vincentians of San Marcelino church, then with the Augustinians in Intramuros. It was finally broken up in 1944 with the internment of the American Jesuits in Los Baños.

In the recapture of Manila from Japanese suicide units the entire Padre Faura campus was blasted with bombs and gutted with fire. Thus, when the American Jesuits returned to rejoin their Filipino and Spanish brethren after a hairbreadth rescue from Los Baños, they had to build once more from the ground up. Besides the libraries and laboratories, the building most regretted was the Ateneo Auditorium, one of the best theatres in Manila, the scene of many an Ateneo dramatic production, some of which had attained national fame.

In July 1945 high-school classes opened at Plaza Guipit. The following year the school moved to temporary structures built over the ruins of the Padre Faura compound. In 1952, construction was sufficiently advanced for the college and high school to move to a spacious new campus at Loyola Heights in Quezon City. The grade school followed soon afterwards, while the law school and a new graduate school remained at Padre Faura. The school of industrial technology has not been reopened. The Ateneo de Manila has a total enrollment of 4,790 and a faculty of 55 Jesuit and 138 lay teachers.

MINDANAO MISSIONS

Because of disturbed conditions in Mindanao after the outbreak of the Revolution, many of the Jesuits there were recalled to Manila. They returned to their posts after the restoration of peace to find anti-clericalism rampant in the Christian towns and the schismatic sect of Aglipayans growing in number and aggressiveness. In spite of depleted numbers and failing strength, these sturdy Spanish Jesuits held the far-flung battle line, covering amazing distances on horseback and on foot to bring the Mass and the sacraments to the peoples their predecessors had converted. In 1926 the first Jesuits from the Maryland-New York Province came to their assistance and

the following year that province took over the entire Philippine Mission from Aragon.

The whole of Mindanao and Sulu belonged to the diocese of Cebu until 1869, when southern Mindanao and Sulu were attached to the newly created diocese of Jaro. In 1910 the diocese of Zamboanga was established with the most Rev. Michael J. O'Doherty as first bishop. He was succeeded by Bishop McCloskey in 1917 and in 1920 by a Spanish Jesuit, Bishop José Clós, who had been rector of the Ateneo de Manila. In 1933 Pope Pius XI divided Mindanao between the diocese of Zamboanga and a new diocese, that of Cagayan, to which he appointed an American Jesuit, Bishop James Hayes. Since Bishop Clós had died in 1931, a Filipino Jesuit, Bishop Luís del Rosario, was appointed to succeed him. Both Bishop del Rosario and Bishop Hayes have since been created archbishops, and their respective sees archbishoprics.

As other missionary congregations came to the Philippines, they took over from the Jesuits portions of Mindanao and Sulu. In the course of time new dioceses were erected as suffragans to the metropolitan sees of Cagayan and Zamboanga.

As Jesuit mission work diminished, Jesuit educational work expanded in proportion. The Ateneo de Zamboanga was founded in 1916, the Ateneo de Cagayan in 1933, the Ateneo de Naga in 1940, the Ateneo de Tuguegarao in 1945, the Ateneo de San Pablo in 1947 and the Ateneo de Davao in 1948.

In 1958, the Ateneo de Cagayan became Xavier University. This institution has a school of agriculture, trains teachers for both public and private schools, is currently developing an institute of sociological research, and contributes in other ways to the advancement of the rich but undeveloped island with whose history the Jesuits have been so intimately connected.

FILIPINO JESUITS

The need for native priests, so sharply stressed at the turn of the century with reference to the diocesan clergy, could not but be felt among the regular clergy also. What the Society has done about it may best be told by figures. In 1907 there were two Filipino Jesuits, both novices, in a total membership

of the Philippine Mission of 146. Fifty years later, in 1957, every other Jesuit in the Philippines was a Filipino, that is to say, 239 out of 442, or 54%. Of the total number of priests (222), 88 (or 39%) are Filipinos. Of the total number of rectors or local superiors (16), 6 (or 37%) are Filipinos. Candidates are trained first at Sacred Heart Novitiate in Novaliches, where they make their noviceship and literary studies, then at Berchmans College at Cebu, where they study philosophy and the sciences. After a term of teaching in one of the schools, the young scholastic is sent abroad for theology, and frequently for advanced studies in some special field also. Of the total number of priests in active service in the Philippines (185), 170 (or 92%) are holders of academic degrees.

In consideration of this remarkable growth of the Society in the Philippines as an organization truly native to the country, the Jesuit General, Father John Baptist Janssens, raised the Mission to the status of a vice-province dependent on the Province of New York in 1952, and in 1958 to the status of an independent province, called the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The portion of this survey pertaining to the Old Society (prior to 1768) is based on the first volume of the author's history of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, to be published by Harvard University Press. That pertaining to the Restored Society is based on Pablo Pastells' *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas en el siglo XIX* (3 v., Barcelona, 1916); William C. Repetti's unpublished *The Philippine Mission, 1859-1938* (Manila, 1938); and the author's notes. It has not seemed necessary to burden so brief a survey with footnote references, save to articles appearing in this review.