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Title of thesis: The Islamization of the Philippines

Department: Institute of Islamic Studies

Degree: Master of Arts

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to trace the history of Islam in the Philippines from the introduction of Islam in the fifteenth century to the present state of Islam in the Philippines. In this historical study it also describes the gradual emergence of Muslim self-identification in the Philippines.

THE ISLAMIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

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by

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A thesis submitted to the Institute of Islamic Studies,
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,
McGill University, Montreal, Canada,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of master of arts (Islamics)
Montreal, May 1968

FOREWORD

My first exposure to Islam and Muslim culture came as a result of my being assigned to the Muslim section of the Philippine Islands during service with the United States Peace Corps from 1961 to 1963. I found the Filipino Muslim, often called by the Spanish appelation "Moro," to be an extremely colorful and vigorous person but who is largely unknown by those outside the Philippine archipelago. This thesis is an attempt to trace the establishment of Islam in the southern portions of the islands and to come to some type of predictions as to the course the Muslim populations will take in the future.

It is my opinion that it is only within the last two decades that any type of nationalism has arisen among the Muslim populations. I shall attempt to trace this gradual emergence of an identity by the Filipino Muslim with the larger Muslim group and show the possible spheres of influence on the national body politic that the Muslims can have when acting as an organized minority pressure group.

Frances Boylston Winslow

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my deep appreciation to the faculty of the Institute of Islamic Studies, especially Dr. Charles Adams, for the guidance and help given me.

To Mr. Salvador Daza, who has been most helpful in securing information and war records from the Philippines, I extend my sincere thanks.

To my husband, James L. Winslow, I am deeply grateful for without his encouragement and help I would not have been able to complete this work.

F.B.W.

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I

The entire area of Southeast Asia is a region of great diversity and contrast and within the different countries further diversities abound.[1] This statement is particularly true of the Republic of the Philippines. It is a country best characterized by the word "heterogeneous." It is composed of over seven thousand islands. Its twenty-seven million inhabitants speak approximately eighty-seven languages and dialects. Each of these linguistical groups hold similarly divergent customs and beliefs. Throughout its history the Philippines has been exposed to a number of outside cultural forces such as the Arabs, the Indians, the Malays, the Spanish and the Americans. These cultural forces have left deep impressions on the culture. The Spanish were successful in Christianizing ninety-three per cent of the present day population. The Arabs left their imprint by converting the southern section, which represents about four per cent of the population, to Islam. Protestantism brought by the Americans and the paganism of the aborigines claim the remainder of the islands' peoples.

On first impression one is led to believe that as a result of these diverse and strong alien cultural influences that there is no truly distinct Filipino culture. But upon closer analysis one begins to realize that these cultural and social patterns have not been borrowed intact. Instead, only certain specific external influences were borrowed and these were reshaped to conform

to the pre-existing external institutions, values and beliefs in response to the local needs. Thus, the different tribal groups[2] selected and assimilated different cultural influences from the various cultural invaders. In some ways the outside influences helped to reduce the disparity among these heterogeneous groups with which they came in contact. In other cases, these outside cultural influences heightened the disparity, particularly between those groups with which they came in contact and those they did not. For example, the Muslim Arab influences in the southern part of the Philippine Islands tended to produce a leveling of local differences among those tribes in that area. However, at the same time it increased the differences between those tribes in the northern islands which did not share this common cultural factor of Muslim culture and those tribes in the southern islands who did.

This thesis is a study of those people who did come in contact with the Muslim culture. Today they number about a million and a half and control about one-fourth of the territory of the Philippines, extending from Borneo through northern Mindanao and Palawan. At this point, it will be worthwhile to make a cursory study of the geography of the area.

It is divided into three main regions: the Sulu archipelago, western Mindanao, and Palawan and Cagayan Sulu. The Sulu archipelago extends from Basilan Strait on the southwestern extremity

of Mindanao for 220 miles in a southwesterly direction to Alic Channel, off the northeast coast of Borneo, and comprises more than three hundred islands of various sizes. These islands can be conveniently divided into three principal groups: that of Basilan on the east, Jolo in the center, and Tawitawi on the west. The Sulu archipelago enjoys a much more even and cooler temperature than Mindanao. The nights are comfortably cool and, although strong winds and heavy rains are not uncommon, there are seldom any gales or typhoons to reap heavy disaster.[3] Because of the smooth seas, seafaring is one of the major occupations.

The Basilan group of islands is not part of the province of Zamboanga. Basilan island which, with the southwest end of Mindanao, forms the Strait of Basilan is the largest and principal island of the group. It is thirty-two miles wide and twenty miles long. The greater part of the island is mountainous and heavily wooded. Many of the higher mountains are frequently covered by clouds. The shores are largely bordered by a low belt of sand and coral debris on which mangrove swamps have formed. On the northwest coast of the island is the settlement known as Isabela de Basilan which was formerly a place of considerable local importance, being the site of a navy yard and repair shops. At the present time, it is the headquarters for several rubber and cocoanut plantations and for the lumbering operations in that vicinity.[4]

The Jolo group includes the Samals, Jolo, Pangutaran and Tapul Islands, which comprise the eastern and northern part of the present Province of Sulu. Of the Jolo group of islands, the most important is Jolo itself, an island about forty-three miles wide and from three to thirteen miles long. The island is a series of hills and valleys with the highest range lying at the west side and rising 2,665 feet above the sea at its topmost peak. The coast, especially the northern, is generally wooded and clear as are also the coasts of the bordering isles and islets. They are slightly indented, forming several bays where there is good anchorage, the most sheltered and secure during the monsoon season being that of Dalrymple or Tulayan Harbor. The only good drinking water is to be found in the town of Jolo; outside the city limits, the people drink from the rivers at low tide or from shallow wells. The island has a pleasing tropic isle appearance; the mountains are covered with magnificent trees, green pasturage or, in a few cases, are cultivated to the summit. Jolo, the capital of the Province of Sulu, is situated on the coast about one-half mile east of Belan Point. It is a port of entry and the seat of considerable trade. The town is neatly laid out in three of four streets lined with shade trees and is partially surrounded by a wall. The trade is largely in the hands of Chinese, the business district being located southwestward of and outside the walls and extending from the market to the large wooden pier on which the Chinese town is built. The town

of Jolo is a site of great importance in the history of the Muslim Filipino and has been of concern to the Spanish, American and present Filipino governments for the past three centuries.[5]

The Tawitawi group of islands is the least settled in the Sulu archipelago. The group extends from Maniacolat and Babuan islands on the east, located about thirty-four miles south of Jolo island. Tawitawi island, by far the largest, is approximately twenty-eight miles long and seven miles wide. The larger islands are mountainous or hilly and are wooded with deciduous trees of great height. The shore lines are defined by coral in some form or by mangrove trees growing above the highwater mark. The remaining islets are of coral formation and little more than morasses of palmettos and mangroves. Bongao island is the largest town in this vicinity and consists of a Muslim village, a Chinese community and a federal constabulary post. A launch sails to Jolo every two weeks for supplies.[6]

The second region important to any study of the Muslim Filipinos is the island of Mindanao, the second largest island in the Philippine archipelago. On the north, Mindanao faces Negros, Cebu, Bohol and Leyte across stretches of water of varying widths. The strait of Surigao, scene of one of the decisive sea battles of the Second World War, is less than five miles in width, but the waterway rapidly widens until Mindanao can no longer be seen from the Visayas. The eastern part of Mindanao is mountainous in the

extreme and has been considered a region of little importance save as a source of gold. The irregular coastline affords scant protection from fierce typhoons which approach from the Marianas. The area is inhabited by the Mandays and Bagobos, pagan peoples whose customs are but little known. The southern coast is deeply indented, forming the gulf of Davao. Davao, the city, is the chief commercial center of southern Mindanao, which because of its rich farming soil, timber resources, cocoanut groves and abaca plantations, is the richest province in the Philippines. To the westward, a mountain chain forms an extension culminating in the Zamboanga Peninsula. This western extension of the island is highly significant in the history of the Muslims, for in this region several sultanates have flourished since the fourteenth century.[7]

There is little of interest on the western coast of Zamboanga peninsula. The mountains which form the extension fall into the sea abruptly, leaving few places for habitation excepting at Port Santa Maria. The hills are densely forested with hardwood trees while in other localities, the boulders are almost hidden by cogon grass. This coast has not been of importance to the inhabitants of the island. It is the preserve of a few pagans driven to the hills by the onslaught of stronger tribes who appropriated the better lands to the eastward.

At the extreme end of the Zamboanga Peninsula is Caldera Bay, a shallow cove whose beach was the site of the first Spanish outpost in the area. From Caldera Point, the coast trends southeasterly for seven miles to the city of Zamboanga. It consists of sand beaches with some rocky bluffs and is low, steep and wooded. Zamboanga, the principal city of Mindanao and the capital of the Province of Zaboanga, is situated on the southwestern extremity of the island facing Basilan Strait. It is now the center of trade for the southwest section of Mindanao and for the northern portion of the Sulu archipelago. A short distance from the city, the coast bends abruptly northward and continues in this general direction for fifty miles to Sibuguey Bay. The coast is interrupted by headlands and in some localities by dense mangrove swamps. The area is uninhabited. The coast then trends eastward irregularly to Flecha Point, a rocky ledge back of which the land rises gradually to Mount Flech. The point, famous for the battle fought there, is heavily wooded and very prominent. East of Point Flecha is Illana Bay, a site of major activity in Muslim history.

The Illana Bay district of Mindanao has within it three towns of significance. The first is Malabang which in modern times is small owing its importance to the fact that there is a constabulary post and that the main highway between Cotabata and Dansalan leaves the coast at this place. Further along the coast is Parang and still further is Cotabato. Cotabato is a town of considerable

importance, being the center of trade for the Mindanao Valley and the surrounding coastal area. The Mindanao River is the largest river in the island of Mindanao. It discharges five to ten miles from Parang by two large tributaries. It is not an appealing area, with none of the airy grace of the more northern area of Lanao nor the tropical beauty of Sulu. The interior of Cotabato is a vast swampland criss-crossed by sluggish streams which empty into the Rio Grande as it flows relunctantly to the sea. The atmosphere is hot and oppressive, the towns are drab and overlayers of dust and mud alternate according to the season; it is an unhealthful and relatively unproductive area.

In contrast to the north of Cotabato lies Lanao. Marawi City, formerly called Dansalan, is the focal point of the population. It is situated on Lake Lanao which is some 200 square kilometers in area, and sits at an altitude of 2300 feet. To the east, mountains rise to an altitude of about 5000 feet; in the south and west, rolling hills lead away to Illana Bay and the Zamboanga Peninsula. To the north, the lake's basin spills abruptly down to Iligan City and the sea. Tropical vegetation covers the mountain slopes, which have not yet suffered the depredations of slash-and-burn agriculturalists, and the sluggish heat and humidity of the Philippine lowlands is here tempered by the altitude. It is one of the loveliest areas in the Philippines and holds much promise as a potential tourist and recreation site.

The most isolated of the Muslim populated areas is the area of Cagayan de Sulu (or Cagayan Sulu) and Palawan. These are two wild, remote islands lying to the northwest of Mindanao. The area is overgrown with jungle bush and abounds with malaria mosquitos. In the interior timer affords some means of subsistance for the few inhabitants of the island, but as a general rule, the two islands are unsuited for either agricultural or industrial development.

Thus it is this geographic area that a study of the Muslim Filipinos is concerned. The total geographic area which they control is about one-third of the Philippine archipelago even though they represent only about four per cent of the Filipino population.

It is generally agreed that there are ten more or less distinct ethno-linguistic groups which comprise this Muslim population. These are (1) the Maguindanao (550,000) of Cotabato, (2) the Maranao (450,000) of Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur, (3) the Taw Sug (175,000) of Sulu, (4) the Samal (160,000) of the outer islands of Sulu, (5) the Yakan (100,000) of Basilan Island, south of Zamboanga City, (6) the Badjau (20,000) the sea gypsies of Sulu, (7) the Sangil (50,000) of southern Cotabato and Davao, (8) the Molebuganon (50,000) of Balabad Island between Palawan and North Borneo, (9) the Jama Mapun (10,000) of Cagayan de Sulu Island, and (10) the Palawani[8] (53,000) of Palawan.[9]

These tribes all share the common religion of Islam, and thus, are described as Filipino Muslims or "Moros."[10] However as is true of the island population as a whole, the Muslim group is a highly heterogeneous group and should not be considered as a uniform group. Within the over-all bonds of Islam the Muslim populations differ in general as much among themselves as they do when compared with the Christians, the other religious group in the Philippines, and the pagans. For as it will be further explored later in this thesis, the peoples who became Muslim had their separate cultures and ways before they were converted to Islam and much of this separateness has persisted to the present day.

In some cases, as between the Maranao and the Maguindanao tribes, which are two of the largest, the differences may be small, both because the earlier belief systems and cultures were closely related because of their geographic propinquity and also because pressures toward orthodoxy and standardization were strong. In other cases, as between the Maranao and the Sangil (the Sea Gypsies of Sulu) the differences are much greater.

Each of the ten Muslim groups occupies a more or less distinct territory, although in several cases the smaller groups are interspersed with the larger groups. In the Sulu archipelago the Samal and the Taw Sug are mixed on various islands. However, they also form the sole or controlling part of specific islands. Generally speaking, the Taw Sug control more territory in the portion

nearest Mindanao, whereas, the Samal increased in numbers towards Borneo and the outlaying islands.[11]

Another distinguishing characteristic of the Muslim tribes is that each of the different groups speaks a different language. Generally the name of the language is derived from the name of the tribe, i.e. a Maranao speaks Maranao, the Taw Sug speaks Taw Sug. Some of the languages are mutually intelligible such as Maranao and Maguidanao and also Badjau and Samal. However, there is no one language understood by all the Muslim groups. Structurally the languages are a part of the Malayan-Polynesian language group though Arabic words have been adopted to cover religious terms. Where these languages have been written down the Arabic script has been adopted. For the most part the Muslim groups are monolingual which is unique in polylingual Philippines. The exceptions to this are the Samal and the Badja. Both of these groups live in close association with the Taw Sug and know that language as well as their own. The Taw Sug do not return the favor as they feel superior to the weaker Samals and Badjau.[12]

Although the Muslim groups are by definition all Muslims, the degree to which they adhere to their religion and the degree to which the religious rites and beliefs of Islam are known and/or practiced varies widely. The most orthodox Muslims are found among the larger groups--the Taw Sug, the Maranao, the Maguidanao--particularly where there are large concentrations of people. In the

more isolated regions and among the smaller groups such as the Badjau and the Yakan many pagan beliefs and practices are found.[13]

Even the Muslim groups recognize the "degree of Islamization" for they use the religiousness of the different groups as a basis upon which to rank the groups. The Taw Sug consider themselves the superior Moro group because they were the first to be converted to Islam and achieved the highest and most extensive political development. Indeed, the Taw Sug "keeps the ordinary Samal at a distance and regards the Ilanun, the Maranao and the Maguidanao as rather uncouth, 'alipulu'."[14] Next to the Taw Sug is the Maguidanao who is ranked above their cousin tribe the Maranao because they were the first on the Island of Mindanao to be converted. The Maranao were the next to be converted and so are ranked above the Samal. Last of the groups are the Yakan and the Badjau who have never had any real political independence, and are looked upon by other Muslims as almost being pagan. As mentioned before, the Palawani are not recognized by other Muslims as being a Muslim group.

In an effort to underscore the heterogeneous nature of the Muslim groups, I shall give a brief description of the four major groups which make up ninety-two per cent of the Muslim population: The Taw Sug, the Maranao, the Samal, and the Maguidanao.

The Taw Sug was the first of the Philippine peoples to whom Islam was introduced and as indicated hold an extremely high place in Muslim hierarchy. They are a vigorous and proud people and

constitute the backbone of the original and oldest sultanate, the Sultanate of Sulu. The Samals and Badjau also live under this sultanate. Numerically the Taw Sug represent the third largest Muslim group. They can be roughly divided into two sub-groups; the Paianon or "the people of the landing" who live on or near the sea, and Guimbahanon or "hill people" who live in the interior of the islands of Sulu.[15] Thos who live near the sea are famed as navigators and their native cargo craft ranges far and wide over the seas between the Philippines and Borneo and Indonesia. (They are the smugglers supreme!) Those of the "hill" practice agriculture. The 1939 census estimated that about fifteen per cent of the Taw Sug live outside their area.[16] This suggests that as a result of population pressure, they are an out-migrating group. They move about the Sulu and Celebes Seas as traders and fishermen, smugglers and pirates, and are found in settlements along the coast of Mindanao, Palawan and Borneo.

Even though most of the Taw Sug men and women retain the traditional dress of the "sawal" (loose baggy pants of colorful cloth) and the "pice" (the colorful end of cloth draped over the shoulder), the Taw Sug appears to be more cosmopolitan than the other Muslim Filipinos. A surprisingly high number of Taw Sug have had education, some becoming doctors, lawyers and schoolteachers.

Of all the Muslim groups, the Taw Sug have the most well-established political system, though in modern times the traditional

political authority seems to be breaking down. For over 400 years, the Taw Sug enjoyed the most nearly unified independent state of any of the Muslim groups. It was not, indeed, until 1879 that the Spanish were able to establish treaty relations with the Sultanate and not until the first decade of this century that the American forces were able to compel anything resembling minimum conditions of law and order on their own terms.[17] "Peace and order" still remain the primary focus of Philippine Government attention in Sulu, and guerrilla war against the "outlaws" and against an alien way of life continues on both sides.

Historically, the Sultanate of Sulu had its seat at Maimbung, on the southern coast of Jolo. Under the Sultan, whose position was hereditary, was an appointive prime minister and a council of state whose members were known as "panglimas." Religious authority resided with the "imams," the religious leaders. Subordinate to the Sultan, and in an indirect policy sense to the "panglimas" were the "datus," or chiefs of what amounted to qualified kinship groups who held their positions by virtue of heredity. (They could, however, be asked by their followers to step down if they showed themselves unjust or inept; there are several cases on recent record of datus voluntarily relinquishing office when they felt that they failed to measure up to its high standards.) The Sultan's power, within the limits of Qu'ranic and customary (adat) sanction as propounded by the high imam, was absolute.

The last of the powerful Sultans, however, died in 1936; and the 20-year interregnum before his successor could be decided upon, the internal struggles that accompanied his choice, the upheaval of World War II and the increasing penetration of constitutional authority appear to have worked together to mark the end of the golden era of the sultanate. There is still a Sultan with his retinue, there are still datus with hereditary office, but temporal power appears to be passing irrevocably to the national government. The Sultan no longer receives tribute, his personality is no longer publicly prominent, and he can no longer even appoint local religious authorities without the advice and consent of the Sulu Islamic Congress, a type of umbrella organization.

Maranao means "people of the lake," and refers to Lake Lanao which has been the traditional home of the Maranao Muslims around which all but ten per cent of their population is concentrated.[18] There they have lived in comparative isolation for centuries. Of all the Philippine Muslim groups they were the last to be Islamized; they were the last to submit to American authority, and today appear to be the least affected of the major Muslim groups by external influences. The women wear particularly bright, occasionally even garish, colors in their "malong" (a loose wrap-around skirt which can be pulled over the head and shoulders) and "tobao" (a kerchief wound around the head much in the manner of a squashed turban). Their blouses are generally white and the costume is frequently topped

by gaily decorated parasols. Although western styles of dress are more prevalent among the men in the city, the masculine version of the malong is frequently seen. Almost without exception, the men wear the "kopia," which bears a passing resemblance to the Sukarno style cap. The most frequently used cosmetic among both men and women is "buyo," betelnut mixed with lime. Among the Maranao, the women especially are accustomed to lightening their complexions with a heavy layer of rice powder. Women with blackened, filed teeth and highly painted lower lips are considered especially attractive. Gold is a status symbol. Ladies frequently wear gold dollars or other coins or trinkets as necklaces and gold bracelets and earrings; the men, if funds remain after providing for the ladies, sport gold buttons or other ornaments.

Maranao architecture and arts differ considerably from those found in other parts of the Philippines. The houses are generally constructed of unpainted wood and consist of one large room set off the ground and rising to a peaked roof. The household of an aging datu in the district of Ramain, east of Marawi City, is perhaps worthy of description as it is representative of the traditional style. The house itself is in the traditional style and consists of a room measuring approximately 30' by 50'. Although a few wooden chairs have been introduced, visitors customarily use mats laid on the planked floor. Around the walls sit heavy brass trays and jars, many of which were made across the lake in Tugaya, a district

known for its artisans in brass. A set of miniature lantake (cannons) used for ceremonial saluting lies near the door and an ancient Chinese lantaka guards the entrance. Additional ceremonial brass--the quantity is a rough indication of wealth and status among the Maranao, hangs from overhead beams in the company of brightly-colored, furled ceremonial flags and several magnificent pieces of Chinese sleeping mats and pillows and several canvas hammock-cradles for babies. The datu's bed is a huge brass four poster from which gold dollars are hung in abundance. This bed he shares with one of his two current wives, he had outlived three others, who otherwise sleep on the floor with the children and grand-children. They number sixty-eight in all. Although he practices polygamy, most of the Maranao do not for reasons of economy.

In effect, this household is supported by fifteen to twenty other households of the agama. The "agama" is the basic unit of Maranao society. The agama is basically a kinship group bound together by a variety of kinship relationships, by varying social, political and religious activities, and numbering from ten to as many as one hundred or more households. Land in the agama area is held and worked more or less in common. Only the datu can alienate the land, and from each harvest he derives a substantial share.

Unlike the Taw Sug, the Maranao have never had a unified state under a single sultan. If an agama was large and wealthy enough, a datu could in effect file an application for sultanhood. A council

of Maranao sultans is thereupon convoked, is entertained lavishly by the applicant and his followers, and passes judgement on the request. Similarly, a group may split off from an agama, establish a new mosque and thus add a new element to the social structure. Maranao society, hence, is not entirely static. Indeed, special titles of prestige which convey no formally defined duties but do afford a degree of social mobility are not infrequently created for persons who have acquired power or wealth, or who have exceptional ability. It is interesting to note that these honorary titles rarely reflect participation with the Muslim society but rather indicate recognition by non-Muslim or non-Filipino groups.

The Maguindanao is the most conservative of the major Muslim groups. Socially they are structured in a manner much like that of the Maranaos but without the vigor or vitality which characterize Maranao institutions. The people, with scattered exceptions, are dressed shabbily in aging western clothes, the mosques are generally run down, and the traditional arts are rapidly dying out.

Because the area inhabitated by the Maguidanao is an extremely fertile area, they have been subject to more immediate contact with non-Muslim groups than the other major Muslim groups. This influx of outside settlers has had important effects on the province. Traditional authority came into conflict with legal authority earlier, to the detriment of the traditional.

The Samals and the other minor groups represent the subjugated elements of Philippine Muslim populations. They are for the most part dominated by the Taw Sug and the Maguindanao. The Samals are scattered from Borneo to the Mindanao. Politically, the Samals have never had an independent existence, and circumstances have obliged them to be, in their homeland, loyal commoners, serving beneath the Taw Sug. They rarely inter-marry with the proud Taw Sug but otherwise their lives are intermixed, one being dependent upon the other. They are largely sea-oriented people and thousands of them live on their boats, while the rest live in coastal villages composed of stilted houses built out over the water. Economically they are the poorest of the major Muslim groups.

Footnotes

[1]Lucien W. Pye, "Southeast Asia," Modern Political Systems: Asia, edited by Robert E. Ward and Roy C. Macridis (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 297.

[2]By the use of the word "tribal" I mean to attach no connotation denoting degree or level of sophistication or cultural development. I simply mean a small, distinct geographical and governmental cultural group.

[3]Adeline Knapp, The Story of the Philippines (New York: Silver Burdett and Co., 1902), p. 233.

[4]Benamira, Ramon P., Southern Development (Manila: Free Press, 1952), p. 181.

[5]Perpetua, Antonia A., Sulu World (Manila: Free Press, 1950), p. 66.

[6]Knapp, p. 236.

[7]Knapp, p. 240.

[8]The Palawani is an isolated group whose beliefs and practices are partly Muslim, partly pagan. For this reason, they are often not recognized by other Muslim groups as being part of the Muslim population.

[9]Anonymous paper, "The Muslim Minority" (mimeographed by Agency for International Development: Manila: 1963), p. 3.

[10]The term was given by the Spanish to the Muslim population because of the Spaniards previous experience in Spain with the Moors. Nowadays the Muslim population often feels that the term "Moro" is perjorative and denotes a barbaric, war-like person. They prefer to be called Muslim.

[11]Human Relations Files Inc. Area Handbook of the Philippines, Vol. IV (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1950) pp. 1736-1737.

[12]Peter G. Gowing, Mosque and Moro: A Study of Muslims in the Philippines (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, 1964), p. 11.

[13]Human Relations Area Files, p. 30.

[14]Edward M. Kinder, "The Moros in the Philippines," Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 124-125.

[15]Gowing, p. 2.

[16]Gowing, p. 2.

[17]John G. Hemphill, Philippine Isles (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1936), p. 231.

[18]Gowing, p. 3.

[13]Human Relations Area Files, p. 30.

[14]Edward M. Kinder, "The Moros in the Philippines," Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 124-125.

[15]Gowing, p. 2.

[16]Gowing, p. 2.

[17]John G. Hemphill, Philippine Isles (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1936), p. 231.

[18]Gowing, p. 3.

II

EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD

The introduction of Islam to the Philippine Islands was but a continuation of the process of Islamization of Southeast Asia which began when the Arab traders living in Hydramaut, India, started making expeditions eastward toward Sumatra and Malaya. It is not definitely known exactly when the first Arab traders extended their religion from the Malay peninsula to Borneo, then to Sulu and finally to the rest of the Philippines. However, we do know that when the Spaniards came in 1565, Islam was well established in the southern portions of the island and had made in-roads in the north with the present site of the capital Manila being under Muslim rule in 1570 A.D. Judging by the fact that the Malaccas were penetrated in 1276[1] A.D., the Portuguese Moluccas in 1456, and by certain folk-lore in the Philippines,[2] it is commonly believed that the first Muslim missionary traveler arrived in the Philippines about 1380 A.D. This remarkably rapid advancement of Islam is attributed by Hurley as being because the Muslim adventurers were not destroyers of the culture but rather sought to adapt the native culture to the ways of the faith of Islam:

> The priests of Mohammed were among the most potent spreaders of civilization in the history of man. Their religion did not tear down and strip and destroy as did that of the early Christians. The priests of Mohammed brought culture and writing and the arts,

> and they added these things to the culture they found in their new lands. They were not destroyers, but were satisfied to improve the old culture.[3]

It is doubtful that the motivations of the first Muslims are as noble as ascribed to them by Hurley. Nevertheless it is true that they were content to make adjustments in their religion to accommodate local customs and mores. They were after all traders by occupation and thus their primary goal was not to convert the region to their religion but rather to develop further fields for trading. It was only incidentally that they brought their religion to the area. This is in direct contrast to the Spanish who some years later invade the territory with the express goal of christianizing the area.

From the various local histories and genealogies (called tarsila) it is evident that Islam was introduced to the different tribes at different times and by different agents. The first Muslim missionary to the Philippines about which there is any knowledge was Sharif Makdum. He was an Arab judge supposedly from Hydramut, India. He landed on the island of Simunul around 1380 and had considerable success in converting the tribe of Taw Sug to Islam. He was followed by Rajah Baguinday who came from Sumatra and who, together with an invasion force, easily subdued the inhabitants of the Sulu islands and converted the inhabitants at least nominally to Islam.[4] It is reported that Baguinda introduced elephants in Sulu, descendants of which were found by the Spaniards generations later[5] (they are now extinct).

Baguinda's son-in-law, Sharif Abu Bakr, A Muslim scholar of unknown origin (most likely Arab), inherited the rule over Sulu. He remodelled the government after that of an Arabian sultanate and styled himself "sultan." In doing so, he virtually claimed the Prophet Mohammed as an ancestor and assumed religious as well as political authority over his subjects. He had considerable success with reconciling local customs with the laws of Islam and the teachings of the Qur'an.

About the time Abu Bakr reigned in Sulu, Islam became firmly established on Mindanao. This was the work of one man: Sharif Mohammed Kabungsuwan, a native of mixed Arab and Malayan ancestry. In 1451, Kabungsuwan at the head of a small army of Samals, who were the only ethnic group to emigrate to the Philippines as Muslims, landed at the mouth of the Cotabato River.

According to the major tarsila[6] Sharif Mohammed Kabungsuwan was the son of Sharif Ali Zainul Abidin, a descendant of the Prophet and an emigrant from Hadramaut to Johore, who married the daughter of the Sultan of Johore. Three sons were born to this union. According to the Maguindanao tarsila, but unconfirmed by those of Jolo, the oldest of the three sons was Ahmad who founded the sultanate of Brunei, the second son was Alawi, also known as Mohammed, who founded the sultanate of Sulu, and the youngest of the three was Kabungsuwan, who sailed to Mindanao and there founded the sultanate of Maguindanao.

Saleeby has recorded the only written record of the Maguindanao tarsila.

THE GENEALOGY AND HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF MINDANAO

The land of paradise was brought by the angels from the west (Arabia) to Mindanao. Later the angels moved paradise to Madinat, but the earth did not balance and tipped on the side of Mindanao. They then measured the earth to find its center, but it had none. Then the angels took paradise and carried it to Mecca, but a part of it remained in Mindanao.

Sharif Awliya knew that and came to Mindanao to search for it. He saw a column of smoke, and as he came to this smoke he found that it was a woman. He took her and married her and begot a daughter whose name was Paramisúli, whom he left in the blessed land.

Afterwards there came from Juhūr Sharif Hasan and Sharif Maraja, who were brothers. Sharif Hasan came to Sulu, and from him descended all the datus of Sulu. Sharif Maraja had two sons, Sharif Bidayan and Sharif Timbangan. He or one of his sons lived at Basilan. Sharif Hasan and Sharif Maraja were followed by Sharif Kabungsuwan, a nephew of Sharif Maraja. Sharif Maraja was the first Mohammedan who came to Bawangin, which is Mindanao. He first came to Slangan (the western part of Cotabato), where he saw Burak (an animal intermediate between a bird and a horse) light on a bamboo tree. Burak slipped and let fall his load, which was the lady, Paramisúli. Sharif Maraja dived into the river and brought up Paramisúli; later he married her and begot several children. The oldest of his children was Tabunaway, the youngest Mamālu. The daughters were Sarabāmun and Pindaw.

Some time after that Sharif Kabungsuwan came from Juhūr and anchored at Tinundan (a stream or estuary very near the mouth of the Rio Grande of Mindanao). There was nobody there then; but the sharif saw a taro plant and a cornstalk floating down, and said, "There must be some people at the head of this river; let us wait until they come down." Later there came down the river Manúmbali, the datu of Slangan, with seven men, to fish at Tinundan. They saw Sharif Kabungsuwan.

The sharif called them, but they could not understand him. He beckoned to them, but one of them died on that account, and they were frightened and returned. Later the people of Katittwan, having heard of this, came down the river to see the sharif, but they also could not understand him, and one of their men died of the same cause. They again returned and told Tabunaway, who came down the river and saw Sharif Kabungsuwan. The sharif called to Tabunaway and Mamālu, who both understood him and came into his boat. Tabunaway saw the ring of Sharif Kabungsuwan, and the sharif observed the ring of Tabunaway. The sharif then asked Tabunaway how he had become possessed of this ring, and if he had bought or inherited it. Tabunaway replied that he had not bought the ring, but that he had inherited it. "Then," said the sharif, "you must be a descendant of my uncle." He then informed Tabunaway of his relation to him, and they became acquainted with each other. They then went up the river together in the boat of Sharif Kabungsuwan and came to Magindanao (which is Cotabato). There Kabungsuwan met Sarabānun, the sister of Tabunaway, and asked to marry her. Tabunaway consented and the sharif married Sarabānun, but she died before her child was born.

After the death of his father Tabunaway became datu of Magindanao.

Sitti Paramisúli, the mother of Tabunaway, had asked her son to bury her comb, after her death, underneath her window. This he did. The comb grew and became a large bamboo tree. As Mamālu was cutting the tree one day he found a lady in one of the bamboo joints which he had cut. The blow had reached her little finger and cut it slightly. He took the child to Tabunaway who told Mamālu to adopt her because he had no children. They called her Putri Tunīna, because they thought their mother had come to life again. As she was a virgin and of age she was married to Sharif Kabungsuwan and bore three daughters. The first daughter was called Mamuranda, and married Pulwa, the datu of Bwayan. The seond was called Milagandi, and married Mālang-sa-Ingud, who is also a datu of Bwayan. The third daughter was called Putri Batūla.

Sambug, the son of Tabunaway, married and begot Dagansina. Dagansina begot Ampan; Ampan begot Alang; Alang begot Dumāya, who married Duyuttanan, who is from Liyámin in Balabagan. Dumāya begot

> Lawana and Mandawa and Taluwa. Lawana begot Bansara. Bansara begot Iput and Ibrahim and Jubayr and the following daughters: Lamyuna, Kalima, and Malubay, the mother of Sultan Izra of Ramitan. From Lamyuna descended Mohammed, whose children are Gayag and Sakandar and Undang. Kalima bore Antim. Antim begot Jayra and Tunug.
>
> Iput begot Karija. Ibrahim begot Ugu. Ugu begot Mintal and Umar, one of whom was a judge (kali). The judge begot Ruranun and Gansing and Mamalu and a daughter called Mandi. Kali Ruranun begot Nyaw and Tarawya and Mangilay. Mamalu begot Kudarat and Dawuntánan and Mantag. Nyaw begot Jamarun and Kawali. Tarawya begot Anggris and Sayd. Mangilay begot Abbas and Payag and Dadaw. Mandi begot Gawi and Mindang and Inding. Gawi begot Lambway and Ekaran and Gandayra. Mindang begot Rakman. Inding begot Dindaw.[7]

Kabungsuwan appears to have encountered little opposition to his aims. Probably the invading forces had firearms. The crude spears of the natives were no match for the conqueror's cannons nor were their animistic superstititons when confronted by a superior religion. It is still a prevalent custom among the Mindanao Muslims to exempt certain families from payment of taxes to the datu. The traditional reason given is that Kabungsuwan bestowed this favor upon native chiefs who supported him in his earliest days on the island. The missionary married a daughter of one of the local chiefs and thus joined his line with that of the traditional authority. The Maguindanao sultanate and the later sultantes were thus established with a minimum of social upheaval and with much less bloodshed than usual for Islam on the march.

The Sulu tarsila declares that the first Muslim among them was Makdum, a learned Arabian who had first converted Malacca and then ventured to Jolo where he was most zealous in converting the natives. The date of his arrival has been estimated to have been 1380.[8] Within a decade, he was joined by Rajah Baginda from the Menangkebao district of Sumatra. Rajah Baginda was made the supreme ruler of all of the Muslims in the Sulu Archipelago. About 1450,[9] Abu Bakr immigrated to Jolo by way of Palembang and Brunei. He was apparently the most eminent scholar of the three missionaries. He came to Jolo from Basilan by invitation of the Malay official and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Rajah Baginda. Abu Bakr was most influential in Moro history, for he built mosques and reorganized the government on the order of that of Arabia. During his era, the native converts actually abandoned their old animistic superstitions for the tenets of Islam.

The internal government of the Muslim may be characterized as a very loose feudal system based upon the relation of lord to vassal.

> The government of the Sooloo Archipelago is a kind of oligarchy, and the supreme authority is vested in the Sultan and the Ruma Bechara or trading council. This consists of about twenty chiefs, either datus, or their next in rank, called orangs, who are the governors of towns or detached provinces. The influence of the individual chiefs depends chiefly upon the number of their retainers or slaves, and the force they can bring into their service when they require it.[10]

In such a system the display of personal power assumes an importance not ordinarily to be seen in more advanced politics. For this reason the prominence of an individual datu may upon occasion overshadow that of the sultan. The stronger "datus" gather into their retinues numbers of commoners who place themselves at the service of the datu in return for protection against marauders. Among the "datus," there has been little amity even though they may have been kinsmen. Consequently, the followers of one datu may look upon the retainers of another datu as potential enemies, yet, upon the decline of a "datu's" pre-eminence, many retainers may transfer their allegiance to a datu in the ascendancy. There have, however, been numerous occasions in which the sultan has been a dominating personality and has forced the several "datus" into coalition for specific purposes. It is in these periods in which the forces of the "datus" have been united against a common foe or in the prosecution of a joint enterprise that the Moros have been most effective. Although there have been examples of long-standing coalitions, these have been few in number and not in the usual tradition of the system.

The retinue of a sultan included as many of the "datus" as could be brought under control, the sultan's family, his advisers and slaves. The advisers were usually members of the sultan's family, the hadji,[11] and, not infrequently, educated slaves. It often happened that Christian Filipinos and Europeans were captured by Moro pirates and held in slavery at the court of a Moro sultan.

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Due to their superior knowledge in all but religious matters, these individuals rapidly rose to influential stations. At best, however, their positions were tenuous ones and subject to the jealousy of Mohammedan aspirants. Although the sultan's brothers and other male relatives were usually his advisers, the influence of the women in the royal household has been considerable. The machinations of Sultana Jamila and the current eminence of Princess Tarhata Kiram are examples of the influence of strong women in the government of the Sulu sultanate.[12]

Administrative government, such as it was, was a prerogative of the datu. The chief pandita,[13] of each district assisted the datu in the administration of justice, and another pandita performed acts of a semi-judicial and clerical nature under the title of wazir. Some datus were pandita themselves, and some took all matters into their own hands and delegated none of their offices or duties to a judge or a vizier. This was the exception, not the rule. In addition to these officials, lesser administrative functionaries performed the tasks of law enforcement. In Sulu, they were known as the tuku-pipul[14] and acted as the court of the first instance in addition to their other offices. The admonition of the principal code was:

> All the subordinate officers of state are hereby requested to exercise all care in administering justice to all who come to them for judgment and decision. They should all adhere to the seven articlesof Mohammedan law and be deliberate in their just application.

> In case any complainant appeals to one of you from the decision of another authority, do not accept the appellant's statement and render your decision unless you inquire well about the case from the previous authority who judged it. In case you find the decision of that authority wrong do not be ready and quick to blame and criticise him, but try to act in conformity and union. In case you find his decision right, notwithstanding the appellant's complaints, bring both the appellant and the appellee to the panglima. If the panglima can not render a solution, he should bring them to the sultan, together with the authority from whose decision the appeal was made and the authority to whom the appeal was made.[15]

The Maguindanao Moros have been more faithful than the Joloanos in their application of Qur'anic law. The Luwaran or "selections" of laws from the Qur'an has been held sacred next to the Qur'an itself. The Luwaran was written in the Maguindanao dialect, employing the Arabic script. The major Arabic sources were Min-haji-l-arifeen, Taqreebu-l-intifa, Fathu-l-qarub and Miratu-t-tullab.[16] These quotations have been written into the margins of the Luwaran, since it was customary to bolster the decisions of the court by quoting from the Arabic sources. Besides the Luwaran, the Moros applied local customs in their decisions. Occasionally the Qur'anic law was set aside when contradicting local customary usage. The respect for the Qur'an has been so great among the Moros that oaths taken upon it were considered as sufficient confirmation even in the absence of evidence.

Under the Maguindanao code, free men in their various social and political ranks were allowed certain prerogatives and

exemptions. Women, children and the insane were relegated to a much inferior category while slaves and pagans received only nominal justice. The punishments were ordinarily severe, a heavy fine being the most lenient. Other punishments were flogging, amputation of the hand, stoning to death in exceptional cases and payment of blood money. Slaves were often executed summarily except upon the owner's protest of the loss of valuable property. Pagans received not the slightest consideration. For the datu class, great leniency was shown and often their transgressions of the code never received a trial.

The two extant codes of the Sulus were much more lenient in their punishment. Ordinarily a fine was imposed upon the culprit, but in cases of adultery death was usual. The principal code of Sulu was notable for its clarity and succinctness. No attempt was made to conform to the dictates of the Qu'ran as had been done in the Maguindanao code. No laws based upon the Qu'ran are to be found in the Sulu code. The only mention of the Qu'ran is that

> All governors and their subjects ought to abide by and aid in carrying out all the articles of this code. Any person who does not fulfill this duty will have all the curses and the calamities of this world and the world to come that befall the man who swears falsely by the thirty parts of the Quran.[17]

The traditional form of government, the codes of law, and the customary usages of the Moro peoples were not seriously

threatened until the American occupation of the Philippine Islands. And to this day only the most objectionable practices such as slavery and piracy have been opposed by the occupant. In so far as has been possible, the internal facade of Moro government has been undisturbed.

Footnotes

[1]Hurley, op. cit., p. 41.

[2]See Najeeb Saleeby's translation of the Maguindanao records in his Moro History, Law and Religion.

[3]Hurley, op. cit., p. 43.

[4]Saleeby, op. cit., p. 27.

[5]See Jose Montero y Vidal's description of the Philippines which the Spanish found. Historia General de Filipinas (Madrid: Manual Tello, 1887), I.

[6]Genealogies which usually include a brief narration of historical events.

[7]Saleeby, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

[8]Saleeby, p. 159.

[9]Saleeby, p. 161.

[10]Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition during the year 1842 (Philadelphia, 1844). The above excerpt is taken from: Emma Blair and James Robertson (eds.), The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898 (Cleveland: H. Clarke Co., 1903-9), XLIII, p. 165.

[11]A title of respect bestowed upon those who have returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca.

[12]Ford Wilkins, "Princess of Moros Backed for Office," New York Times, XCVII (September 28, 1947), p. 49.

[13]A person learned in the Qu'ran and having the ability to read and write.

[14]Meaning literally the small and large poles or pillars that support a Moro house.

[15]Saleeby, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

[16]Saleeby, p. 64.

[17]Saleeby, p. 94.

III

THE SPANISH ERA

By the time Magellan landed in the Philippines (1521) the sultanates of Sulu and Mindanao were at work extending their rule to coastal points on the northern islands. Legaspi and his conquistadores met their strongest opposition in the conquest of Luzon (in the 1570's) from Rajah Soliman, a Muslim prince from Sulu who some years before had settled around Manila, converted the populace and established a lucrative trade with Borneo and the Celebes.

The major Muslim group at the time of the first Spanish expedition, the ill-fated journey of Magellan, was the Sulus. They had extended their power to northern Luzon, the Visayas, and the China Sea on the north, the Celebes, north Borneo, Malacca, and Sumatra on the south and west. Their capital at Maimbung had become an important trading center dealing in slaves, pearls, corals, gold, and rice. Yet at no time did the Sulus, only sixty thousand in number,[1] avail themselves of the opportunity to turn their tremendous prestige as warriors and pirates into a government of the Filipinos or Borneans. Instead they contented themselves with exacting tribute by force, not grasping the chance to proselytize the pagan to the north and thus present an outer bulwark against the Jesuit fathers who were bent upon Christianizing the Philippine archipelago.

The Spanish occupation of Luzon and the Visayas (known by the Spanish as the Pintados) did not immediately culminate in a war between the Sulus and the Spaniards for the Europeans were not strong enough to hamper seriously the Moro depredations of the islands. It was not until the advent of Doctor Francisco de Sandé as governor of the Spanish dominions that the Sulus became aware of the menacing forces at Manila.

At this period, both the Spanish and the Portuguese were contending for the control of the colonies of the East Indies as well as in the Americas. The Spaniards had brought most of the Philippines north of Mindanao under the Manila government. The Portuguese had made advances in Tongking and Macao on the Asiatic mainland and had some support from the Chinese in the Canton area. The Portuguese had likewise made conquests in the Straits of Malacca area and had achieved an uneasy alliance with the rulers of Terrenate and Timor. Thus the Spaniards found the Portuguese opposing the Spaniards. There was from the earliest days a large Chinese settlement at Manila, and Chinese pirates had on several occasions made raids on Luzon. The most famous of the Chinese pirates being Cogseng. Chinese pirates, incited by the Portuguese and aided by a local uprising of the Chinese community, could have made the Spanish position in the Philippines untenable. In the minds of the Spaniards of this era the threat was real and had to be reckoned with.

Governor Sandé personally led the campaign against the sultanate of Brunei on the western coast of Borneo. The immediate object of the expedition was not to retaliate for the depredation of pirates but to counteract the growing influence of the Portuguese in Borneo and the Moluccas. Upon reaching Brunei, Governor Sandé dispatched Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa with an armada against the Joloanos.[2] It is interesting to note the orders which Governor Sandé gave to Rodriguez de Figueroa, for in them is displayed the motives of the Spaniards in inciting a war which was to last three centuries.

> From this city and the island of Borney, God willing, you shall go to the islands of Xolo, where you shall endeavor to reduce that chief and his people to the obedience of his Majesty. You shall bargain with them as to what tribute they shall pay, which shall be in pearls, as they are wont to give to the King of Borney.
>
> You must order that, besides the tribute that they are to pay in pearls, that they shall obtain as many of them as possible, so that we, the Spaniards or Castilians, may buy them; that they must trade with us from now on; that every year Castilians will go to their lands with cloths and merchandise from China, of whatever they shall declare that they may need. You shall inform yourself of their needs; and if they wish to come to our settlement you shall give them permission to go to Manila freely and to come to Borney, although not to steal.
>
> You shall keep close watch over the artillery, ammunition, vessels, sails, and other like things pertaining to the armed fleet, and you shall deprive them of those supplies, for it is notorious that those people are common marauders.
>
> And because of my information that the chief who calls himself lord of Xolo is a Bornean, and

owns houses in this city of Borney; that he fought against us in the naval battle, and that he fled to Xolo, where he is now; and since I am told that he took two galleys and three small vessels, artillery and ammunition you shall exercise the utmost dispatch to obtain the said galleys, vessels, artillery, and ammunition.

You shall try to ascertain the Pintados slaves among them, in order to return such to their homes, especially those who are Christians.

You shall command them expressly to settle down on their land, to cultivate, sow and harvest, develop the pearl industry, and cease to be pirates. You shall order them to raise fowl and cattle.

You shall also tell them that ..... we come to teach them our civilization, and most of all the service of God, our Lord, who created and redeemed them, and of whom they are ignorant; and how to live in accord with natural law, as is their obligation.

You shall order them not to admit any more preachers of the doctrine of Mahoma, since it is evil and false, and that of the Christians alone is good.

You shall tell them that our object is that he (the ruler) be converted to Christianity; and that he must allow us freely to preach the law of the Christians, and the natives must be allowed to go to hear the preaching and to be converted, without receiving any harm from the chiefs.

And you shall try to ascertain who are the preachers of the sect of Mahoma, and shall seize and bring them before me and you shall burn or destroy the house where that accursed doctrine has been preached, and you shall order it to be not rebuilt.[3]

The orders of Rodriguez de Figueroa were to be applied likewise to the Muslim inhabitants of Mindanao upon the successful completion of the mission to Sulu. These orders delineate most succinctly the goals of the Spanish and were, needless to say, not

to the liking of the proud and haughty Joloanos. Rodriguez de Figueroa reached the town of Jolo in June of 1578 and was confronted with the strength and tenacious faith of the Muslim occupant. The expedition was signally unsuccessful and he was forced to evacuate the beachhead. The Spaniards had committed the error of attempting to vanquish a gallant opponent with only meager forces. In the next centuries, they were to commit this same tactical mistake over and over again.

In 1579, Captain Gabriel de Ribera was sent to Mindanao under much the same orders as those of Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa. He met with little resistance, for the natives merely abandoned their villages and fled to the hills.[4] Since Governor Sandé had forbidden the sacking of the Muslim settlements, Ribera returned to the base at Caldera, on the extreme end of the southwestern tip of the Zamboanga Peninsula, having accomplished nothing whatever and, in fact, losing what little prestige the Spaniards had gained by their bold action at Brunei in the previous year.

In 1580, the major incentive which led the Spaniards in the Philippines to war against the Muslim forces was removed. Philip II, with the adroit use of a seemingly irresistible army and a claim of dynastic intimacy, was able to take possession of the vacant Portuguese throne. Owing to the considerable trade and numerous colonies of Portugal, its absorption greatly strengthened

the Spanish position in the world. The Portuguese in the East Indies no longer presented a menace to the Spanish Colony in the Philippines; bringing the Gospels to the Muslims no longer seemed so urgent.

Most of the time, during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities opposed each other in matters of state. In fact a great weakness of the Spanish government was the rapid change of governors due mainly to the machinations of the Church officials. The civil governor of Manila was soon reminded of his derelictions of duty in the propagation of the Christian faith for Bishop Salazar wrote to Philip II under the date of June 27, 1588, complaining that:

> In the island of Mindanao, which is subject to your Majesty and for many years had paid you tribute, the law of Mahoma has been publicly proclaimed, for somewhat more than three years, by preachers from Burney and Terrenate who have come there --- some of them even, it is believed, have come from Meca. They have erected and are now building mosques, and the boys are being circumcised, and there is a school where they are taught the Alcoran. I was promptly informed of this, and urged the president to supply a remedy therefor at once, in order that that pestilential fire should not spread to these islands. I could not persuade them to go, and thus the hatred of Christianity is there; and we are striving no more to remedy this than if the matter did not concern us. Such are the calamities and miseries to which we have come, and the punishments which God inflicts upon us.[5]

No action was taken on the matter until 1591 when Governor Gomez Perez Dasmarinas commissioned Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa to lead another expedition against the Muslims. The expe-

dition set out in 1596 and landed at the site of the present day Cotabato where it engaged the enemy. The Muslims had the distinct advantage of fighting in the delta swamps, and in this terrain the Spaniards were unsuccessful. Rodriguez de Figueroa was killed. His successor, Juan de la Xara, ordered a retreat to the mouth of the Mindanao River where a temporary fort was built. The venture, however, was ill-fated, and even reinforcements under the command of General Juan Ronquillo were not enough to maintain a toe-hold in the Maguindanao domains. The combined expedition retired to Caldera in ignominious defeat.

> These early expeditions of the Spaniards against the Moros undoubtedly aroused in the latter a great desire for vengance. The forces the Spaniards sent to conquer Mindanao and Sulu were very small. Such forces would have been strong enough to reduce any island of the Bisayan group, or even Luzon, but against the Moros they proved insufficient and inadequate. They, however, succeeded in provoking bitter hostilities and marked the beginning of a long period of terror and blood-shed.[6]

The subsequent expedition of Captain Juan Pacho to Jolo ended in disaster with two-thirds of the troops and Captain Pacho left dead on the beach. "This event caused great grief in Manila, especially because of the reputation lost by it, both among the Joloans, and their neighbors, the people of Mindanao.[7]

The evident weakness of the Spaniards in the Philippines caused the Muslims to renew their depredations in the Visayas. In desperation Governor Tello dispatched a large fleet under the com-

mand of Juan Juarez Gallinato to Jolo to reduce the fortifications of that island. Upon arriving at Jolo, Juarez Gallinato found that all of the women and children had been evacuated from the island that the Joloans had strongly fortified strategic hills and had requested aid from their coreligionists in Borneo, Mindanao and Terrenate. The Spanish built two forts of their own and sallied forth occasionally to meet the Muslims in combat. Their attempts to reduce the Muslim fort were unsuccessful, and Juarez Gallinato "broke camp, burned the forts which he had built, embarked, and went to Pintadas, leaving the people of that island and their neighbors, those of Mindanao, emboldened more than ever to make raids against the Pintadas, and the islands within, which they did."[8]

The next quarter of a century was but a repetition of the defeats of Rodriguez de Figueroa and Juarez Gallinato. Each year the ravages of the Muslims spread terror throughout the Visayas. Stone watch towers built in the era to warn of approaching pirates are still to be seen on the headlands overlooking the waterways. Not even Lorenzo Oalaso with 350 Spaniards and 2,500 Filipinos[9] was able to reduce the Joloanos. For the Muslims, the battle had become a religious war. The warriors fought until death for the Muslims killed their own wounded and, receiving no quarter, they gave none.

In 1633, Qudrat (known by the Spanish as Corralat), the sultan of Maguindanao, sent a large flotilla against the Spanish islands and, in retaliation, Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca decided to erect a fort at the place called Zamboanga,[10] a spot some seven miles from the old base at Caldera.

> Immediately on his arrival at Manila with a view to repress the insults of the Moors, and on the representations of the Jesuits, he determined to form a garrison at Zamboanga. He appointed Don Juan de Chaves to the command, with an adequate force, and orders, after destroying the towns of the Moors, to erect a fort in the situation which Friar Vera had pitched upon, a little distance from the port of Caldera, where it was necessary to maintain a detachment to guard the shipping. This situation is most beautiful; having no water, the defect was supplied by digging a channel from the river, through which the water flows into the sea. The first stone of the fort was laid on the 23rd of June, 1635. Many of the Spaniards opposed this plan under different pretexts, and experience has shown what little purpose this fort has answered, its only use being to enrich one military man, who is Governor for three years, and who draws twenty or thirty thousand dollars profit from supplies furnished the soldiers. The Moors, do not in the least checked by the fort of Zamboanangal, have continued, to this hour, committing the same ravages as before; and the Indians who are each taxed a measure of rice for its maintenance have received neither security or benefit from it.[11]

The author of the above statement overlooks the advantages of the garrison which were demonstrated before the year 1639 was over. In April of 1636, Qudrat sent forth still another armada under the command of Tagal, one of his ablest sailors and warriors. The expedition took over a hundred Christian captives, including one priest and the Spanish corregidor of Cuyo island.

On the return voyage the Muslims rounded the headland of Zamboanga with eight well-laden ships and were pursued by the recently installed forces at Zamboanga. Tagal was able to out-distance his pursuers until, upon reaching Point Flechas, he was overtaken and killed along with three hundred of his sailors. Over a hundred of the captives were rescued from slavery by the victory.[12]

The period from 1635 to 1646 was crucial to the Spanish contention for the Muslim held areas. Governor Cerezo de Salamanca was replaced by General Sebastiano Hurtado de Corcuera whose policy was even more vigorous. The depredations of Tagal and other pirates spurred the new governor to form a fleet carrying three companies of Spaniards and one company of "indios panpangos" (natives of the province of Pampanga in Central Luzon). Hurtado de Corcuera reached Zamboanga on February 22, 1637, and immediately readied his fleet for battle. On the fourth of March the fleet sailed for Samitan, Qudrat's capital, where, intelligence said a shipload of Christian slaves was about to sail for Sumatra. The Spanish fleet sighted the Muslim forces fortified on a high hill one and a half leagues back of the beach. Although Qudrat's forces fought bravely, they were no match for the superior Spanish artillery and were forced to flee their fort with great loss of life. Hurtado de Corcuera then fought on the opposite side of the river and was

again victorious. The Christian captives were rescued. There followed a week of vicious fighting in the hinterlands which demonstrated to the governor that the Spanish forces could do little in the swamps and the jungles.[13]

General Hurtado de Corcuera sent Pedro Palomino to Cachil Moncay, Qudrat's nephew who aspired for power, saying that the Spanish considered Moncay to be the legitimate sultan and offering to deliver him from the domination of his uncle. The terms of the offer were:

1. Return all Christian captives;
2. Pay tribute to Spain;
3. Receive Jesuit missionaries;
4. Treat amicably a Spanish outpost in his territory;
5. Be a "friend of friends and enemy of enemies," which was to say, rebel against Qudrat for whom a reward of two thousand pesos dead or four thousand pesos alive had been offered.[14]

Cachil Moncay gave his accord to this proposition and Hurtado de Corcuera withdrew his forces to Zamboanga where he received a reinforcement of a thousand Visayas for the defence of the fort.[15] Being assured of a strong position at the end of the peninsula and supposing Moncay to be sincere, the governor returned to Manila with his four original companies and was proclaimed a hero. His faith in Moncay was misplaced, for the Muslim leader promptly

refused to pay tribute to the Catholic king, took up arms, and refortified the hills of Maguindanao.[16]

Hurtado de Corcuera's victory in Mindanao had some immediate results. The datu of Sibuguey asked for peace. A Jesuit priest accompanied by troops sailed to Basilan from Zamboanga and promised the five thousand inhabitants of the island protection against their lord, the sultan of Sulu. In retaliation the sultan of Sulu threatened a confederation with the sultan of Brunei against the traitors and the Spaniards.[17] General Hurtado was forced to return to Zamboanga in December of 1637 and to take up arms against the Joloanos. He landed at Jolo in January, 1638, having left at Zamboanga only 150 Spaniards, and began a vigorous campaign against Sultan Bangsu. For three months the Spanish forces were unable to take the Muslim forts, but, apparently for lack of provisions, the Muslims finally evacuated to make a second stand in the hills. Hurtado de Cocuera again returned to Manila leaving a hundred Spaniards under Ginez Ros at the town of Jolo and an advance guard of eighty Spaniards under Arria at the fortress which overlooks the town. Nonetheless, the Spanish position in Muslim country was little better for the occupation of Jolo, for dysentery and the Muslim raids took many lives. Even more threatening was the shortage of food. No provisions were forthcoming in from Manila, and in desperation fifty Spaniards were

sent to Maguindanao for supplies.[18] Their mission was more than likely unsuccessful for there is no mention of their return.

Datu Atchen (also known as Ache or Achen) and Cachil Paquian retired with the greater portion of their warriors to Tawi-tawi where they fortified their position and busied themselves with preparing boats for pirate raids to the Visayas.[19] The Spaniards made a march across Jolo, killing the inhabitants in great numbers. Not satisfied with their conquest, they invaded Tawi-tawi but were repulsed with considerable loss. Datu Atchen had most astutely sent his emissarries to Java for Dutch aid which soon came.[20]

From 1638 to 1663 were years of uninterrupted warfare. The raids of Qudrat, of Datu Atchen, of the Dutch privateers, and of the Chinese all made the spiritual conquest of Mindanao uncertain and difficult. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note the industry of the Jesuit missionaries who took an important part in every adventure. It was they who initiated the voyages of exploration, of counter-attack and of trade. Their energy was rewarded. Father Solanao reported that in 1655 the Jesuits had made progress in Muslim territory.

> His majesty possesses two forts in this great island (Mindanao), that of Yligan and that of Samboangan, to which two priests of the Society attend. Father Ygnacio Navarro attends to that of Yligan, and Father Nicolas Cani to that of Samboangan. There are also two residences in the said island. The one lying toward the north is that of Dapitan. The villages in its

district are inhabited by Subanaos. There are fourteen churches, besides the one of the natives in the village of Yligan.

The second residence is that of Samboangan. It extends from the border of Dapitan to Sibuguey, the boundary of King Corralat, which is a distance of about fifty leguas. There above there are three villages of Lutaos (Samals) near the fort of Samboanga .. ... in addition to these, that residence includes the island of Pangotaran, and other islands where many Christians live. Five priests are divided among all these places, and sail in the fleet of Samboangan, and they are paid at his majesty's expense.

The island of Mindanao is the largest of these Filipinas Islands next to that of Manila. A great portion of it is yet to be subdued. In that part which is conquered, the Society has charge of Iligan and Samboanga. The latter is the chief presidio of the Spaniards, where a college is in the first years of foundation, which has a rector and five priests in it. The villages that it instructs are as follows: the villages of the natives and Lutaos of the same Samboanga who number 800 families. In place of paying tribute, they serve as rowers in our fleets which are quite usually cruising about in defence of our coasts and to harrass the enemy. The island of Basilan opposite the presidio of Samboanga and two leguas distant, has about 1,000 families who, attracted by the industry, affection and care of the mission fathers, are most ready to show themselves for the Christian instruction, but few appear at the time of collection of the tribute. The Christian kindness of the Spaniards, which tends rather to the welfare of the souls than to personal interest, is tolerant with those people, as they are not entirely tamed and subdued, and because of the danger of losing everything if they are hard pressed. That happens not only in the island of Basilan, but also in all the other places of that jurisdiction of Samboanga in the land of Mindanao, which contains in all 3,251 families.

The island of Jolo also belongs to the same jurisdiction of Samboanga. It has many Christians, who remained there when the Spanish presidio was withdrawn. The father ministers go at all times to

> visit them and endeavor to attract them in order to administer the holy sacraments to them. All these people in these various places reduced to families will be a little more or less than as follows: in Pangotaran and Ubina, 200; in Talul and Balanaquis, 150; in the islets of Basilan, 200; in Jolo, with its islets, 500 --- all together amounting to 1,000.[21]

The above quotation illustrates the Spanish position in Mindanao after the conquests of Hurtado de Corcuera. The Church, the only real government, extended its dominions from two centers--Iligan on the north and Zamboanga on the south. Protected by Spanish forces, the Jesuit missionaries journeyed to the outlaying villages to instruct the natives. Considering the nominal acquiescence of the pagans to be sufficient to number them among the Christians, it is not surprising that such large numbers of converts are given. But one should not be misled by this acquiescence. Even the Catholic fathers hesitated to insist upon the payment of tribute for they knew full well the effect that it would have upon their communicants. The Samals, Zamboangans, and Yakans were merely following the custom of giving allegiance to the datu with the most power. It was not long until they were again to transfer their allegiance to their customary rulers--the sultan of Jolo in the south or Qudrat in the north.

The ravages of Chinese pirates in Manila Bay and the attacks of the Dutch throughout the southern islands forced the Spaniards to abandon their outposts. Zamboanga was abandoned in 1663 and the Muslim forces sailed as far northward as Cavite it-

self. Many parishes in the Visayas were likewise abandoned by the Catholic fathers. It was a period of deterioration in which the Spaniards lost much of the ground that they had won.

In 1717 Fernanado Manuel Bustillo Butatamente y Rueda became governor of the Philippines. The governor, although notably cruel, was a vigorous and far-sighted man. He decided to rebuild the fortress at Zamboanga, but when he laid this plan before the council of treasury officials, they refused it by a vote of ten against seven on the grounds that the fort was of no service against the feared enemy, the "Moros" and would thus be unnecessary expense. Against the majority of votes the governor gave orders to re-establish the fort. He sent some 3,000 men to accomplish this. They built a town in a few months, although under the greatest difficulties. The former buildings had been destroyed and the site had overgrown with shrubs and trees. So great were the workers' miseries, malaria and starvation, that they talked of abandoning the project. In 1721, Amorena reinforced the original garrison with the Spaniards and natives from Bohol. The outpost was named La Fortaleza del Pilar. It is this which stands today in Zamboanga.[22]

In the period following the building of Fortaleza del Pilar the islands were regularly harrassed by Moro pirates. The regular garrison at Zamboanga, a very small one, could only defend itself against Moro attack the force made no attempts to strike

offensively against the marauders. The Spanish armadas necessary to make war came from Manila and were usually too late or too feeble to strike effectively.[23]

Numerous armed naval expeditions were sent against the Moro[24] pirates. A fleet under Roxas sailed from Manila in 1721 but accomplished nothing. Andres Garcia engaged a Moro fleet off Negros in 1722 and won a notable victory. Juan de las Mesa y Aponte captured the Moro fort at La Sabanilla killing scores of the defenders. Ignacio Irriberri fought a fierce battle with the Joloanos in 1731 laying waste to parts of Jolo and adjacent islands. In the same year Captain Pedro Zacharias Villareal began the campaign against the islands of the Sulu archipelago which devastated the area so thoroughly that his name terrified the Muslims as no previous soldier had done. In 1733 the Spaniards aided the sultan of Maguindanao in his fight against Datu Malinog. Malinog killed the sultan, whereupon the Spaniards, disheartened, returned to Manila. The Rajmudas (prime minister to the sultan) asked aid from Manila, and Zacharias Villareal was ordered to assist the Moros. Although Malinog was not defeated, he was forced into the interior and the Spaniards solemnly crowned the Rajamuda king on April 30, 1734.[25] The Spanish-sponsored sultan was unable to stop piracy and the ravages of the Joloanos were augmented. There is some indication that the Dutch encouraged these devestations by supporting the troublesome factions with both the Maguindanao and Sulu sultanates.[26]

In 1737, Alimud Din I succeeded to the throne of Sulu. He was a peaceful man whose later life displayed much integrity. Governor-General Fernanado Valdes y Timon negotiated a treaty with the new sultan containing five articles:

> The first article declared the determination of both parties to preserve permanent peace between the two states, all differences on grievances to be settled amicably, and hostilities between subjects or vassals to be strictly prohibited, and punished; the second provided for alliance and mutual aid against any foreign foe. European nations were, however, excluded from the provisions of this article; the third provided for free trade between the two states, restricted by the use of pass-ports to be issued by superior authority; the fourth provided that each state should be held responsible for all infractions of the peace committed by its subjects and should be bound to punish the same and make proper amends to the proper party; the fifth provided for the exchange of captives and return of all church images and ornaments in the possession of the Sulus.[27]

The Jesuits' zealous proselytizing in the Muslim areas soon aroused the resentment of the people, and Alimud Din was deposed. The sultan then fled to Manila where he lived in royal pomp. Soon afterward he was baptized, and Spanish writers referred to him thereafter as Don Fernanado de Alimud Din I, Catholic Sultan of Jolo. The Spaniards planned to return him to Jolo and to support him in battle to regain the throne. Upon returning to Zamboanga in 1751, he was seized and thrown into prison by the suspicious and vindictive Zacharias Villareal. There is evidence to believe that Alimud Din acted in good faith and that Zacharias "reflected considerable discredit on his ability as an officer and administrator."[28] It

was not until 1763, that the English after the conquest and occupation of Manila, reinstated him on the throne of Sulu. Alimud Din was received with respect by his countrymen for he had, before being deposed, been an able administrator. He is, to this day, foremost in the memory of the Sulus as a great statesman and most commonly called by the title conferred upon him in his old age--the Prince of the Faithful.[29]

It is interesting to note the British comment upon the state of affairs in the southern Philippines for in it is to be noted a shrewd judgement of the Spanish position after almost two hundred years of nominal possession.

> Operations carried on among the southern islands would have especial point, for the Spaniard would fear an alliance between the restless Moros and the enemy. The Spaniard care only about the Acapulco galleon and not trouble themselves about the rest of the islands, which are governed badly.[30]

Notwithstanding the advice to occupy the southern islands preliminary to a struggle for Manila, the English sailed boldly into Manila Bay in October of 1762, completely surprising the Spaniards. The original plan of the expedition was as follows:

> There are several forts of Stone on the Southern Islands besides Stockades. But as all these were originally intended against the Moorish Incursions they are not formidable to a European Power if we may be allowed to form a Judgement from those esteemed by the Spaniards the strongest viz. Samboangan and Ylo Ylo --- of which two we have had an opportunity to form some Idea from Personal Observation.

> Samboangan Fort and Towns mount 65 Guns. But as the Fort is upon the Shoar and deep water close to it the reduction is a matter of few hours the Garrison when Compleat about 2 or 300 Gunshinanzas but at present very few as we have been assured.
>
> It is proposed that a Europe Ship shall sail for Sooloo in Company with one or more smaller Vessells equipped for war with a Detachment of about 50 persons of Europe and some Seapoys for Sooloo the Europe Ship to take in the Cargo there for China and to proceed for Samboangan the reductions of which Fort we consider as a Matter of Course.[31]

Manila fell after only a brief struggle. Eighteen months later the English withdrew from Luzon in accordance with the terms of the treaty made in February, 1763.[32]

The Sultan of Sulu ceded the island of Balambangan to the English where a small outpost was established in 1762. The Spaniards accused the English of having incited the Joloanos against the Spaniards soon after the English withdrawal from Manila. Governor Simon de Anda y Salazar sent a diplomatic messenger accompanied by protecting forces with orders to rebuke the British agents and to endeavor to gain the friendship of the Joloanos. The messenger was a most unhappy choice for he infuriated the Joloanos giving the English additional opportunity to strengthen their own positions.

Later, however, the British displayed such extreme harshness of their treatment of a Moro datu that they were massacred. All save five of the British forces were killed. This was the signal for an uprising which spent itself against the fort at

Zamboanga and in the Visayas. Meanwhile Sultan Israel wrote to the governor at Zamboanga assuring the latter that neither he nor the Datus under his control had taken part in the transgression. Upon the return of the raiding forces, richly laden, the sultan enthusiastically received his share nonetheless. The British, it appears, again returned to Balambangan in 1803 but abandoned the islet in 1805.[33]

In 1779, the Spaniards had reorganized their government sufficiently to repair the forts in Mindanao and the Visayas and to post fleets at Cebu, Zamboanga, Iloilo and Calamianes. The Moro rendezvous at Mamburao, Mindoro, was eliminated and the Moros no longer came to the "esteros" (mouth) of the Pasig River in the heart of Manila itself. Shortly thereafter the sultan of Jolo humbly asked for peace. The peace, however, was a temporary one. Upon the diversion of the Spanish fleets to northern Luzon, the Moros resumed their depredations.[34]

The first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century were relatively quiet excepting for the almost yearly raids of the Moros in the Visayas. The Spaniards and the Christian Filipinos defended themselves as best they could and, on occasion, sent expeditions to Mindanao and Sulu to destroy the major strongholds. Since the Muslim forts and villages were so easily rebuilt, this action had little effect in the struggle. In 1830, during the term of Don Pascual Enrile y Alcedo, the eight districts fronting the Moros were declared military and political penal districts.

Thus, the population of a crucial area, to which should have been sent the best administrators available, was given over to lawlessness within and devastating raids from without. On September 23, 1836, Don Jose Maria Halcon y Mendoza signed a commercial treaty with the sultan of Sulu, Muhammed Jamalul Kiram.[35] The terms of the treaty were the payment of duty by the Muslims in Manila and by the Spaniards in Jolo. The tariff schedule included therein was not extensive. The ratification of the treaty by the Queen Regent of Spain provided for peace and Spanish protection and aid in the suppression of revolting subjects. The Joloanos were not bound to furnish assistance for wars against European nations, however. A further term provided for a Spanish resident rader in Jolo. The treaty only resulted "in increasing the insolence of the pirates, who paid no attention to their treaties."[36] In 1837, the governor of the Philippines, Don Andres Maria Camba, declared to the home government that the plans adopted to make peace and an alliance with the sultan of Jolo did not bring a single decided advantage to navigation or to commerce.[37]

The Spanish government built a stone fort at Isabela de Basilan in 1842 to counteract the menacing actions of the Balanguingui and Basilan Moros. Another impetus for the construction of the fort was the French treaty with the sultan of Sulu and the interest of the Dutch and the English in the Sulu

archipelago. In 1844, Don Narciso Claveria became governor of the Philippines. He began a vigorous reformation of the government and then turned his attention to the threatening Samals of Balanguingui. In 1848, the Spanish government purchased three steamships, the "Magellanes," "Elcano," and the "Reina de Castilla" in London. Claveria personally led the new navy into action against Balanguingui. Even though the little island is mostly mangrove swamp, the Moros had erected four forts which they resolutely defended. The Spaniards massacred hundreds, burned the bodies and the villages, destroyed the fortifications and chopped down over 8,000 coconut trees. The Samals were overwhelmingly defeated, and this particular group never again showed a disposition to fight. Spain had made an important victory, regaining much of prestige. Most important was the use of the steam vessel against pirates. "Steam was certainly destined to mark a new epoch, one which saw the beginning of the end of Moro piracy."[38]

In 1850, the Spaniards were again stirred to act against the Moros, less because of a raid on Camiguin and Samar than because of British interest in the Sulu archipelago. Sir James Brooke, Consul General of the British Majestry in Borneo and Governor of Labuan, had signed an accord with the sultan of Sulu which stipulated that the sultan was not to cede any of his territory without the consent of Great Britain. This treaty was a subject of controversy between the English and the Spanish authori-

ties for years to come. Consequently, Don Antonio de Urbiztondon sailed to Jolo but, finding the town occupied by 10,000 Moros, he withdrew and devastated Tenquil instead. A month later the Spaniards, greatly reinforced, returned to Jolo and sacked the town completely.[39] After four days, the Spaniards evacuated the town leaving it ungarrisoned. In April of 1851, the sultan of Sulu signed a treaty making his dominion a virtual Spanish protectorate.[40]

This treaty gained its purpose in that it checkmated the agreement of Sir James Brooke, but it certainly did not receive as much consideration at Jolo and Zamboanga as it did at Madrid and London. Its effect was temporary only.[41]

In 1855, Naval Officer Gonzales captured a pirate boat in the waters of Jolo and soon afterwards Villaricencio destroyed at Balanguingui a pirate fleet which at that time was being constructed by the Moros. In 1858, Don Fernanado de Norzgaray established a military government on the island of Balabac on which the English were beginning to fix their attention. He published a proclamation regarding measures to be taken for the defense of Malcampo to Simisa, which was garrisoned by piratical Moros, and another under the command of Gonzales against the island of Pilas. The Spaniards caused great injury to the Moros in both places.

> The year 1861 marks a new era in the history of piracy and a new step in the organization of government for Mindanao and Basilan. At this time Spain and the Philippines were passing through a period of progress. Alive to the truth that commerce and piracy can not coexist, the government provided a competent naval force by which it was able to maintain unquestioned supremacy in the Sulu Sea. It purchased eighteen steam vessels in England and used them for chasing Moro pirates and for blockading the port of Jolo. The operations conducted by these vessels drove away hordes of pirates from Philippines waters, and in the course of a decade, terminated that long term of piracy under which the Islands had suffered for three centuries.[42]

The government imposed on the newly subdued areas, not including Jolo, was designated as the Government of Mindanao. Five of the six districts were in Mindanao, and the sixth was in Basilan. In a circular dated July 30, 1860, the Office of the Deputy Superintendent of the Philippine Treasury defined the geographical boundaries and functions of the new government.

> Article II. The Government of Mindanao shall be divided into six districts: 1. the Zamboanga District, formed of that part of the province of the same name which includes all of Sibuguey Bay and the west coast of the island as far as Murcielagos Point; 2. the District of the North, including, in the northern part of the island all the territory between the boundary line of the 1st part of the island, all the territory between the boundary line of the 1st District and Dapitan Point, on Tutwan Bay; 3. the Eastern District, between Dapitan Point, and Karaga Bay; 4. the Davao District, beginning of the boundary line of the 3rd District and including the Bay of Davao and all the southern exterminity of the island; 5. the Central District, including Illana Bay, situated between the 1st and 4th districts; 6. the District of Basilan, comprising the Spanish possessions in the archipelagoes of Sulu and Basilan. The capital of the Government shall be in the Central

District the most advantageious place at the mouth of the Mindanao River being chosen. These districts shall be divided into two classes; to the first class shall belong the Northern, Central and Eastern districts, and to the second those of Zamboanga, Davao and Basilan.

Article XV. The War and Navy Departments, together with the Colonial Office, shall decide what forces of the army and navy are required for Mindanao; the Captain-General shall have authority to make such changes as the circumstances may require; but he shall always report such changes to the respective Ministers for approval.

Article XVII. It shall be the constant duty of the army to explore and to occupy the country; for that purpose, two columns at least shall be detached each year from each district, and go through said districts in different directions. The chiefs of these columns shall make out a report about the territory reconnoitered by them; said report shall be included in a general report made by the Governor, which shall be forwarded to the Department of War and Colonies through the Captain-General of the Philippines; this information will allow the Governor to give, in the following years his instructions to the columns sent out to explore the country without losing sight of the advantage of establishing friendly relations with the tribes which inhabit the island, and the necessity of maintaining communications between the different districts.

Article XXIII. A sum of 3,000 pesos per year is placed at the disposal of the Governor for the presents to the independent tribes for the purpose of gaining their friendship; the same amount is assigned to the mission of the Jesuits.[43]

The Spanish occupation of Jolo dates from 1876 when Captain-General Jose Malcampo assembled a fleet of ten steamships, eleven transports, twelve gunboats, and carrying over 9,000 troops and landed on Jolo. Confronted with such forces, the Moros were overwhelmed although they fought desperately. Malcampo was more

provident than his predecessors in office for he established a large garrison at Jolo, built barracks and erected the forts Princesa de Asturias and Alfonso XII. The Captain-General left a vigorous administrator in command, Captain Pascual Cervera, who proceeded to strengthen the wall of the Spanish town, build a military hospital, and to organize the port authority. Forays ventured from the fortress and scattered recalcitrant bands of Joloanos. The Moros, in turn, fought from ambush, used every scheme to kill the occupant of the islands and swore vengance.

During the term of Don Domingo Moriones, the sultan of Sulu, signed a treaty giving the Spaniards the sovereignty of the Sulu archipelago and allowing the Jesuits to establish missions in the area. The treaty made the sultanate a protectorate rather than a dependence for their internal administration was not subject to Spanish control in any manner excepting regulations regarding firearms. The foreign relations of the sultan were made subject to the control of the Spanish government in Manila. The treaty, like all those before it, would have been ignored if it had not been for the occupation forces at Jolo.

By 1880, the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu were conquered. Although it was never safe to venture outside the walls of the fortresses, the Moros no longer offered effective resistance. In 1881, Spanish garrisons were established on

Siasi, Tataan and Bongao, and in 1886, Datu Harun journeyed to Manila to be proclaimed sovereign of Jolo. Isolated datus in Maguindanao, Lanao and Buayan rebelled but were dealt with summarily by the Spanish forces of the Government of Mindanao.

Manila fell to the Americans in 1898, and the Spanish government under Don Diego de los Rios continued from Iloilo until the Treaty of Paris made the Philippines a possession of the United States. Rios ordered Spanish fortresses to be abandoned and troops were concentrated in Zamboanga. American troops occupied the town of Jolo in May of 1899. The task of government of the Muslim populations became the problem of the government of the United States of America.

The three hundred year span of Spanish occupation of the Philippines was marked by repeated failures to subdue and conquer the Muslim portions of the islands. The Spanish found a determined religious and cultured groups facing them. Instead of mollifying them and playing upon tribal rivalries, the Spanish only succeeded in creating bonds before heretofore loosely united groups. The Muslim populations became "the Moro forces." As has been discussed in Chapter II, Philippine Muslim society was particularly open to dissensions and to rivalry among the datu class. Although the sultans were nominal chiefs of state, it was only in time of stress and during the reigns of strong rulers that there was much cohesion. It is

therefore surprising that the Spanish did not utilize this tendency to their advantage. By their sending in religious missionaries they aided them in uniting along a religious line. The Muslim felt the Spanish not only to be a military threat but also a threat to his very existence within his established cultural setting.

Footnotes

[1]Smith, p. 21.

[2]Jose Montero y Vidal, Historía General de Filipinas (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1887), I, p. 83.

[3]"Documents of 1579-82: Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao." (Blair and Robertson), IV, pp. 174-178.

[4]Jose Montero y Vidal, Historía General de Filipinas (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1887) I, p. 83.

[5]"Documents of 1588. Letter to Felipe II." Domingo de Salazar: Manila, June 27. (Blair and Robertson), VII, pp. 68-69.

[6]Najeeb M. Saleeby, Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905) p. 175.

[7]Antonio de Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (Mexico, 1609), p. 211.

[8]Morga, p. 265.

[9]"Letters to Felipe IV. Juan Nino de Tavora; Manila, July 30, 1630." (Blair and Robertson), XXIII, p. 98.

[10]J. Montano, Voyage aux Philippines et en Malaisie (Paris: Librarie Hachette, 1886), p. 130.

[11]Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, An Historical View of the Philippine Islands: trans. John Maver, Esq. (London: Printed for J. Asperne by T. Davison, 1814), pp. 264-265.

[12]Ventura del Arco, "Paper Two" (Ayer Collection, Newberry Library: Chicago: 1859), II, pp. 4-5.

[13]Ventura del Arco, p. 11.

[14]Ventura del Arco, pp. 82-83.

[15]Ventura del Arco, p. 25.

[16]Ventura del Arco, pp. 131-132.

[17]Ventura del Arco, p. 85.

[18]Ventura del Arco, p. 129.

[19]Ventura del Arco, p. 129.

[20]Blair and Robertson, XXXVII, pp. 167-168.

[21]Miguel Solana, S. J. Documents of 1649-1658 (Madrid: 1818), pp. 57-62.

[22]M. Sonnerat, Voyage a la Nouvelle Guineé (Paris: Ruault Librarie, 1776), p. 130.

[23]Juan de la Concepceion, Historiá General de Philippinas (Sampaloc, Spain: Seminario Conciliar y Real de San Carlos, 1888), pp. 34-37.

[24]The term "Moro" is used by the author in referring to a definite military organization. It is not meant to carry on a perjorative sense at all.

[25]Blair and Robertson, XLVI, p. 43.

[26]Blair and Robertson, XLVI, pp. 55-56.

[27]Saleeby, p. 184.

[28]Blair and Robertson, XLIX, pp. 13-14.

[29]Smith, p. 33.

[30]Saleeby, p. 184.

[31]Documents of 1759-1765. Plan of an expedition for the conquest of the southern Philippines. (Sir William Draper; Canton, ca. 1759) Quoted by Smith, p. 34.

[32]Smith, p. 34.

[33]Blair and Robertson, p. 43.

[34]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), IV, p. 383.

[35]Saleeby, pp. 194-199.

[36]Blair and Robertson, LI, p. 62.

[37]Blair and Robertson, LI, p. 63.

[38]Saleeby, p. 199.

[39]Macmicking, p. 252.

[40]Smith, p. 37.

[41]Saleeby, p. 214.

[42]Saleeby, p. 214.

[43]Saleeby, pp. 214-218.

IV

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

On December 10, 1899, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris whereby Spain ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States.[1] The central government of the Islands was established on September 1, 1900, under the instructions of the President of the United States. The government had a military governor as the chief executive and a Commission as the legislative body with certain executive duties. It continued in this way until July 4, 1901, when the Executive Order of the President of the United States, under date of June 21, 1901, transferred the executive authority over all the organized provinces theretofore reposed in the military governor and in the Commission to a civil governor. The government continued partially under the military governor until July 4, 1902, when the Office of Military Governor was abolished and the civil governor assumed entire executive control of the Philippine Islands. The title of Civil Governor was changed to Governor-General by Congress on February 6, 1905.

The Philippine Commission of 1899-1900 has been called, for purposes of distinguishing it from its successor, the Schurman Commission. President McKinley had appointed this civil commission to investigate conditions in the Philippine Islands with the

establishment of civil and peaceful government under American authority in view. The conclusions of the Schurman Commission as to government were as follows:

> 1. The United States cannot withdraw from the Philippines. We are there and duty binds us to remain. There is no escape from our responsibility to the Filipinos and to mankind for the government of the archipelago and the amelioration of the condition of its inhabitants.
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> 2. The Filipinos are wholly unprepared for independence, and if independence were given to them they could not maintain it.
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> . . . . . .
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> 4. There being no Philippine nation, but only a collection of different peoples, there is no general public opinion in the archipelago; but the men of property and education, who alone interest themselves in public affairs, in general recognize as indispensable American authority, guidance, and protection.[2]

Having set forth the basic conditions of the Filipinos, the Schurman Commission recommended the establishment of civil government in Luzon, the Visayas and the "coasts of Mindanao" but assumed that in the Sulu Archipelago and in the portions of Mindanao and Palawan still occupied by tribal peoples, the government would be conducted through the agency of their sultans or chiefs.[3]

The Philippine Commission, often called the Taft Commission, 1900-1916, was appointed by the President of the United States and was placed under the control of the War Department. Following the instructions of the Rresident, the

legislative, and some executive, authority was transferred to the Commission on September 1, 1900. The military governor remained the chief executive, however. On July 4, 1901, the executive authority in all civil affairs theretofore vested in the military governor and in the Philippine Commission was transferred to a civil governor. The military governor continued to exercise authority in all territory not fully organized for civil government. Thus the Muslim areas remained under the direct control of the military authority.

In 1907, the Philippine Commission passed Act No. 1582 providing for the holding of elections in the Philippine Islands for the organization of the Philippine Assembly. The resulting Philippine Legislature had two houses, the Philippine Commission being the upper house and having absolute jurisdiction over the parts of the islands inhabited by Moros and other non-Christian tribesmen. The lower house was the Assembly which exercised legislative powers over all other parts of the Philippines. A second Philippine Legislature was formed in 1916. It consisted of a Senate and a House of Representatives, which exercised the legislative powers of the former legislature and the exclusive legislative jurisdiction and authority of the Philippine Commission. As a consequence, the Philippine Commission was dissolved on October 16, 1916. The act did away wholly with any differences in legislative control over the territory inhabited by the civilized peoples and that inhabited by the Moros and tribal

peoples but provided that the Moros and tribal peoples should be represented in both houses of the Legislature by senators and representatives appointed by the Governor-General. The Philippine Senate was given the power to confirm or decline to confirm all appointments made by the Governor-General, except of members of the Legislature to represent the Moros and tribal peoples.

The main action of the Spanish-American War in the Philippines took place in Luzon.

> At the end of 1898, all Luzon, except the post at Baler, which was held by a small Spanish garrison, and all the Visayas, had been evacuated by the Spaniards and government assumed by Filipinos. And by the end of May, 1899, all Mindanao had likewise passed to native control.[4]

The withdrawal of Spanish troops from the maintenance of order in the Moro areas led quickly to a situation verging upon anarchy. Major Febiger, the commanding officer of American forces at Cotabato reported that:

> the Spaniards were about three weeks vacating the district, using the steamers Rosario and Castellano, of the Compania Maritima, for the purpose, concentrating at Zamboanga. The last detachment left Cotabato between January 16 and 21, 1899. The Spaniards left a sort of triumvirate in charge of Cotabato, consisting of Ramon Vilo, a Filipino; Celestino Alonza, a Chino, and Dato Piang, a Moro, representing the three races, the first named being the president of the council, as it were, and he gradually absorbed all the power to himself. . . . . The subposts around Cotabato were left in charge of local datos in their vicinity or they took possession of them.[5]

Murder, rape, pillage, and general lawlessness were common.

Vilo "roamed the streets clubbing people and threatened to have them killed when they resisted and from all accounts seems to have shot some 16 persons during his regime."[6] The Moro and Chinese population of the town assassinated him shortly thereafter. On December 12, 1899, the reign of terror was ended by the landing of American forces.

Spanish forces in Mindanao and Sulu were assembled at Zamboanga under General Rios and were to be repatriated upon being relieved by American forces. General Otis did not immediately dispatch American troops to Mindanao. He wrote that "we felt . . . considerable hesitancy in dispatching to the Archipelago the limited force which then could be sent from Manila, apprehending more or less difficulty in securely holding necessary positions should we garrison them."[7] On May 14, 1899, General Otis wrote to Admiral Dewey saying that

> General Rios telegraphed to Madrid and received directions to withdraw the Zamboanga and Jolo garrisons immediately. He called this morning and wished me to send troops down there at once. I made him no promise but told him I would defer my answer until to-morrow. He asked me then if you would not send down a war vessel to cruise in those waters to give aid to the Spanish garrison in case it should be placed in extremity, to which I replied that I did not know but would seek the information from you.[8]

The occupation of the Spanish garrison at Jolo was considered most urgent since the "datus" would undoubtedly occupy the fort upon the retirement of the Spaniards. General Otis,

spurred to activity by the Spanish decision to evacuate Zamboanga and Jolo, sent two battalions of infantry to Jolo. They arrived on May 19, 1899, and relieved a Spanish garrison of twenty-four officers and eight hundred enlisted men.

> The Commanding Officer of the United States troops reported the day after his arrival that "the situation in so far as determined from our limited experience is as follows: Spain possesses the small walled town known as Jolo. The Governor has complete control within the walls. There are no civil courts, no civil officers. Outside the walls the Sultan of Jolo and Borneo is ruler. Spain pays him $200.00 Mexican, per month. At present he is not on the Island, but is visiting one of the neighboring Islands about thirty miles south. He has recently returned from Mecca and now dresses in European costume. Spanish soldiers seldom go beyond the range of the outlying blockhouses. The relation between the natives (Moros) and Spain is not altogether harmonious." Subsequent reports showed that the Spanish troops had received orders to prepare for withdrawal from the Archipelago and expected to depart very soon, but had not been informed that they would be relieved by United States troops. The Spanish Commandant and Governor had therefore taken the Sultan to Siassi from Maibun and turned the place over to him, and intended to turn over Jolo, also, when his force should evacuate. Our arrival was most opportune, and a matter of surprise--unpleasantly so--to the Sultan, who expected to award his Datos with this acquired possession. His Datos on Jolo Island were not, however, on the most amicable terms with him and seemed to be pleased to welcome the Americans.[9]

The Sultan of Sulu, recently returned from Mecca, was acting upon instructions of the Sultan of Turkey. Mr. Straus, American Minister to Turkey, reported that he had had an audience with the Sublime Porte regarding the possible Moro resistance to the American occupation of their areas.

> Having referred to this subject, he [the Sultan of Turkey] said immediately following my audience with him . . . . he had telegraphed to Mecca, it being the time of the annual pilgrimage, his wishes that the Moslems in the Philippines should not war with the Americans, nor side with insurgents, but should be friendly with our army, and that, as I assured him (the Sultan), the Americans would not interfere with their religion and would be as tolerant toward them as he was toward the Christians in his Empire. He added there was at Mecca at the time he sent that message quite a number of pilgrims from the Pacific Island, and especially their most prominent general and several other officers, and shortly thereafter they returned to their homes. That he was glad that there had been no conflict between our army and the Moslems, and that he certainly hoped their religion would in no manner be interfered with. I replied of this he could certainly feel satisfied, that religious liberty was the chief corner stone of our political institutions. He added he hoped his friendly spirit toward my country would be understood.[10]

Faced with the disapproval of his titular superior in Turkey and the opposition of his mother, the Sultana Inchi Jamila, the Sultan of Sulu lingered at Siasi, not actively opposed to the new occupants but far from friendly.[11]

General Montero, in command of the Spanish forces in Zamboanga, began in January of 1899 to form two companies of voluntarios to maintain public order upon the withdrawal of the Spanish troops. One of the companies was composed of convicts from the San Ramon prison colony under the command of Juan Ramos, a paroled murderer. The other company was commanded by Melanio Calixto, a Spanish sailor. Nothing could have been quite so stupid for, upon being armed, the voluntarios burned a portion of Zamboanga

and the defending Spaniards were forced to burn most of the remainder to give a clear field of fire. Fighting continued until the Spanish garrison was embarked on the "Leon XIII" late in May. General Montero, as if in payment for his gross error, was shot and killed at the wharf as he boarded the vessel. The sailing of the Spanish troops began a period of debauchery in which there was formed a Republic of Zamboanga including a presidential court. "The church at Zamboanga was sacked and Luis Lim, a mestizo, paraded the street in the priests' robes. People were robbed of their caraboas, rice, poultry, etc.; women were invited (?) to bailes and kept for days."[12] Calixto was murdered by a rival leader and the remaining organization of the voluntarios disintegrated. The Moro leader Mandi fought many of the insurrectos and appears to have welcomed the arrival of the American forces. The Volunteer Infantry arrived aboard the "City of Peking" and the "Brutus" on December 5, 1899, and occupied the ruins of Zamboanga. A detail was sent across to Isabela de Basilan for the occupation of that village and the island of Basilan. With the debarkation of American troops, public order was re-established.

At the outset of the American occupation of the Philippines, the Sulu Archipelago was a subject of international interest. The Treaty of Paris, signed December 10, 1898, delineated the areas ceded to the United States but the southern limits of the cession

led to controversy between Spain and the United States and was resolved by a supplementary treaty in which the ownership of Sibutu and Cagayan Sulu passed to the Americans.[13] In President McKinley's annual message to Congress (1900) the President stated:

> By the terms of the Treaty of Peace the line bounding the ceded Philippine group in the southwest failed to include several small islands lying westward of the Sulus which have always been recognized as under Spanish control. The occupation of Sibutu and Cagayan Sulu by our naval forces elicited a claim on the part of Spain, the essential equity of which could not be gainsaid. In order to cure the defect of the treaty by removing all possible ground of future misunderstanding respecting the interpretation of its third article. I directed the negotiation of a supplementary treaty, which will be forthwith laid before the Senate, whereby Spain quits all title and claim of title to the islands named as well as to any and all islands belonging to the Philippine Archipelago lying outside the lines described in said third article, and agrees that all such islands shall be comprehended in the cession of the archipelago as fully as if they had been expressly included within those lines. In consideration of this cession the United States is to pay to Spain the sum of $100,000.[14]

There remained another question concerning European powers and the United States. "By the protocol of March 7, 1885, between Germany, Great Britain and Spain, the two former powers recognized 'the sovereignty of Spain over the places effectively occupied, as well as over those that are not yet so, of the Sulu Archipelago.'"[15] In turn for this recognition of Spanish sovereignty, commercial preference was to be given to the Germans and British in Sulu, Balanguingui and Sandakan.[16] Upon cession to the United States they asserted that they still had these rights. Mr. Magoon, Law

Officer, Division of Insular Affairs, advised the British and Germans "that upon the cession of the Sulu Archipelago by Spain to the United States the treaties of Spain respecting trade with the islands ceased to exist."[17] Having acquired title to all of the Moro areas in the Philippine Archipelago and having taken a strong position relative to all previous treaties concerning the Moros, the American Government had undisputed possession of the Sulu Archipelago.

After having occupied the Jolo fortifications, the American Government sent Brigadier-General John C. Bates, United States Volunteers, to Jolo under order from the Military Governor. The following quotation from his instructions displays the American estimate of the situation regarding the Sultan's claims of sovereignty.

> Under the agreement between Spain and the Sultan and datos of July, 1878, the latter acknowledged Spanish sovereignty in the entire archipelago of Jolo and agreed to become loyal Spanish subjects, receiving in consideration certain specific payments in money. The sovereignty of Spain, thus established and acknowledged by all parties in interest, was transferred to the United States by the late Paris treaty. The United States has succeeded to all the rights which Spain held in the archipelago, and its sovereignty over the same is an established fact. But the inquiry arises as to the extent to which that sovereignty can be applied under the agreement of 1878 with the Moros. Sovereignty, of course, implies full power of political control, but is not incompatible with concessionary grants between sovereign and subject. The Moros acknowledged, through their accepted chiefs, Spanish sovereignty and their subjection thereto, and that nation in turn conferred upon their chiefs certain

powers of supervision over them and their affairs. The kingly prerogatives of Spain, thus abridged by solemn concession, have descended to the United States, and conditions existing at the time of transfer should remain. The Moros are entitled to enjoy the identical privileges which they possessed at the time of transfer, and to continue to enjoy them until abridged or modified by future mutual agreement between them and the United States to which they owe loyalty, unless it becomes necessary to invoke the exercise of supreme powers of sovereignty to meet emergencies. You will therefore acquaint yourself thoroughly with the terms of the agreement of 1878 and take them as a basis for your directed negotiations.

Probably you will discover that the Sultan and datos are laboring under the mistaken impression that Spain, upon withdrawing recently her military forces from the islands, reconveyed sovereignty to them. This claim on their part is mentioned in the memorandum citing the action of the United States troops at Jolo, and may be seriously entertained by them because of the reported Spanish action in placing them in possession of Siasi accompanied by promises to likewise turn over Jolo. If they seriously entertain such an illusion it will require tact and adroitness to dispel it, and a discussion of the United States' benevolent intentions, and its wish to establish friendly relations with them in oder to carry out those intentions, should precede any decided attempt at correction. The territorial extent of the Jolo Archipelago, as authoritatively established, is set out in the accompanying memoranda in all essential particulars, except as to the island of Basilan, where Spain maintained an important naval station, which is still in existence though not yet in United States actual possession. You will make inquiry with regard to this island and ascertain if the Sultan claims any authority over it, conceding nothing, however, on the point as to the rights of absolute control on the part of the United States.

. . . . . .

It is greatly desired by the United States for the sake of the individual improvement and social

> advancement of the Moros, and for the development of the trade and agriculture of the Islands in their interests, also for the welfare of both the United States and Moros, that mutual friendly and well-defined relations be established. . . . . The United States will accept the obligations of Spain under the agreement of 1878 in the matter of money annuities, and in proof of sincerity, you will offer as a present to the Sultan and Datos ten thousand dollars, Mexican, with which you will be supplied.

On August 20, 1899, an agreement was reached between General Bates and the Sultan and prominent Muslim leaders whereby "the sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged."[19] Religious customs of the Muslims were to be respected; purchase of land by any person was allowed; "free, unlimited, and undutiable" trade was granted to the Moros within the Philippines; piracy and the introduction of firearms were forbidden; slaves were allowed to purchase freedom; monthly salaries were granted to the Sultan and nine prominent Muslim leaders.

Since the old dominions of the sultan of Sulu included considerable areas in north Borneo, he has received an annual tribute of five thousand dollars, Mexican, from the British Government.[20]

> He has been treated with more consideration by British authorities than by Americans. Upon arrival on British territory, he is received as a royal personage and given honors which Americans have not seen fit to accord him. Not only do the British ceremonially recognize a degree of sovereignty in the Sultan, but they pay annually a small sum which is in a sense a recognition of the Sultan's claim.[21]

From the very outset, the Bates Agreement was found unsatisfactory by the officers commanding the Department of Mindanao. Brigadier-General George W. Davis wrote in his report on Moro affairs (October 24, 1901) that the Bates Agreement "it seems to me, should never have been made."[22] He suggested the following:

> 1. That the Bates agreement be abrogated and set aside. This will probably require the action of Congress, for the Moros surely will never willingly give up the rights they now enjoy.
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> 2. That no sultan or king over all the Moros of any region or over other datos be recognized.
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> 3. That hereditary datos be recognized as headmen in the several bands, and those who can earn wages in the performance of public service be paid as such, but that no pension or subsidy be allowed to any sultan or heir apparent or to any other chief.
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> 4. That government over the Moros be military, and that all violators of the law which amount to capital offenses, also slave catching, be tried and punished by the courts that may be established by the supreme government.
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> 5. That trade in domestic products of the Moro country, carried on by Moros with any part of the Philippines under the American flag, be free, unlimited, and undutiable, and that export taxes on Moro products shall not be imposed, this immunity from taxation to continue for ten years.[23]

Brigadier-General Samuel S. Sumner wrote in his report of operations (June 30, 1903) that

> without going into a discussion of the Bates treaty, I do not believe any development can take place or any advance be made so long as the treaty stands. It was made, as I am informed, to meet and cover an emergency; its use as a temporary measure has passed, and we should now replace it by some wise and just measures that would allow us to get into closer contact and have more direct control and supervision of these people.[24]

Perhaps the Bates agreement, allowing the Sultan complete authority in strictly Moro affairs, would have been satisfactory as similar arrangements have been in numerous British colonies if the sultan had been powerful enough to control all factions of the Moro political organization. His inability to do so, with consequent anarchy, is demonstrated by the correspondence between Colonel W. M. Wallace, Governor of Jolo, and the Sultan, Datus Joakanain, Calbi and Panglima Zutugan.[25]

Major-General Leonard Wood succeeded General Sumner as commander of the Department of Mindanao and recommended that the Bates agreement be abrogated.[26] President Theodore Roosevelt approved of his recommendation and on March 21, 1904, the sultan of Sulu was so notified.

> Whilst it had never been formally recognized as valid and binding, and indeed as to the provision relating to slavery had been repudiated by the President, still it had been lived up to by the Americans in every particular, including the payment of annual subsidies to the sultan and his principal datos, but it had been systematically and persistently violated by them. The sultan apparently recognized the advantages to himself of this convention, and we have every reason to believe that he was sincerely desirous of conforming to its provision, but the difficulty was that he is a man of no personal force or capacity. His principal datos, although nominally recognizing his hereditary rights, in reality did as they pleased. For more than a year the island of Sulu was in the throes of a petty war between him and two of his principal datos Joakanain and Calbi, and while he was friendly to the American they were not, and their followers were frequently excited by them to acts of violence and hostility against the Americans who occupied the town of Jolo. . . . . He the Sultan did not deny that the terms of the so called

> "Bates Treaty" had been violated in the particulars named by us, but insisted that he should not be held responsible for the acts of his rebellious datos. While conceding his good intentions, it was pointed out to him that it was best for all concerned that the Bates treaty should be set aside, in which view he offered finally to acquiesce, but at the same time he explained that the effect of this was to deprive him of all revenues which he had formerly received as sultan and to leave him practically without means of subsistence. It seemed to the Commission under all the circumstances that it would be inequitable to permit this, and therefore it was agreed to give him and the members of his official household 13,500 pesos annually, with the understanding that he and they will aid the government in every way possible when called on.[27]

With the abrogation of the Bates agreement, the Sulu sultanate became a political component of the Philippines, and internal government as well as external control passed to American hands.

In May, 1899, the United States Army relieved the Spanish troops in Jolo, and in November of the same year Zamboanga was occupied. From that time until December 15, 1913, the Moro Province--the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, less the provinces of Agusan and Bukidnon--was governed by officers of the Army. This government was purely military until July 15, 1903, when the government of the Moro Province was established. Thereafter, military control was continued by the appointment or detail of military officers to civil offices. Generals Bates, Kobbe, and Davis, in that order, commanded the military forces of Mindanao and Sulu before the establishment of the Moro Province. During that period General Davis commented that:

> The authority of the local military commander over this vast non-Christian reserve is the same as is that of the present commanding officer at Fort Sill, who now has under his control on the military reservation at the post some hundreds of Apaches--men, women, and children--all of whom are restrained of their liberty, i.e., they are nominally prisoners. If one of them is bad and intractable, or violates the post orders, he is incarcerated, and if necessary, ironed, just as was done the other day to a Moro sultan by the commanding officer at Camp Vicars, near Lanao.[28]

In 1901 there were 3,504 troops in the province; in 1902 there were 4,407,[29] and in 1903 there were 4,516.[30] After the establishment of the Moro Province, Generals Wood, Bliss, Hoyt, and Pershing, in turn, commanded the military establishment and at the same time occupied the position of governor of the Moro Province. Many offices in the government of the province and its five districts, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, Sulu, and Zamboanga, were also filled by Army officers.

When General Pershing resigned his civil office on December 15, 1913, no district governorship or other office of importance in the provincial or district governments except that of the provincial health officer was held by an officer of the United States Army.

> The talented officers who successively administered the Moro Province not only left behind them a record of admirable achievement--they disinterestedly and with definite purpose devoted all their efforts toward the preparation of this region for transfer to purely civilian control. The subsequent kindly attitude of the Army has been manifest constantly during the transition period, and the change has been effected without interrupting

> in the least degree the stability or continuity of governmental activities in public service.[31]

Basic to a study of the government of the Moros is an appraisal of the attitudes of ranking Army officials towards their wards. At the outset of the occupation General Otis stated:

> The United States must accept these people as they are and endeavor to ameliorate their condition by degrees, and the best means to insure success appears to be through the cultivation of friendly sentiments and the introduction of trade and commerce upon approved business methods. To undertake forcible radical action for the amelioration of conditions or to so interfere with their domestic relations or to arouse their suspicions and distrust would be attended with unfortunate consequences.[32]

Brigadier-General Kobbe wrote in his report that "with diversity of race, religion and habitat in the department it was necessary to adopt a military and civil policy varying with the locality, but based on sincere convictions that the people . . . . constitute a large and promising fraction of a 'much maligned race.'"[33] Major Lea Fibiger, commanding troops in the Cotabato area, was of the opinion that as a race of warriors the Moros were inferior to the American Indian but displayed the "same lack of respect and veneration for a civilian, even in high official position."[34] General Davis commented:

> They are able to produce rice, sugar cane, coffee, corn, cattle, beautiful woven fabrics, and thrusting and cutting weapons; they manufacture bronze cannon and gunpowder; and give surprising proofs of their ingenuity and industry. Their Moro boats are fashioned and rigged and sailed with the utmost skill and are admired by all strangers. A race of men who are capable of doing all this and who possess many manly

> qualities should be kept alive and not shot down in war. They should be aided and encouraged and taught how to improve their own natural and social condition and benefit us at the same time. Mohammedans in Turkey and India and Java have proved to be industrious and useful members of the communities. Mohammedan Malays in Serawak, a British proctectorate in Borneo, perform all the skilled and unskilled labor of that prosperous colony, and are as plainly showing their adaptability for the higher duties and occupations as have the Japanese. The Moros have certainly equal or greater capacity for usefulness.[35]

The above comments are typical of the attitudes of the governing officials almost without exception. A later appraisal made in January of 1917 by F. W. Carpenter, the governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, displays the progress of the Moros to that date.

> Law and order now obtain throughout Mohammedan Philippine territory, but popular compliance and cooperation are as yet only tentative and easily lost. They may be firmly established only in the course of time and by constancy in the present policies of responsible authorities in Manila conscientiously and correctly executed by local officers who establish themselves in the hearts of the people through invariable kindness, respect for local customs, religious ceremonies, and faith, absolute honesty and justice in both official and private relations. Neither Mohammedan nor pagan Filipino has national thought or ideals. They are now yielding to a policy of attraction directed at them as substantive Filipinos, and if they do not GIVE directly into increasing and eventual absolute homogeneity with the highly civilized Filipino type the fault will be of the latter. The more intelligent leaders of these Mohammedans and pagans have awakened to and the majority of the masses now have a glimmer of light as to the advantages and necessity for unity on a more comprehensive basis without religious distinctions approximating national existence.[36]

American authorities in the Philippines were quick to realize the need for men of high competency and integrity to administer Moro affairs. Within the United States there were few, if any, trained colonial administrators. W. Cameron Forbes, former Governor-General, wrote:

> Among the available Americans there was a large number of admirable men who were eager to enter the government service and who would have done credit to any government anywhere. The difficulty was to select the good material from the bad, and then to train it for the work in hand, for many of these positions required the services of highly specialized assistants.[37]

Captain Seay, commanding officer of American forces at Siasi observed in his report to the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Department of Mindanao and Jolo that "the personal equation of the officials handling them [the Moros] enters largely, and when it becomes necessary to make a change the old official should hold over until the new one has had time to become personally acquainted with the majority of the people, especially the chiefs, and the people gotten used to him, changes from his predecessor's system to his own being made gradually."[38] Dean Conant Worcester, former Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine Islands and member of the Philippine Commission, likewise considered

> continuity of policy . . . . absolutely essential to success and [it] is impracticable if the men charged with carrying out that policy are to be constantly changed. The next governor of the Moro Province should be a civilian and should be selected with the greatest care. He should be able, energetic, fearless, tireless and young. He should be kept in office for twenty years if he will stay so long.[39]

The Americans were able to provide such men for there were many who gave long service and even their lives[40] for the betterment of the Moro people. Mr. Frank C. Carpenter, proficient in the use of Spanish and Tagalog and one of the most respected Americans in the Philippines, was often the spokesman and champion of the provincial officials at Manila and later served with high competency as Governor of the Moro Province.[41] His successor, Teopisto Guingona, wrote emphatically of his services in the Moro Province.[42] As a basic principle of colonial administration, the necessity for competent officials is most important; lengthy tenure of office is highly desirable.

The early district commanders were men of considerable courage; officers went among the Moros unarmed and without escort.

> The policy of going among the people and allowing officers to go among them alone and unarmed brought forth most remarkable results in establishing friendly relations with the Moros, who are the principal inhabitants of the Rio Grande de Mindanao Valley. This policy was so much in contrast with the policy of the Spaniards, who never permitted their officers to leave the town except under a strong guard of armed soldiers, that it never failed to take the Moros by surprise, and it proved that not only was our confidence not misplaced, but that the Moro is not all bad, as some Spanish historians would lead us to believe.[43]

Combined with unflinching courage, tact and prudence were essentials for the gaining of the confidences of such a recalcitrant group of people as the Moros.[44] An extensive knowledge of Islamic custom and etiquette was of inestimable value to those who were in contact with them and it has been the writer's experience that familiarity

with the dialects spoken in the area is likewise an almost indispensable adjunct.

Three principles of administration were in evidence during the American occupation of the Moro areas; simplicity of governing laws, prompt and appropriate punishment for transgressions, and an obvious superiority of military strength. Captain Seay in his report on the government of Moros at Siasi remarked that "laws for their government should be simple, carefully explained to them, and scrupulously enforced."[45] For the Moros,

> there is no humiliation attached to confinement in what we call a jail, but when they are fined so many carabaos, dollars, or slaves the punishment comes to them in a way they understand. The courts that practice in the Moro country should have this phase of the situation in mind, but, above all, the punishment, whatever it may be, should follow the commission of the offense in the shortest possible time.[46]

After the decisive battle at Bayan, the chief of staff to the military governor of the Philippines directed that a strong camp be established on the high tablelands back of Illana Bay. Camp Vicars was founded in this imposing position as a constant reminder to the Moros of American strength. "Having given the Moros a severe and, it is believed, salutary lesson as a result of their treachery, defiance of United States authority, General Chaffee now wishes them to feel that our purposes are peaceful, that their personal welfare and material prosperity are objects

of solicitude at all times, and that they can rely absolutely on our protection and willingness to promote them."[47] And on numerous occasions Camp Vicars was to impress the fact of American might upon the Moros by forays against recalcitrant bands.

During the early years of the military occupation, the American policy was to disturb the status quo of Moro society as little as possible. Major-General Davis wrote in his notes that "the instances of positive interference by the military with the tribal customs and the kingly prerogatives are very few."[48] Although curtailment of freedom was rarely possible, the commanding officer of the Davao district stated that "persistent effort has been made to localize the different bands of Moros near their dato or captain,"[49] and from the narration, it is suggested that his policy was to a large extent successful. No other records of such a regulation is extant; it is highly doubtful if it could have been enforced in the Sulu Archipelago, inhabited as it is by the Budjao or sea-gypsies.

In still another manner did the American occupants endeavor to make friends with the ranking Moros. There are several records extant displaying the social amenities accorded on state occasions. On the first anniversary of the occupation of Zamboanga the Raja Muda Mandi, acknowledged head of the Moros in Zamboanga, was invited by General Kobbe to receive the military

review and to attend a reception of all the American officers of the garrison. The same evening datu Mandi returned the honor with a dance at his residence.[50] Major Sweet, military governor at Jolo, wrote to the Sultana Inchi Jamila, mother of the Sultan of Sulu, saying that the government steam launch in use at Jolo had been named "Sultana" and "I express the hope that she may render us as good service as ever has the Sultana of Jolo."[51] The Sultana's reply was most flattering. The use of ceremonial amenities was of greater value than may be supposed, for not only did such acts of courtesy flatter the recipient Moros but also increased their prestige in the eyes of their followers.

Perhaps the most astute policy whereby the Americans gained the friendship of the Moros was by sending them on courtesy trips to Manila, particularly during carnival season.

> On several occasions selected Mohammedan and pagan natives, especially those of reputed pronounced antipathy toward Christian Filipinos, have been taken by the government to Manila and to several of the provinces in Luzon and the Visayas. The invariable kindly hospitality extended to the visitors by Filipino officials and private citizens in the course of these visits to the northern provinces promises to be the beginning of a better understanding between the people of the various regions of the Archipelago. This expectation is being realized in a far greater degree than anticipated. Among the individuals selected for these educational trips have been not only Mohammedan datos and headmen who had been most vociferous in their objection to political or social union with Christian natives, but also some leaders of large followings who had but a few months before submitted to governmental control. A typical case is that of Dato Alamada who after many years of

evading contact with government agents and several engagements with troops and constabulary, had, as the result of negotiations extending over a considerable period, voluntarily come in with many of his men, on May 19, 1914, and surrendered to the provincial governor of Cotabato, pledging the submission to the government of his people, numbering nearly 3,000 men, women, and children. Some months later he accepted an invitation to visit Cebu, Manila, and adjacent provinces with a party of datos and other Mohammedans of local prominence from Cotabato, Sulu, and Lanao, begging, however, that he be assured of permission to carry his kris at all times and that he would not be required to wear "Christian" clothes. With the assurance that he would be quite free during the entire trip to carry his kris and to wear his customary clothing, he, before the end of the first day, requested permission to discard the weapon, on the ground that he was embarrassed in finding that he was the only armed person either in the party or among other people whom he met. Further, before he had been in Manila 12 hours, he had surreptitiously provided himself with a complete suit of "Christian" clothing, except that he substituted a plain Mohammedan cap for the semiturban head cloth customarily worn by the Cotabato Mohammedans. Since his return to Cotabato he has been insistent in his requests for schools, homestead surveys, and colony organization for his people.

Another typical case is that of Dato Ampatan, of Cotabato, the son of an Arab Mohammedan missionary trader and a native Maguindanao woman, now a man of quite advanced age, and during his entire life of great influence and power among the people of the upper Cotabato Valley and adjacent mountains, where he controls many thousands of people. Ampatan, although accepting unwillingly American sovereignty in the abstract, had practically conceded nothing thereto except to a limited degree the payment of the cedula or road tax when he felt that armed force was about to compel payment. He was definitely opposed to the establishment of the agricultural colonies, the immigration of Christian natives from the northern provinces, the establishment of public schools, and in fact, to the intervention of the government, directly or indirectly, in the territory constituting his zone of influence.

> Rather unwillingly he accepted the invitation to accompany a party of datos from his own and other provinces with the department governor to Luzon and the Visayas. Although ill with malaria, which developed during the trip, and constantly much fatigued by the unaccustomed and almost constant travel and interference with his ordinary habit of life, he made the greatest effort constantly to see and inform himself regarding all matters of interest which were comprehensible to him, the Manila carnival being something he was not able to understand. He was especially interested and impressed by the more efficient methods and industry of the people of the northern provinces in the cultivation of the soil, the public schools for the children, and the commodious homes of the more well-to-do classes in which he and the members of his party were well received and entertained, and the great physical benefit he had received from the medical treatment and care given him by a Filipino physician and nurse. Since his return to Cotabato he has given constant evidence of disposition to comply with all the advice and orders of the government. The most recent expression from him has been a protest that the allowance of teachers and public schools for his people are inadequate.[52]

Employment of Moro laborers was practiced from the beginning of the occupation. They were used as carriers by the troops afield so habitually that spies of the recalcitrant bands took the hiring of carriers to be a sure sign that a campaign was about to begin. As a general rule, however, employed Moros, other than those enlisted in the constabulary, were not permitted to fight in the campaigns. This was a matter of disappointment to them.[53] The attempt to improve the economic conditions of the Moros extended further than their use as unskilled labor. The protection of American forces caused large towns to grow near

garrisons; trade, which had formerly been so risky, flourished to the advantage of all the inhabitants.[54] Evidence of the government's efforts to increase the well being of the people is to be noted from the practice of devoting a large proportion of the savings in the way of public economies to the development of Mindanao and Sulu.[55]

Before passing to a discussion of the political organization and the internal conditions of the Moro areas, it is appropriate to examine the attitude of the Jesuits toward the military occupancy of the Americans. The Society of Jesus had, during the Spanish era, played a conspicuous part in the history of Mindanao and Sulu. Their constant clamor for protection and campaigns for the conversion of the Muslims had been the most pressing reason for Spanish interest in Mindanao, Sulu and Borneo. With the change of occupancy their activities had become of secondary importance. In a monograph prepared by the Reverend Pio Pi, Superior of the Jesuit Order in the Philippines, the official position of the Society was set forth.

> The system of political action of the government must comprehend the four following enterprises or operations intimately connected with the one or the other, procedure being made gradually in each one of them, although at the same time in all jointly: First, the assimilation of the submissive Moros to whom the action of the government reaches with the remaining population of the islands; second, the liberation or emancipation from Moro slavery of the infidels who are under the dominion of this race; third, the extension of the effective domination of the government

> over the Moros not yet really submitted, or still beyond the action of the said government, and fourth, the decided protection of Catholic evangelization of all the region.[56]

The Father Superior went on to say that the American Government should not only protect Catholic missionaries in Moro areas but also "in every possible way to assist them, even with material resources which may enable them to labor in favor of the peoples not only in evangelical work, but as propagators of civilization in the name of the Government and with its approbation."[57] In recounting his inspection trip to Mindanao Father Pi declared that the Moro slave traffic with captured Tirurayes had reached "extraordinary proportions" and "in this respect we have retrograded to the times of Corcuera (1639)."[58] His complaint to the American commandant at Cotabato was doubted and he concluded his pamphlet somewhat petulantly: "It will be a happy day when the Government of the United States becomes convinced of the existence of the obstacle to civilization we have here denounced Moro slave traffic and of the possibility and necessity of removing it for the common welfare of the country."[59] Although the pamphlet was a criticism of the activities of Major-General Davis, that officer commented only that "the data it contains should be valuable to representatives of other creeds who may wish to undertake the conversion of the Moros to Christianity."[60]

Military rule of the Moro areas commenced with the initial occupation and continued until the inauguration of the Moro Province on June 1, 1903. During the period of military government the area was first called the Department of Mindanao and Jolo, an organization formed on April 24, 1900, with four districts. The first district had its capital at Cagayan de Misamis and included the area between the Tagaloan and Agusan Rivers and extending north and east indefinitely. The second district had its headquarters at Zamboanga and comprised an indefinite hinterland and included Basilan. The third district was controlled from Jolo with jurisdiction over the Sulu Archipelago less Basilan. A fourth district was organized at Davao with equally tentative boundaries. During 1901, the Department was referred to as the Seventh Separate Brigade but with no change in the local arrangement. In 1902, the area was called simply the Department of Mindanao and included the Paragua Archipelago now known as Palawan. In this same year the provinces of Misamis and Surigao were separated from the Department of Mindanao, placed under the control of the Philippine Commission at Manila and given a civil administration. At all times during the military occupation phase, the higher echelon of the American forces was located at Zamboanga.

> It was recognized that any effort in the direction of establishing government among the Moros must in the nature of things be tentative and experimental,

> and that in all probability it would be necessary subsequently to modify any government established. . . . . The province was divided into five great districts, each presided over by a district governor under the general administrative direction of the provincial governor.[61]

The autonomy of the province is well illustrated by W. Cameron Forbes' comment regarding it.

> The province was given a special organization, differing materially from the thirty-one regularly organized provinces in which the Christian Filipinos enjoyed autonomy. It had an appointive governor and a legislative council which consisted of the governor and five others: the secretary, the engineer, the treasurer, the superintendent of schools, and the provincial attorney, all Americans. This council, subject to the approval of the Philippine Commission in Manila, made its own laws except as to customs and internal revenues collected within its territory. These, together with all other revenue collections, were expended by appropriations made by the council at its discretion. Thus the governor of the Moro Province enjoyed much greater freedom of action than any other in the archipelago, and the power of supervision retained in Manila was used only very generally, owing in part to the confidence which Governors-General in Manila always had in the capacity of the successive governors of the province.[62]

The five districts of the Moro Province were the Sulu Archipelago (less Basilan), Zamboanga (plus Basilan), Lanao, Cotabato, and Davao. In turn each district was divided into several subdistricts or tribal wards.[63] The district governors were selected with great consideration being given to knowledge of the particular tribe to be governed.[64] Deputy district governors were likewise appointed and in 1913 seven Moros filled this office; two in Lanao, one in Cotabato, one in Zamboanga, and three in Sulu.[65]

General Pershing estimated that in that year the Moro Province was inhabited as follows:

TABLE 2

POPULATION OR MORO PROVINCE IN 1913[x]

Tribes	Populations	Populations
Maguindanaos.....	90,000	
Malanaos.....	78,000	
Samales.....	75,000	
Sulus.....	65,000	
Yakans.....	75,000	
Total Mohammedans.....		325,000
Pagans.....		103,358
Christian Filipinos.....		85,148
Chinese.....		3,186
Americans and Europeans.....		1,161
Japanese.....		1,029
Total.....		518,882

[x]Philippine Islands, Moro Province, Annual Report of the Governor.....for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1913 (Zamboanga: Mindanao Herald Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 52-53.

It is not surprising that the Philippine Commission appointed such brilliant soldiers as Major-General Leonard Wood, General Tasker H. Bliss and Brigadier-General John J. Pershing to act as governors of the Moro Province, for the office had an exceedingly wide jurisdiction over the lives of half a million people, most of them restive, in a

land made difficult to govern by topography and by size. Nearly all of the governing officials of the Moro Province were U.S. Army officers detailed to fill specific posts. In the records of the U.S. Army the pacification and policing activities continued to be administered through the Department of Mindanao with officers detailed to duty as officials in the Moro Province Government acting in a dual capacity inasmuch as they retained their rank in the Table of Organization for the Department of Mindanao.

As had been anticipated upon the inauguration of the Moro Province, radical changes were inevitable in government.

> Good as had been the quality of the men selected for governorship of the province, a continued military personnel seemed to be inexpedient. Continuity of service was the most important lacking element. Where the positions of the deputy-governors were held by army officers, it was found that just about the time they had held their positions long enough to learn their duties, the military requirements of the service resulted in their transfer.[66]

In December of 1913, the first civilian governor, Frank W. Carpenter, was appointed and shortly afterwards the Moro Province was combined with the province of Augusan and the sub-province of Bukidnon to form the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. The internal divisions were unchanged; to the five districts of the old Moro Province were added Agusan and Bukidnon. Thus the Department included the Sulu Archipelago and all of Mindanao excepting Surigao and Misamis.

The Department of Mindanao and Sulu was shortlived; in 1916 the government of the Moros passed to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes which was a function of the Philippine Department of the Interior. Thus it was that the government of the Moros, which had never before been unified with that of the northern provinces, passed directly to the central government in Manila.

As had been noted elsewhere in this paper the internal political condition of the Moro peoples verged upon feudalism with the sultan controlling the datus, rajahs, panglimas, and orangkayas only when he, himself, was a forceful personality. There were other groups within the Moro areas who comprised political elements of some size. The Chinese community is a necessary part of every large Moro settlement for the Chinese are merchants. A typical arrangement is to be seen at the town of Jolo, with its walled city in which resided the occupying forces and Christian Filipinos, a Chinese pier with myriads of nipa shacks on poles above the tidal flats where most of the retail trade is carried on, and the Moro settlement at Busbus, the place of execution, some distance from the other barrios. The Chinese have for centuries carried on commercial activities among the Moros. They were tolerated, given some protection by the "datus" and subjected to a minimum of regulations by the Moros. They were their own government and by their strong inclination toward concerted

action and their wealth they were of political consequence greatly out of proportion to their size. In the Davao district, the immigration of Japanese, which before World War II reached many thousands, was likewise a group of considerable political importance. Since there has been some indication that the Japanese Government encouraged settlement of Davao and the large commercial interests of Japan furnished capital for the venture, the military authorities commanding Davao were forced to consider the political desires of the Japanese as having some support from the Japanese Government. Aside from the Moros and pagans the most numerous group demanding the attention of the Americans was the Christian Filipino who began colonizing the unused lands in the Lanao and Cotabato districts. Every town of any importance was inhabited largely by these immigrants from the Visayas and Luzon. Their leaders were the most advanced culturally and most articulate politically of any oriental group encountered in the area; they often voiced the position of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. A subsidiary group of some weight was the civilian American who came to Mindanao, many of whom became wealthy. Their suggestions regarding the government of the Moros carried great weight with the military authorities. From this enumeration of the political forces active within the Moro areas, the complexity of governing such regions may be appreciated.

Reasonable public order was not established without some difficulty. In the Lanao region it was not until May of 1902 that decisive action was taken to end the resistance of the Maranaos. As a result of the defiance of several local leaders and the occurrence of murders from ambush, the American brigade commander sent an ultimatum to the Rajah of Bayan requiring surrender within twenty-four hours. He received no reply and on May 2, 1902, advanced on the Moro forts and shelled them heavily. The Moro defenders could not defend themselves successfully against the superior equipment of their enemy, and the forts were easily leveled. The U.S. Army estimated that six hundred warriors defended the fortresses and the surrendered Moros declared their losses to have been between three and four hundred. American losses were ten dead and forty-one wounded. The engagement has since come to be known as the Battle of Bayan.[67] Near the site the Americans constructed Camp Vicars which was to play a significant part in the succeeding campaigns of pacification.

Shortly after the establishment of Camp Vicars, Captain John J. Pershing became commanding officer and it was in this capacity that his efficiency as a soldier first came to the attention of the War Department. From the date of founding, Camp Vicars was subject to the almost nightly attacks of small Moro bands. To reduce the enemy, Captain Pershing led an expe-

dition around Lake Lanao fighting with all inhabitants who manifested a desire to fight. At Bacolod, one hundred and twenty Moros were killed in battle as against eleven Americans wounded. At Calashui twenty-three more Moros died, and at the Rio Taraca two hundred fifty Malanaos were killed in battle.[68] The expedition was most effective in pacifying the Moros of the Lanao region, and for his efficiency Captain Pershing was, on September 20, 1906, promoted to Brigadier-General.[69]

In the Sulu Archipelago, pacification was accomplished over a longer period of time and with greater loss. Military rule at Jolo was effective only over those "datus" who saw fit to comply. The Sultan of Sulu gave his support to the Americans but diehards such as Calbi and Joakanain caused a great deal of unrest by their raids, occasional murders and constant robberies. The American forces were reluctant to take decisive action against them and did not do so until it was forced upon them.

In 1906, a major battle took place at Bud Dajo. Bud Dajo is an extinct volcano rising 2,100 feet above the sea on the island of Jolo. The sides of the mountain are steep and covered with nara and other trees. In 1905, the Americans had had to make extensive operations against Pala, Peruka, Utig, Inlan and Hati. Their followers fled to the crater and built fortifications. The military governor first tried to get these people off the mountain by peaceful means but was unsuccessful. American forces under Colonel

Joseph W. Duncan fought the Moros at the rim of the crater on March 6 to 8, 1906, sustaining ninety-four killed and wounded out of a force of four hundred men. The Moros lost over six hundred including a number of women and children. "Shortly after the conclusion of the operations against this band of outlaws a general meeting of the Sultan and the important datus was called, and they, without a dissenting voice, stated that the action was absolutely necessary and unavoidable, and that failure on our part to act would have resulted in a general disturbance."[70]

In 1910, it was ordered that the Moros of the Sulu Archipelago be disarmed. By December 1, 1911, over 30,000 pesos had been spent to buy weapons from them. The Moros of Lati Ward, Jolo, became hostile, ran amok[71] among the American troops and made raids against their countrymen. When it became evident that the military forces were preparing an expedition against them, the Moros retired to Mount Bagsak. They numbered from six to ten thousand persons of which nine-tenths were noncombatants. General Pershing led the American forces against them and at sunrise on June 11, 1913, the American forces surprised their enemy with most of the noncombatants absent and administered a severe punishment to the outlaws. After that decisive engagement the Joloanos were comparatively peaceful.

Footnotes

[1]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), I, p. 75.

[2]United States, Philippine Commission (Schurman), Report to the President of the United (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), I, 121.

[3]Ibid., p. 109.

[4]W. C. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928) I, p. 76.

[5]United States, War Department, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, 522.

[6]Ibid., IX, 523.

[7]United States Army, Division of the Philippines, Annual Report of E. S. Otis . . . . Military Governor in the Philippine Islands (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 216.

[8]Ibid., p. 218.

[9]Ibid., pp. 221-222.

[10]Letter from Mr. Straus, Minister to Turkey, to Mr. Hay, Secretary of State, September 23, 1899, Foreign Relations, 1899, pp. 768-770, quoted in John Bassett Moore, A Digest of International Law (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), I, p. 533.

[11]United States Army, Division of the Philippines, Annual Report of E. S. Otis . . . . Military Governor in the Philippine Islands (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 222.

[12]United States, War Department, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, p. 553.

[13]United States Congress, Senate, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements, 1776-1909, U. S. Senate, 61st Congress, 2d session, Senate Document 357 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), II, pp. 1696-1697.

[14]President McKinley, Annual Message, December 3, 1900, quoted in John Bassett Moore, A Digest of International Law (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), I, pp. 530-531. The supplementary treaty was signed November 7, 1900; the ratifications were exchanged March 23, 1901.

[15]Ibid., I, p. 268.

[16]For an agreement made by the Sultan of Sulu with Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent giving the Europeans sole ownership to portions of north Borneo around Sandakan, see United States, War Department, Annual Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, pp. 496-497.

[17]United States, War Department, Division of Insular Affairs, Reports on the Law of Civil Government in Territory Subject to Military Occupation by the Military Forces of the United States, by Charles A. Magoon (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 302.

[18]United States Congress, Senate, Report and All Accompanying Papers of Brig. Gen. John C. Bates in Relation to the Negotiation of a Treaty or Agreement Made by Him with the Sultan of Sulu on the 20th Day of August, 1899 (Washington: Government Printing Office, February 1, 1900), pp. 3-5.

[19]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), Part 4, pp. 396-397.

[20]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, p. 496.

[21]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), II, p. 16.

[22]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, p. 514.

[23]Ibid., p. 516.

[24]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), III, p. 299.

[25]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, pp. 534-538.

[26]United States, Philippine Commission, Report to the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Part I, pp. 489-490.

[27]United States, Philippine Commission, Report to the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), Part I, pp. 11-13.

[28]United States, War Department, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, pp. 560-561.

[29]Ibid., p. 476.

[30]United States, War Department, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), III, p. 297.

[31]United States, Philippine Commission, Report to the Secretary of War July 1, 1913, to December 31, 1914 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 236.

[32]United States Army, Division of the Philippines, Annual Report of E. S. Otis . . . . Military Governor in the Philippine Islands (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 260-261.

[33]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), I, Part 5, p. 258.

[34]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, p. 526.

[35]Ibid., IX, p. 494.

[36]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1917. Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), III, p. 92.

[37]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (rev. ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 91.

[38]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I Part six, p. 414.

[39]Dean Conant Worcester, The Philippines Past and Present (new ed. by Ralston Hayden; New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 497.

[40]See the resolution adopted by the Legislative Council of the Moro Province on the occasion of the murder of Lieut. Edward C. Bolton, In United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1906 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), III, pp. 312-313.

[41]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (rev. ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 92.

[42]United States, War Department, Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War, 1919 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 87.

[43]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), I, Part 5, p. 260.

[44]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I, Pat 6, p. 322.

[45]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), I, Part 5, p. 266.

[46]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, p. 564.

[47]Ibid., p. 491.

[48]Ibid., p. 561.

[49]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I, Part 6, p. 331.

[50]Ibid., pp. 336-337.

[51]Ibid., p. 341.

[52]United States, Philippine Commission, Report to the Secretary of War July 1, 1913 to December 31, 1914 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. 399-400.

[53]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, p. 486.

[54]Ibid., pp. 491 and 565.

[55]Philippine Islands, Governor-General, Message of Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison to the Fourth Philippine Legislature Delivered October 16, 1916 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1916), p. 3.

[56]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), III, p. 369.

[57]Ibid., p. 373.

[58]Ibid., p. 378.

[59]Ibid., p. 378.

[60]Ibid., p. 150. The American officials granted religious freedom to all groups in the Philippine Islands. The protection of missionaries in the Moro areas was an incident of law-enforcement and not because of any particular desire to propagate Christianity.

[61]United States, Philippine Commission, Annual Report to the Secretary of War June 30, 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905) Part 1, pp. 8-9.

[62]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), II, p. 18.

[63]For an exact delineation of boundaries see the map appended to: Philippine Islands, Moro Province, Annual Report of the Governor . . . . for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1913 (Zamboanga: Mindanao Herald Publishing Company, 1913).

[64]Ibid., p. 54.

[65]Ibid.

[66]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), II, 28.

[67]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), IX, pp. 484-489.

[68]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), III, pp. 322-329.

[69]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928) I, p. 189.

[70]United States, War Department, Annual Reports for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1906 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), III, p. 279.

[71]A Malay word from which the term "to run amuck" is derived.

V

THE EMERGENCE OF SELF-IDENTITY BY THE FILIPINO MUSLIM

After the pacification of the turbulent Muslim areas under American influence the Filipino Muslim no longer had to identify himself with other Muslims on the point of military protection. Instead the Filipino Muslim sought to identify himself with other Muslims on a common cultural or religious level.

Prior to World War II Islam had little deep religious meaning to the average Muslim. It was but a basis of unity between the Islamized Filipino groups and had little effect on life within those groups.[1]

However after World War II the condition of Islam in the Philippines changed radically.[2] This is due largely to a resurgence of Islam throughout the Muslim world. But it is also partly attributable to a seeking of identity in the face of possible assimilation into the larger Christian Filipino body. In other words, it is a way of self-survival.

Being the largest minority group in the Philippines, it is but natural that the main body--the Christian group--sees the potentially powerful pressure group as an imminent threat to their security. Thus there has evolved the common cliche of the "Moro Problem," and much discussion is given in popular journals concerning this national problem.

"The Moro Problem," a committee of the Philippine Congress has stated, "is nothing but the problem of integrating into the Philippine body politic the Muslim population of the country, and the problem of inculcating into their minds that they are Filipinos and that this Government is their own and that they are part of it."[3] The committee, composed of three politically pre-eminent Muslims, described the average Muslim in the following terms:

> He believes he is descended from a worthy stock, ethnically speaking, as his historical background shows it to him. He believes in the worthy nature of his native state, as it had always been nurtured in him from the very beginning. He thinks that he has all the freedoms afforded him under the Muslim state, based on the religious founding principles. He assumes that his religion is the primary factor of his life and any attempt to subjugate his people, and make him bow to the new order would mean not alone the enslavement of his people, but an attempt to do away with his religion entirely. This idea he detests . . . his religion is always the main issue involved. . . the ordinary Muslim still carries with him the old idea that the Sultan is authority among his people and that the Philippine Government is for the Christian alone.

There are several factors, however, which are operating to inhibit integration of the Muslim into the body politic, among which are religious differences, cultural differences, and socio-economic differences.

The Congressional report cited above stated that eighty per cent of thos Filipinos claiming to be Muslims were "ignorant

of their religion." Other observers are in general agreement with this figure. The Islam professed by the overwhelming majority of the Muslims is far from being orthodox, and is Islam in name and form to a much greater degree than it is Islam in substance.

The Qur'an is, among Philippine Muslims as elsewhere, the key to Islam. Mosques abound, particularly among the Tawsug and the Maranao. Polygamy and divorce are practised (under a Philippine Government sanction due to expire in 1969). Pork, and to a lesser extent, alcohol are abhorred. The giving of alms and tithes is obligatory. Ramadan is observed, albeit with varying degrees of severity. The pilgrimage to Mecca is an annual pageant of chaos, and the returned hadji or pilgrim, distinguishable by a white cap, enjoys a great prestige among his people. One Muslim observer, however, estimates that less than ten per cent of Muslim Filipinos can read the Qur'an; this not alone because their command of Arabic is insufficient, but because the functional literacy rate even in the native dialects does not appear to run significantly higher than ten to fifteen per cent. The mosques are poorly attended (very few Muslim Filipinos make their five daily prayers) and chaotically administered, the imams are generally unschooled in the subtitles of Islam, and Qur'anic law is so thoroughly intermixed with adat, or customary law, as frequently to be unrecognizable. Effectively, it appears,

Islam in the Philippines is at least as recognizable in terms of pre-existing culture patterns as it is in terms of religion; its genius appears to be traditional rather than the congregation as a whole. This may help to explain the seeming paradox in the religious fanaticism of many Muslims as contrasted with the flabbily structured and extremely decentralized nature of their religious institutions. In short, Islam on the Philippine scene comes close to being coterminous with "Moro" culture.

Nonetheless, and from many points of view this is the essential fact, the Muslim Filipino does have a deep emotional identification with what he conceives to be his religion. In the eyes of the observer he may only <u>believe</u> that he believes in Islam, but his belief, accurate or not, is capable of arousing him to transports of emotion. The persistent conflict with the Spanish and, for a less extended period, the Americans took the form of a <u>jihad</u>, or religious war; <u>juramentados</u> still occasionally invade Christian sanctuaries to attack Christians in the belief that if they should die in the act they will be received with special grace by Allah; and religious differences are at the heart of the "Moro problem."

Their religious shortcomings, perhaps ignorance is a better word, are becoming increasingly apparent to many Muslim Filipinos[4] and what appears to be an important religious revival is gradually gathering momentum. In part, the revival seems due

to the fact that increased contact with Christianity has stimulated a re-examination of religious techniques and a modernization of practices and beliefs. It might be noted parenthetically that despite the increased contact and the rather significant number of Christian missionaries in Muslim areas, there have been only occasional conversions of Muslims to Christianity. Conversely, there appears to be little evangelical effort on the part of the Muslims except, perhaps, among the more pagan tribes. The religious demarcation appears permanent.

Egypt alone, according to available figures, has promised to make seventy missionary/teachers available in the Philippines and ninety-six Muslim Filipino students are reportedly now studying at Al-Azhar University in Cairo as guests of the Egyptian Government.[5] The majority of them are in their early or middle twenties and are, hence, significantly older than the average college student in the Philippines. Although none of them have apparently yet returned, it would appear that most of the students are studying Islam and Arabic, and that only a few are taking technical or non-religious courses. The promise of teachers does not yet appear fully to have been honored. Although precise figures are difficult to come by, there were in 1963 three Egyptian teachers among the Maranao, one of whom is teaching at Kamilol Islam Institute in Marawi City. There are several missionaries among the Maguindanao including one at Parang,

Cotabato. There was, for a while, a Pakistani among the Maranao. There do not, at the moment, appear to be any alien Muslim missionaries in Sulu. Muslim Filipinos generally approve the exchange program as of benefit to the Philippine Muslim community. The program is increasing the prestige which Egypt already enjoys among the Muslim population.

Implicit in a discussion of the two cultures is the fact that the crux of the "Moro problem" resides in the conflict of two cultures. On the one hand are the various Muslim cultures; highly traditional, relatively isolated, defensive, sharply delimited by religious authority and deeply suspicious of a culture with which they have had unfortunate contact over a period of 400 years. The other culture, of course, is essentially Christian, is constitutional and legal in form, and embraces western culture and technology. In Muslim terms, of course, the latter is both aggressive and expansionist. The ultimate solution of the "Moro problem" will depend on the extent to which the Muslims believe they can adopt, or submit to, the forms and substances of this "constitutional" culture without compromising their religion, and the tact and sophistication with which the Philippine Government defines and implements a policy of integration.

Present appearances, in the political realm at least, are somewhat misleading. Although there are three Muslim representatives in the Philippine Congress (Senator Alonto's defeat

in the 1961 elections removed their representation in the Upper House), four Muslim governors and a large number of lesser elected officials, and although there are what purport to be provincial, city and municipal governments as well as courts throughout the areas under Muslim control, the veneer of democratic forms is shallow. It was not until the middle 1950's that Muslim Filipinos were given the right to elect officials in their own areas, and one could argue that the advent of democracy has had the result of perpetuating, and in many ways strengthening, the authority of the traditional ruling families and classes.

The Alontos of Lanao; the Pendatuns, Sinsuats and Ampatuans of Cotabato; and the Abubakars of Sulu are all of royal blood, although occasionally in distantly collateral line. Their gradually waning traditional influence is now rather significantly buttressed, if slightly altered in nature, by the considerable resources of the constitutional system (such as patronage, public works funds, police system, etc.). The datu class now controls a sizeable bloc of votes, which are often offered on the open market to the highest bidder and which form the basis of constantly shifting political alliances. It appears to be a fact that the most effective leaders are those who combine both traditional and constitutional authority, and that the overwhelming Muslim elective control of the province and many towns

of Cotabato, for instance, is due to the extreme cohesiveness of Muslim voters who tend to vote the party line much more religiously, so to speak, than the somewhat larger, more prosperous and sophisticated Christian population. It might be noted, however, that many Christians voted for Muslim candidates in the belief, or hope, that they will be better able to control their coreligionists.

Cotabato offers one of the most striking examples of the manner in which the constitutional system can overlay the traditional. There were, historically, three sultanates among the Maguindanao: that of Maguindanao proper along the coast surrounding Cotabato City; that of Tumbao in the area north and east of Datu Piang along the Pulanggi River; and that of Buayan, south and east of Datu Piang along the Rio Grande. The sultans are no longer in existence, but each of the sultanates now has potent political representation in the Sinsuat, Pendatum and Ampatuan families respectively. All of the bloody enmities, jealousies and jockeying for position and power which existed in the traditional system have been transferred virtually intact to the new scheme of things.

Although the constitutional system is in increasing contact with the traditional, the Muslims are still a group radically apart from the rest of the Philippine community. If constitutional forms have to some degree been imposed on Muslim

cultures, it is nonetheless true that these cultures continue to operate in considerable independence of the substance for which the forms stand. It might be noted, for example, that an agent of the National Bureau of Investigation who recently fingerprinted a Muslim woman in Sulu barely escaped with his life. It is considered highly inappropriate among the Muslims for a man to touch the hands or face of a woman to whom he is not married or related, and not even the obvious fact that the agent was acting in the line of duty served to excuse his conduct.

The most vivid examples of this independence is to be found in the area of the law. Although, paradoxically, the law appears to be the profession most prized by Muslims (like other Filipinos) who have entered the arena of non-religious education, the legal system of the Philippines simply bears no relationship to the legal system at work among the Muslims. Muslim Filipinos will go to great lengths to settle legal matters within their own system. For the most part, they refuse to recognize the authority of courts established under constitutional authority, although they will occasionally use the "Christian" courts as a sort of appellate court in the event that satisfaction cannot be obtained within their own system. There are no Muslim judges sitting on courts of the Philippine Government and the number of Muslim lawyers admitted to the bar is very small.

Customary law in the Philippines is based on the principle of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," although sentences are now generally couched in carefully calculated financial terms rather than corresponding physical damage. For simple assault the defendant may have to pay the plaintiff up to ₱50.00; aggravated assault from which serious bodily injury results may run as high as ₱2,000 - ₱3,000, depending on whether the victim lost an eye, a leg, an arm, etc. Murder or rape (an extremely serious crime) can cost as much as ₱10,000 or, if the circumstances are particularly heinous, the defendant may be given into slavery as the property of the offended party's heirs or family.

There is, also, a third form of retributive, personal justice. The Muslim Filipino is known for his nervous, intense pride and deep sense of personal honor and "face" (the phrase for this throughout the Muslim areas is maratabat).[6] At any time a Muslim considers his maratabat to be wounded, he is likely to invoke swift, violent reprisal. There is recorded one case in which a murder went unavenged for three generations before the grandson of the murdered man happened on the grandson of the murderer (against whom he had no personal grudge and in fact, whom he did not know personally) and killed him in cold blood. The son of the murdered man, who made no effort to trace the guilty party, had been exiled by the family for his failure to

avenge the stain on its maratabat. During the Lanao del Sur provincial convention of the Nacionalista Party in June 1961, the candidate for Congress was nominated by a complicated game of chance so as not to humiliate the maratabat of his "unlucky" rivals. It might be noted, however, that there is relatively little unprovoked violence among the Muslim Filipinos, although maratabat is frequently invoked for reasons which would appear absurdly inconsequential to an outsider.

In effect, then, the constitutional courts and Philippine law play only an extremely limited role in Muslim life. The Christian plaintiff who takes a Muslim to court in a civil suit is unlikely to find his man or, if he can be found, the defendant will invariably suggest settlement out of court. The most exacerbating example of this legal dichotomy at the moment is in the issue of ownership of land, particularly in Cotabato where the influx of Christian settlers is heaviest. The lands, to which the settlers are now attempting to acquire title in Cotabato, belong to Muslim groups by long-established acquiescence of tradition and rarely, if ever, by title since possession accords absolute title under Muslim custom. For Christian settlers to claim this land under the auspices of a government policy making "public" lands available for title (and most Muslim-owned lands are considered public, since no titles are of record), smacks to Muslims of discrimination and illegality. The result, as in Cota-

bato, is serious prolonged conflict occasionally resembling guerrilla warfare as Muslims attempt to secure payment for property (and bills are frequently presented by more than one individual), or attempt to drive the settler off by force.

The government policy of alienating public lands for which there is no registered title was well-intentioned, since it afforded the Muslims an opportunity to legalize their traditional "title." Like many well-intentioned schemes, however, it has had unfortunate results. The Muslims who held land under the traditional system failed to take advantage of the opportunity since it seemed to them inappropriate that they should have to ask the Philippine Government for lands which already "belonged" to them. And Christians, despite occasional sharp deals, have been denied land for which they filed title in good faith. As an American sociologist has stated: ". . . a simple trust in the impartial enforecement of legal forms will result in the exploitation of the other groups by the Chinese and the Christian Filipinos. The Moros and the mountain tribesman are still so unfamiliar with the legal processes of an individualistic, contractual type of society that they would soon lose out to more sophisticated groups. Government . . . should adopt (and this is very difficult) a policy which protects the native landowners against legalistic chicanery and likewise protects the Christian settler against violence."[7]

In general the quality of the Muslim leaders who have adopted dual, traditional/constitutional roles is low.

This is a considerable tragedy, since progress among the Muslims will require vigorous concerted action both on their part and on the part of various agencies of the Philippine Government. The Muslim leaders, if they were so inclined, would be uniquely suited, by virtue of their dual authority, to serve as intermediaries in what will be a difficult and often tense process. To date, very few of them have been so inclined.

Crucial to the problem of integrating Muslim Filipinos into the mainstream of Philippine life will be the nature of the attitudes of the Muslims and their Christian compatriots, not to mention the agencies of the Philippine Government, with regard to the question of possible ensuing changes in the traditional Muslim cultures, the education of the Muslim population, and the deep-seated conflict between two systems of authority--religious and constitutional--which lies at the very heart of the "Moro problem." Since significant progress may well involve changes of a revolutionary nature in Muslim culture, the truly extraordinary degree to which Islam influences the thoughts, actions and attitudes of Muslim Filipinos should be kept firmly in mind. It should also be remembered that they, like many uneducated peoples, take their religious authorities quite literally. If permission or authority for an action is not <u>expressly</u> stated in the Qur'an, or if it can-

not readily be deduced from custom, then the action cannot be considered appropriate for the community. In this sense, the Muslim Filipinos are for the most part a highly conservative, indeed almost reactionary group; and although most of the rural Philippines can properly be considered highly conservative, a qualitative difference appears to be introduced by the religious factor. In effect, the Muslim Filipino's religious beliefs and his social, economic and political structures are co-terminous.

A number of competent observers, both Christian and Muslim, appear to believe that education may provide the ultimate key to successful integration. It is possible that this is so despite the fact that the Muslims--with the qualified exception of the Taw Sug and Samal--are generally indifferent, if not actually hostile, to education as the Philippine Government defines it. This indifference is unlikely to be eroded over a period of time much shorter than several generations. To the average Moslim, education means the acquisition of sufficient Arabic to permit reading from the Qur'an and, thence, a detailed understanding of Qur'anic teachings. Since the Qur'an is the single source of truth, there is nothing else one needs to know. The general attitude to schools established by the Government or by Christian missions is characterized by abiding suspicion. It is accepted as fact among the Muslims that the curriculum in both public and mission schools is designed to convert good Muslim

children to Christianity; and it is a matter of belief that one is better dead than Christian.

Their general resistance is not lessened by the fact that history and other texts in the Philippine educational system generally tend to describe the Muslims and their culture in pejorative terms. The Muslim points out, quite accurately, that the same attention to unfortunate detail is not accorded the Spanish Inquisition or the persecution of the Huguenots. This is not to say that public and mission schools do not exist in Muslim areas. They do, albeit in much less generous number than elsewhere in the Philippines (there is, for instance, no public high school in either the provinces of Cotabato or Lanao del Sur), and Muslim children do attend them in relatively small numbers. Nonetheless, they have not yet been accepted by a community which will first have to accept the idea that an education based on the Qur'an is not necessarily the best method of preparing to deal with a complicated world. However, improved government and private educational facilities do appear to constitute one of the most effective means of drawing Muslim youths out of the past, of suggesting to them that Christians are not necessarily as bad as they are frequently pictured, and of introducing revolutionary aspirations and skills into conservative society.

There are some thoughtful Muslims, indeed, who look on the current religious "revival" as perhaps the most effective way

of drawing their co-religionists out of the past and, hence, of easing the process of integration. They argue, fairly persuasively, that one of the major stumbling blocks to progress is the archaic fundamentalist nature of Islam in the Philippines and that the introduction of modern, rational interpretations of Islamic thought would serve as an effective progressive agent. As examples of what can be done in essentially Islamic states they point to Turkey and Malaya.

In this light, the religious revival, the alien missionaries (assuming them to be politically benign) and the Muslim Filipino students in Cairo acquire a slightly different aura. And it might be noted that a number of educational institutions have come into being or have been reinvigorated to cater to the increased demand for religious sophistication. The best-known of these is probably the Kamilol Islam Institute in Marawi City, a private school in which the Alonto family has a substantial interest. There are two other such institutions in Marawi City, the Hidatol Muslim school and the Agama Islam school. In addition, there are Muslim schools in Datu Piang, Parang, and Cotabato City (all in Cotabato province); and in Jolo and Siasi in Sulu. There are reportedly also Buluan and Pandang, Cotabato. These schools offer, at least nominally, the standard curriculum set by the Philippine Bureau of Private Schools. In fact, according to several sources, emphasis is placed overwhelmingly on Qur'anic

studies and Arabic. Kamilol Islam Institute has expanded rapidly in the last several years and its current enrollment is reportedly on the order of 1200 students. The school in Datu Piang includes some 300 students and, apart from a surprisingly substantial Chinese school, is the only educational institution in the town or for that matter within 20 miles of the town.

In addition to these more or less Islam-oriented institutions, there has been a rapid increase in the number of madrasa schools. Generally quite limited in enrollment, faculty and facilities, the madrasa schools are essentially lay seminaries offering nothing but the Qur'an, Qur'anic law and Arabic. Graduates generally complete the "course" in four to six years and go forth as guros, or teachers, to establish additional madrasa schools or to positions on the staffs of mosques. There are, for instance, 42 madrasa schools in the province of Sulu alone, and it is to these schools that most of the students now in Cairo will return.

Although it is widely assumed by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines that the newly-opened University of Mindanao in Marawi City is essentially a school for Muslims, such is not the case. Something less than thirty per cent of the 350-400 members of the University's first freshman class is Muslim; the balance are Christian students drawn almost exclusively from the provinces of Mindanao. University officials plan no concessions to attract Muslim students, somewhat to the dismay of ex-

Senator Alonto, who is as responsible as any man for its creation. Nonetheless, the presence of the University and its students in Marawi City, the new ideas and techniques that must inevitably filter into the Maranao community, will almost certainly serve as agents for change.

It is impossible not to note, as one travels through the Muslim areas of the Philippines, the extraordinary backwardness of Muslim communities in every area of life. The most elementary rules of sanitation and hygiene, long since adopted by most Christian Filipinos, are unknown; medicine resides primarily in the hands of Muslim faith healers or quack doctors;[8] agricultural practices are highly traditional and inefficient; the economy, in many areas, is not far removed from the barter stage; and even minimum social overhead facilities such as access roads, deep wells, etc., are in shorter supply than in other rural areas of the Philippines. Marawi City, the capital of Lanao del Sur and a town of some 50,000, has no electricity, and no water supply. Conditions in the outlying areas of the province are correspondingly worse. One local doctor, a Christian, believes that there may not be a single source of water in the area of Lake Lanao which could be considered really safe. The lake itself, habitually used for ritual religious ablutions, is dangerously polluted. Similar conditions prevail elsewhere throughout the Muslim areas and are, if anything, worse in Cotabato.

Many educated Muslims are aware of this state of affairs and its portents for the future. They are also aware that it will be extremely difficult to effect significant change with any rapidity. For one thing, there is a strong fatalistic streak in the Muslim Filipino which leads him to ascribe his present state as well as unfortunate events to the will of God, with which man must not tamper. Furthermore the Philippine Agency for Community Development (PACD) does not appear to be as active among the Muslim groups as it is elsewhere (only 10 per cent of the PACD projects in Cotabato province involve Muslim communities, although Muslims constitute almost 50 per cent of the population). This is due partially to hostility to change on the part of the Muslims, partly to reluctance on the part of Christian personnel to penetrate Muslim society and the difficulty of finding competent Muslim workers. Partly it also appears due to what may be a misapprehension of methodology on the part of community development workers, the PACD, elsewhere in the Philippines, has successfully used the barrio (village) as the basic unit of approach to community development projects. It appears to have brought this concept to its work among the Muslims, except perhaps in Sulu, where virtually all of its workers are Muslim. The barrio, however, does not exist among the Muslims in any other form than as a legal fiction.

The basic unit among the major Muslim groups, and probably also among the minor, is the kinship group (of which there may be one or more in a village unit legally designated as a barrio). It may or may not center around a mosque, but its organization is invariably religious/traditional rather than constitutional. Although the datu, or chief, might be compared to the barrio lieutenant (in point of fact the latter enjoys no rights or powers comparable to those of the former) and the Muslim Council of Elders to the Barrio Council, the two systems are not truly analogous. The essence of the barrio is civil sanction, that of the Muslim kinship groups is religious. Nothing is done in the kinship group outside of the area of religious authority or without religious sanction, and both the religion and its priests and interpreters are highly conservative. Change of a social nature is invariably interpreted as a threat to Islam and to the traditional powers of the elite. As such, it is to be regarded with great suspicion. Hence, any effort to effect progress must not only carefully explain the advantages to accrue (a standard technique elsewhere), but must also be presented in terms which make it clear that no offense against religion is implied or necessary. Ideally, of course, some religious sanction in favor of the project might be adduced.

Religion and religious authorities, hence, are crucial to the problem of community development. As we have seen, one of

the impediments to change is the strict, almost simplest interpretation of the Qur'an (since it made no mention of neckties, for instance, they were rather rigidly avoided as an itme of dress among the Maranao until a Pakistani appeared with one quite recently). On the other hand, the Muslim from a country such as Egypt, is likely, consciously or not, to have absorbed at least a modicum of the modernist spirit and of the methods of progress in his own society without visibly impairing his spiritual life. Since, as we have also seen, the average Muslim Filipino considers other Islamic societies to be superior to his own and, hence, more prestigious, the average foreign Muslim missionary is able to induce change and to justify it in religious terms with relative ease.

The tactful extension of such services as community development, social welfare and public health may be at least as important, over the medium run, in assisting the solution of the problem of integration as the necessarily more gradual extension of education. The Muslims in general, and with some reason, consider that they have been neglected by the Philippine Government (although they do not really consider it their government) and that any government staffed by Christians must inevitably disdriminate against them. The tensions that result from this attitude are further heightened when, as in Cotabato, the Muslim considers his society to be immediately threatened by a heavy influx

of Christian settlers bringing with them the generally superior technology and standard of living to be found in other areas in the Philippines. It would appear that hostilities can only effectively be prevented if both communities, but particularly the Muslims, make adequate progress toward the promises of community development.

As one might expect, given their desparate cultures and geographic isolation one from another, the Muslims are not a unified group. The fact that they do not present a united front or act in concert in matters of common interest explains in part--but only in part--their alleged neglect by the national government. Even their political representatives are of differing political persuasions, so that if the Maranao prospered slightly under the Garcia Administration as a result of the Nacionalista Party affiliation of the Alonto family, the Maguindanao may now expect to benefit--again, slightly--by the Liberal Party affiliation of the Sinsuat clan and the presence of Datu Duma Sinsuat in the Cabinet.

Many educated Muslims are aware that their inability to present a united front on matters of common interest has worked to their political and economic detriment, and organizations for the non-essentially directed to matters of religion are beginning to take hold. The Kamilol Islam Society (responsive to Alonto interests), the Hidyatol Muslim Society and the Agama Islam Society

are in evidence among the Maranao, although their attention appears to be focused inward in relation to Maranao society and their relationships are marked by intense religious and personal bickering. There is a rather moribund Philippine Islamic Union among the Maguindanao and a considerably more active Sulu Islamic Congress, of which Mayor Aminkadra Abudakar, Mayor of Jolo and a former Leader Grantee, is president. In theory, but not in practice, every adult male Muslim is a member of one of these societies, the purpose of which is to administer and finance the Islamic and madrasa schools and to keep a watchful eye on matters of faith and morals.

There also exists the Philippine Muslim Association (PMA) headquartered in Manila, which purports to be the umbrella organization for the others and represents itself as the point of contact for external assistance offered by such countries as Egypt. The PMA organized the two nationwide Islamic Congresses held in the Philippines during the middle 1950's (but not since) and its executives would like it to become a vigorous champion of the Muslim cause.

The immediate future is clouded by the fact that formal organizations do not appear to be a part of the Muslim cultural framework. One sees occasional young Boy Scouts, and Muslims appear to be joining such groups as Rotary and Lions, but the evidence suggests that they are not at ease in such organizations and

that they do not yet have the essentially politico-bureaucratic skills with which formal organizations, and particularly organizations as large and diverse as an effective PMA would have to be, are made to work.

The ability and extent to which the Filipino Muslim can influence and participate in the body politic is partly determined by his attitudes towards existing political groups, and the role they envision for themselves.

From the Muslim viewpoint the Philippine Government is, to all intents and purposes, not the government of the Muslim peoples. It is conceived by the Muslims as an alien, Christian government (the Maranao call it the gobirno a sarwang tao--the government of different, i.e. "foreign," people). The men and women who staff the technical agencies of the national government--the schoolteachers, tax officials, police officers among the Philippine Constabulary--are almost without exception Christian. Since they constitute the average Muslim's only, admittedly rare, contact with the national government and since Christians are ipso facto adversaries, the Muslim has little reason to feel any affection for constituted authorities.

The Muslim Filipinos manifested their opposition to Philippine independence on several occasions, both during and prior to the establishment of the Commonwealth. At least one Petition was presented which asked that the areas under Muslim

control be granted statehood under the United States when and if the Philippines became independent. As late as 1961 former Representative Ombra Amilbangsa introduced a bill in the Philippine Congress which called for the independence of the Muslim areas. His bill excited little observable interest, but may perhaps be considered symptomatic of a latent and wide-spread sentiment which might, at some point and under certain conditions, pose a real problem for the Philippine nation.

The primary allegiance of the Muslim Filipino, as might be expected under the circumstances and in view of its all-embracing nature, is to Islam. This is not to say that the Muslim population would leap joyfully into a Pan Islam movement--geographic and politico-economic factors militate against it--but it is to suggest that the Muslim does identify rather strongly with other Islamic peoples. Affection for President Nasser and Egypt is particularly obvious among informed Muslim Filipinos and has the prestige of representatives of other Islamic countries, particularly Arabs (who are considered to be more closely related to the Prophet Mohammed), AND is in general exceedingly high. It is worthy of note that one of the most prized possessions of many Muslim families in Lanao del Sur is a colour photograph of the Islamic center in Washington, D. C.

As we have seen, however, there are slightly varying reactions to the "new" Islam being introduced into the Philippines

by alien missionaries. The most exuberant, positive reaction is among the Maranao, although Taw Sug and Samal are also receptive to the modernization of their religion. It is among the hard-pressed Maguindanao that progress--in any form--is finding its reception the least hospitable.

Indonesians, like other Islamic peoples, are considered fraternal brothers and the image many Muslims have of Indonesia is a warm one. There are significant numbers of illegal Indonesian immigrants along the south coast of Davao and Cotabato, and some in the Sulu Archipelago, and Indonesian missionaries have been reported in the southern Philippines.

Of concern to the long-term interests of the Philippines is the question of Muslim loyalties in the event of Indonesian-Philippine conflict or in the event that Indonesia attempted to establish a Muslim state or federation to include the southern Philippines. Although this, too, is a problematical question, most observers (for the most part Muslims) seem generally agreed that the response of Muslim Filipinos would be heavily conditioned first by the wisdom and vigor with which the Philippine Government in the meantime pursues a policy of positive integration; secondly by the effectiveness with which the Indonesians stated their case; and lastly by the attitudes of Muslim Filipino leaders, attitudes which in turn would depend upon the first two factors and most importantly on the first.

The putative Philippine claim to the British territory of North Borneo does not appear to be a main issue among Muslim Filipinos. This is particularly true, as one might expect, among the Maranao and Maguindanao who have no personal or tribal stake in the issue and who feel only mildly that whatever the Taw Sug decide is proper must be so. Among the Taw Sug themselves there appears little emotional involvement in the issue.

In part this appears due to an appreciation of the fact that the claim is probably hopeless; in part also it is due to an appreciation of the fact that, as one prominent Muslim leader put it: "Princess Tarhata and her family want North Borneo as their own personal plantation; there's nothing in it for the rest of us."[9] Implicit in most conversations on the subject among the Taw Sug is the suggestion that since Malaya is essentially a Muslim nation, North Borneo would be better off in the Malaysia Federation than under the Christian Government of the Philippines. This sentiment appears to underscore latent separatist tendencies. No where, however, does one find expression of the issue of "nationalism" which has characterized the presentation of the case, particularly in the popular weekly Free Press. Nor does there appear to be any inclination, also as expressed in the Free Press, to cast the United States in the role of bogeyman for having "permitted" the United Kingdom to annex North Borneo just before Philippine independence in 1946.[10]

Throughout the Muslim areas, and at all levels of society, there is an overwhelmingly warm affection for Americans and the United States, and Americans are probably safer among the Muslims than they are in most districts of Manila at night.

The Muslim attitude toward Americans is based partially on respect for their proven abilities as fighting men (a high virtue in Muslim eyes), but more basically on respect for the relative honesty and obvious justice evident during the American administration of Muslim areas. There is also evident, it must be noted, an obvious nostalgia for the funds that the American forces expended in the area. Hence, if key descriptive adjectives as applied to Americans by the Muslims include "just, sympathetic and friendly," there is also the frequently recurring use of the word "generous" and "rich." This helps to explain the occasional complaint that American aid projects do not appear as frequently in Muslim areas--or perhaps they are not so readily identifiable as American in origin--as elsewhere in the Philippines. It is also complained that Muslims do not receive their "fair share" of Fulbright and other grants. The explanation that such grants are based on proven academic or special excellence and that very few Muslims have been able to qualify on the record is generally accepted but rarely understood.

Communism has made little headway in the Muslim area, and thus is not yet a contending issue.

Footnotes

[1]Growing, page 34.

[2]Cf. Lauback's account in 1937 with Warriner's experence.

[3]"Report of the Special Committee to Inestiage the Moro Problem, especially with regard to Peace and Order in Mindanao and Sulu," House of Representatives, Third Congress, Second Session, 1954.

[4]It is a fact of considerable importance that the average Muslim Filipino assumes other societies embracing Islam to be better than his own. The Christian Filipino, on the other hand, generally assumes that his society is more sophisticated and highly developed than those of other underdeveloped countries, including the Middle East.

[5]"Report to the Governor of Lanao del Sur on Education," (unsigned manuscript) Lanao del Sur, Philippines.

[6]An informative discussion of the concept of maratabat among the Maranao is contained in "Philippine Sociological Review," Vol. VIII, No. 1 - 2, January - April 1960. The article concludes that maratabat is an expression of one's social position, that the degree of maratabat expected of a person is directly proportional to his social position, that the concept is sustained by social coercion and not by individual choice, and that when Muslims are dealing outside of Muslim societies and without reference to it, maratabat feelings and responsibilities cease to function.

[7]Chester L. Hunt, "Ethnic Stratification and Integration in Cotabato," Philippine Sociological Review, Vol. V, No. 1, January 1957.

[8]The "El Tor" epidemic which has taken from 500 to 1000 lives among the Maranao and is now feared by Public Health doctors to be endemic was believed, for instance, to have been caused by Sakit, or spirits, said to resemble human beings although they are uglier, taller and reddish in color and have large bulging eyes and pointed heads. They reportedly arrive in flying ships at twilight or during rain storms to carry off their victims. Many houses fly red flags to ward off these sakit and in the town of Tamparan, which has been particularly hard hit, each household put an offering of food in what passes for a plaza in an effort

to appease the sakit. Judging both by available statistics and by the number of houses flying white flags, denoting a death in the family, neither these efforts nor the ministrations of the pamomolong, or quack doctors, have enjoyed significant success.

[9] "Moros Claim Borneo," Philippine Free Press, XXLII, January 1963, pp. 131-136.

[10] Ibid., pp. 131-136.

Appendix I

THE SULU ORATION FOR THE FEAST OF RAMADAN[1]

(Written in the six semicircles)

PRAISE BE TO GOD. GLORY BE TO GOD. THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD. GOD IS ALMIGHTY.

This oration was finished at noon, Friday, the 29th of Rabi-el-Akhir, in the year 1321 Hejira.

In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. God is greatest. God is exalted. He is the Master of the World and the King of the Universe who rules with conquering power. Invisible to the eye, He is visible through His power and might. His is all the power and glory. His is all kindness and glory. He is the Almighty and the Ruler of All. He is everlasting and never dies. There is no God but He. Everything vanishes but the face of God. He is our Governor, and to Him all shall return. Before Him the learned men are humiliated; and the mighty humble themselves in His presence. All the prophets have spoken of His Lordship; and all the men of old have borne witness to His unity. All the men of learning have spoken of His eternal being. The wise men are unable to give an adequate description of His attributes. All that is in the earth and the heavens acknowledge His worship, and praise Him day and night without ceasing. God is greatest. He is the Lord of Lords and the Liberator of the World. He inspired the Book and commands the clouds. He overcomes all difficulties. He is the Cause of all Causes. He opens all doors and answers all who call Him. The Lord has said, "Call Me, and I shall answer you. All who despise My worship shall enter hell." God is almighty. All the heavens praise Him. The sandy deserts, the shades and all darkness, on the right and on the left, praise Him morning and night. There is nothing that does not sing His praises; but you can not understand their praises. Oh, how kind and forgiving He is! God is almighty. All the angels praise Him. The heavens, the earth, the mountains and hills, and all the birds praise Him. Praise and glory be to Thee, O Lord. Thou art the Lord of Indescribable Might and Honor. Peace be to the missionaries and praise to God, the Lord of the Universe.

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[1]Translated by Saleeby from a Joloano manuscript.

Here the orator shall repeat, "God is almighty," seven times, then say the following:

God is Almighty. Praise be to God, the God of Kindness and of Grace, who ordained that the faithful should observe the month of fasting and gave them at the end thereof a feast, to all whether near or far, in token of His hospitality and generosity. Let us praise Him always. He is righteous and all sacredness. The King of the Universe, land and sea. He ordained for the Mohammedans the two feasts, Ramadan and that of the Sacrifice. I bear witness that there is but one God, who is alone without a partner. He made the two feasts for the observance of all Mohammedans and the time of their celebration the greatest season of the year. I testify that Mohammed is His servant and apostle. God bless Mohammed at all times and through all ages. Oh, you people, fear God. May God have mercy on you fellow-Mohammedans and brothers in the faith. He has sent down to you this exalting and magnifying day as an expression of his generosity and hospitality. On this day He permits you to feast and forbids you to fast. Respectful observance of this day is pleasing to God and he who so observes it shall be greatly blessed. Charity on this day is highly acceptable. All you ask on this day shall be given you. On this day every call is answered. The prophet, God bless him, said, "On this day give charity for everyone, male and female, for every free man, for every slave, for the young, and for the old give a measure of flour or a measure of dates, a measure of rice, a measure of raisins, or a measure of barley, or whatever you eat on this day give as charity for all the people who are of your religion, of your nation and under your law. This will atone for your sins and all your misdeeds during the days of fasting." The prophet, God bless him, has said, "He who fasts the month of Ramadan and withholds his measure of charity on the feast day, his fasting shall not be acceptable to God, and he shall not reach heaven, but shall be stopped halfway between earth and heaven." The prophet said, "He who fasts the month of Ramadan and follows it with six days of Shawal shall be regarded as if he had fasted forever." May God make us successful and honest and enlist us in the ranks of His faithful followers. The best of all speech is the word of God, the All-knowing King, the Exalted and the Respected. God himself, whose word is perfect truth, said, "When the Quran is read, listen to it with attention, that ye may obtain mercy."

When the Quran is read, ask refuge in God from the accursed devil. Jesus, the son of Mary, said, "God our Lord, send us a table from heaven that we may all, from the first to the last, feast thereon." Be Thou generous to us for Thou art

the best of all givers. Exalted is God the true King. There is no God but God, the Lord of the great throne. He who calls another god whose deity he can not prove shall render account to the Lord his God. Infidels can not succeed. Say my Lord, forgive me, and have mercy upon me. Thou art most merciful.

He who may deliver this oration shall here repeat the chapter of the salvation, after which he shall rise and read the following oration twice, and shall say, "God is Almighty," seven times:

God is Almighty. Praise be to God, whose praise is exalted and glorious. I testify that there is no God but God, and that He is alone and has no partner. I bear witness that Mohammed is his servant and apostle, and the bright light of the world. May God bless Mohammed and all his people and descendants. Oh, ye people, depart from evil and draw near to good. Avoid excess and ye shall be happy. God and His angels bless the prophet. Ye who have faith bless Him also. Ye servants of God answer His call, and bless Him through whom God has directed you. O God, bless Mohammed and his descendants, for he has directed us to paradise and the roads that lead thereto. O God, bless Mohammed and his descendants because he warned us of the fire and its evils. O God, forgive his followers, and his caliphs Abu-Bakar, Omar, Othman, Ali, Talhat, Zubayr, Abdu-r-Rahman the son of Awf, Sa'din Saidin, and Abi Ubaydat, because they are the princes of the faithful and the best of all people. O God, forgive all other followers and friends of your prophet, and all who follow them. Be kind to them in the day of judgment. Give them and us mercy, for Thou art most merciful. O God, perpetuate the power and the victories and the conquests of him whom Thou hast chosen for the administration and good management of temporal affairs and religion; he who beseeches the intercession of the faithful prophet, our master, the Sultan Mohammed Pudhalun, the son of the late Sultan Mohammed Jamālu-l-Kirām, and the Sultan, the master, and the noble whom Thou hast chosen, Sultan Esh-Sharīfu-l-Hāshim, the kindled light of God; and our thoughtful and wise master the late Sultan Kamālu-d-Dīn; and protect the kind and generous late Sultan Alawa-d-Dīn, whose descendants became the kings of the Sulu country. Protect the champion of the Mohammedan religion and faith, the late Sultan Amīrul Umara, and the late Sultan Shāh Muizzu-l-Mutawādhi-īn. Protect the power of the generous and victorious late Sultan Shah Nāsiru-d-Dīn the First. Defend the conqueror, the late Sultan Shāh Mohammed el Halīm; defend the intelligent late Sultan Batara Shāh; protect the noble late Sultan Muwalli el Wasīt Shāh; aid our great master, the excellent and powerful and the victorious on land and sea, the Sultan

Shāh Nāsiru-d-Dīn the Last; aid the just and honorable and ascetic master, the late Sultan Shah Salāhu-d-Dīn.

O God, support Islam and all Mohammedans. Fight against atheism and heresy and evil, the enemies of religion. Aid the ever-victorious Sultan Ali Shāh, the great and most superior sultan; sultan of the land and sea; and his heir, the late Sultan Shāh Shahābu-d-Dīn Mohammed, who was versed in law and all learning; and the late Sultan Shāh Shāfi-d-Dīn Mohammed Mustafa, the best of all things. Defend the late sultan and wise Governor Shāh Badaru-d-Dīn Mohammed, the victorious. May God perpetuate on earth his power, and his kingdom, and his justice.

O God, support the late Sultan Nasaru-d-Dīn, the victorious, the administrator, and the able supporter of our religion; the late Sultan Alīmu-d-Dīn the First, Mohammed, the prince of the faithful, the seeker of God's mercy; and the obedient to His will; the late Sultan Shāh Muizzi-d-Dīn Mohammed, the emigrant, the learned, the truthful, and the generous; the late patient Sultan Shāh Mohammed Israāyil; the late Sultan Shāh Alīmu-d-Dīn the Second, Mohammed, the peaceful, the chosen, and the powerful; the late Sultan Shāh Sharafu-d-Dīn Mohammed, the merciful, seeker of knowledge, and doer of good deeds; the late noble Sultan Shāh Alīmu-d-Dīn the Third, Mohammed; the late Sultan Shāh Aliu-d-Dīn Mohammed, the great and victorious; the late Sultan Shāh Shakira-l-Lah Mohammed, conqueror of atheism and heresy, who was versed in Mohammedanism and monotheism; the late Sultan Shāh Jamalu-l-Kīram Mohammed, the kind and the wise and beloved of his people, master of truth and good, whom God alone prevented from making the pilgrimage to the House, and who was patient, lenient, and good, who encouraged good deeds and forbade evil, and who was good in his administration. May God perpetuate his kingdom, his power, his justice, and his kindness. May God forgive him and his forefathers and be good to all of them and give them a place in paradise. O God, aid all who befriend him; be the enemy of all his enemies; uphold all who uphold him; reject those who reject him; and vanquish those who may vanquish him. Be Thou his help and aid, and use him as a sword of vengeance against all offenders.

Thou art my God, the God of Truth and Lord of the Universe.

O God, set right our leaders and our nation, our judges, our rulers, our learned men, our lawgivers, our wise men, and our old men. Aid them in righteousness, and guide us. O God, destroy the enemies of our religion and unite the hearts of the faithful. Free the captives and pay the debts of the debtors. Relieve the

distressed and forgive the living and the dead. God grant peace and safety to us and to the pilgrims and to the travelers on land and on sea who are of the people of Mohammed, for Thou art the most powerful, the best Master and the best Helper.

O God, drive away famine and distress, and disease, and iniquity, and oppression, and all calamities, and all evils outward and secret that may exist in our country especially and the countries of the Mohammedans in general, for Thou hast power over everything. Our Lord, forgive us and forgive our brothers who preceded us in the faith, and cast away from our hearts all jealousies and ill feeling toward the faithful. O God, our Lord, Thou art kind and gracious and generous and compassionate and able to forgive.

This was written by the poor and humble pilgrim Hajji Abdu-l-Bāqi, who hopes for forgiveness from the forgiving Lord and who was the son of Twan Hatib Jawari, a native of Sulug and follower of Shafi'i and Ash'ari.

May God forgive them and all Mohammedans and all the faithful. Amen.

THE SULU FRIDAY ORATION[1]

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE AND MERCIFUL. TO GOD BE ALL THE PRAISE AND GLORY. THERE IS NO OTHER GOD BUT GOD

This I repeat a thousand times more than others. God is greater, far greater, than He is thought to be. I testify that there is no God but God alone. God is one, and only one. He has no partner. God is the owner of the heavens and the earth and all that is therein. God is owner of all.

I testify that Mohammed is His servant and His apostle, sent by Him to guide all people to the true religion, and that His religion may thereby be exalted above all others, though the unfaithful and the worshipers of many gods may reject it. We ask Thee, O God, to bless Mohammed and all his descendants and bestow on them all the blessings that can be named and all the blessings that can be forgotten. I advise ye, O people, and myself, servants of God, with fear of God which is the sign of faith and God's command to us all. Fellow-Mohammedans, the mercy of God be upon you. Friday is the chief of all days. The apostle of God said: "The day Friday is the chief of all days." It is greater than the day of Ramadan and the day of el-Adha and the day of Ashura.

Charity on Friday is preferable to all charity. Good deeds done on Friday are preferable to all good deeds, and evil done on Friday is the greatest evil that can be done. The noblest and best men have testified to its greatness over other days. It is the beauty of all days and years. It is a pilgrimage that the poor can make once every seven days. Its observance intercedes for the offender before the King of Unbounded Knowledge.

It has been told of the chosen prophet that he said: "God registers the name of the person who leaves out three successive Fridays, on a tablet on which he keeps the number of liars." The prophet said that he who leaves out three successive Fridays shall have written on his forehead when the day of judgment comes: "He has no hope of the mercy of God." May God bless us and give us all peace.

May it be that God has declared us among the successful and the faithful and enlisted us into the number of His good servants. The best of all utterances and constitutions are in the

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[1]Translated by Saleeby from a Joloano manuscript.

word of God, King of Unbounded Knowledge, possessor of glory and of all reverence. It is God the Highest who speaks and who is the truest of all speakers.

When the Quran is read you should listen attentively so that you may obtain mercy. He said, and His saying is most precious and full of wisdom, "When you read the Quran ask God's help against the accursed Satan." I take refuge in God the All Hearing and All Knowing from the accursed Satan. Oh, ye who have believed, when you hear the call for prayers on Friday go ye to hear God's word. Leave your business, for you have a greater good and benefit in this. May God bless the great Quran for us, and may he benefit us through its texts and the wise mention of His name. May He reward us all with mercy from the painful punishment.

I command you, and myself, with what God demands for good obedience so that you may obey Him. And I prohibit you from doing evil and from disobedience as He prohibits you so that you may not disobey him. I pray for the plentiful reward of God for you and for myself, so that you may seek Him; and I ask the pardon and forgiveness of God for you and for myself and for all the faithful Mohammedans for He is gracious and forgiving.

Praise be to God. I praise and exalt God with all my strength and I testify that there is no God but God. God is one and only one. God has no partner. He knows all and has good news for you all. I testify that Mohammed is the servant of God and His apostle, and a shining light to the world. We ask Thee, O God, to bless Mohammed and his people and descendants because he is our preacher and warner. To ye, Oh, people, I say, fear God, draw near to good, and depart from evil. God and all His angels bless the prophet. All ye believers bless him, too. Ye servants of God, obey the call of God, and bless him who directed you to God. We ask Thee, O God, to bless Mohammed and the people of Mohammed, for he directed us to paradise and to the roads that lead thereto. We ask Thee, O God, to bless Mohammed and the descendants of Mohammed, because he warned us of the fire and its destruction. We ask Thee, O God, to bless Mohammed because he conquered the kings of the infidels and their empires. We ask Thee, O God, to forgive his followers and his successors, Abu Bakar, Omar, Othman, Ali, Abi Ubaydat, for they are the princes of the faithful and the best of all people. We ask Thee, O God, to forgive his two sons, Hasan and Husein, and his two noble uncles, Hamzat and Abbas; and mayst Thou be kind to all the

emigrants and all the allies and followers till the judgment day, that we may share Thy mercy with them and through them, for Thou art most merciful. We ask Thee, O God, to perpetuate the power, the victory, and the valor of those whom Thou hast chosen for the good administration and good conduct of our religious and worldly affairs, chief among whom is he who begs the intercession of the faithful prophet, our master, the sultan and the pilgrim, Mohammed Jamālu-l-Kirām, the brother of the late sultan, the pilgrim Mohammed Badaru-d-Dīn the Second, both of whom made the pilgrimage to the house Al-Harām. May God give them a place with the faithful. They are the children of the late Sultan Mohammed Jamālu-l-A'lam. May God perpetuate his kingdom and his power, and his justice and kindness. And may God forgive his predecessors and his grandfathers and be good to them and give them a place in paradise. We ask Thee, O God, to be friendly with those who are friendly with him, and to antagonize them who are against him; give victory to those who aid him; reject those who reject him; vanquish those who disobey him, and be his help and helper and make him Thy sword of vengeance against the offender. O God, my God, Thou art Truth and the Lord of the Universe. O God, set right our leaders and our nation, our judges, our rulers, our learned men, our lawgivers, our wise men, and our old men. Aid them in righteousness, and guide us. O God, destroy the enemies of our religion and unite the hearts of the faithful. Free the captives and pay the debts of the debtors. Relieve the distressed and forgive the living and the dead. God grant peace and safety to us and to the pilgrims and to the travelers on land and on sea who are of the people of Mohammed, for Thou art the Most Powerful, the best Master and the best Helper.

O God, drive away famine and distress, and disease and iniquity, and oppression, and all calamities, and all evils outward and secret that may exist in our country especially and in the countries of the Mohammedans in general, for Thou hast power over everything. Our Lord, forgive us and forgive our brothers who preceded us in the faith, and cast away from our hearts all jealousies and ill feeling toward the faithful. O God, our Lord, Thou art kind and gracious and generous and compassionate and able to forgive.

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