

Fr. Pablo Pastells' *Reduccion* and the Tamontaka Experiment: Precursor to Colonial and Postcolonial Resettlement Projects in Mindanao

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ABSTRACT

Colonial and postcolonial Mindanao resettlement programs resonated from Jesuit Padre Pastells' *reduccion* and establishment of an agricultural colony that would answer both the spiritual and material needs of the people. But this vision involved the promotion of migration from the northern islands to Mindanao.¹ This vision was experimented in Tamontaka, Cotabato, which was considered a success because of the significant growth of converts of more than 100 families

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with 250 young people, who lived with Muslims peaceably within 30 years. The mission, however, was abandoned when Spanish missionaries left the Philippines in 1899. Nonetheless, the experiment proved to resonate in the subsequent resettlement programs and significantly altered the socio-political and cultural landscape of Cotabato and Davao. This paper examines the Spanish *reduccion*, particularly the Tamontaka Mission in Cotabato, as envisioned by Pastells, which promoted migration from the northern islands to Mindanao in comparison with subsequent resettlement programs under the Americans, the Commonwealth, and the Philippine Republic.

KEYWORDS

reduccion, agricultural colony, Tamontaka Mission, Mindanao, migration

INTRODUCTION

Mindanao is currently peopled by three groups: the Moros,² the Lumads,³ and the Christian settlers. Over time, the latter have become statistically dominant and Mindanao's more prosperous areas have been inhabited by the Christians. Many interpreted this as an internal colonization of Imperial Manila, but for these Mindanaoan Christians, whatever increase or decrease of natural wealth one may enjoy has been the result of the resettlements

initiated by the national leadership from colonial to postcolonial regimes.

The purpose of this paper is to trace how resettlement initiatives evolved from being adjunct to colonial consolidation after a period of military subjugation, to its institutionalization as part of the land distribution program by postcolonial regimes. The focus of this research is on the Spanish policy of *reduccion* in Mindanao which was defined by Fr. Pablo Pastells of the Society of Jesus. It was demonstrated in Cotabato through their Tamontaka experiment, an agricultural colony of Lumads—the Tirurays. This narrative examines how this policy of *reduccion* resonated in the resettlement programs of the Americans and the Filipino leaders. Thus, it concludes with a comparison of post-Spanish period resettlement policies and their impact on Philippine history in general and Mindanao history in particular.

The main sources for this paper are several volumes of the Jesuit Letters⁴ translated, annotated, and edited by Fr. Jose S. Arcilla, S.J.; and supplemented by the works of Shinzo Hayaze⁵ and Reynaldo Iletto.⁶ Moreover, relevant translated documents in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands*⁷ were also consulted. Thus, this paper has no pretense of objectivity, for like in the case of any historian, the choice of sources already determines the outcome and perspective of one's work. However, this approach contributes to the ongoing search to uncover the long forgotten legacies of Spain in the Philippines, particularly in Mindanao.

PADRE PABLO PASTELLS AND HIS *REDUCCION* POLICY IN MINDANAO

The Jesuits first arrived in Butuan in 1581 but were forced to close their mission in this eastern side of Mindanao due to the scarcity of priests. On the western side—Dapitan—they set up their headquarters, while the Augustinian Recollects spread all over the island. The latter took over the Jesuit missions when the former were expelled in 1768.⁸

The Jesuits returned to the Philippines in 1859. By 1872, the Jesuit Mindanao policy was laid down by Pablo Pastells whose mission then was in Caraga located on the southeastern side of the island. He said that it would be through networking of the missions all over the island that their proselytization should be carried out. This means that the missions should be interconnected throughout the island and this could be done through efficient mapping of the missionaries' trails, whether along the river beds or on mountain trails, that form the topography of Mindanao. Such set-up would be possible only if the missionaries would go to the hinterlands themselves.

The text of Pastells' memorial to Governor-General Valeriano Weyler (1889–1891) disclosed what this missionary had in mind. According to him:

Forcible expulsion of all its (Mindanao) Mohametan tribes would be impossible, and ... the proper way to Hispanicize Mindanao must be the slow one but sure ... of education, the introduction of

civilized modes of life especially cultivation of the soil, a political organization like that already in vogue among the Tagalogs and other Christianized peoples, the influence of the Christian religion in displacing their superstitious and false beliefs, governmental protection to the peaceable natives, and the promotion of migration of Filipinos from the northern islands to Mindanao, thus gradually colonizing the latter with industrious, civilized and Christian inhabitants.⁹

Other missionaries reacted to this policy of Pastells. Some believe that the native Lumads rather than the Muslims must be their target for conversion. For these missionaries, the Muslims were already well steeped in their religion and nothing could draw them away from it. This was especially true among their *maharlikas* and *panditas*. Thus, the best method would be to draw them away from their leaders and give their *sacops* primary attention; and so, bereft with followers, these *maharlikas* and *panditas* themselves would opt for conversion. Nonetheless, Fr. Pastells' idea eventually proved to be more realistic. His idea of resettling northerners into Mindanao found expression in the latter-day resettlement policies of the Americans and the Commonwealth. But the focus on the Tiruray as potential converts became the Jesuit project.

In justifying the Lumad project, Combes¹⁰ mentioned that Mindanao has four big groups of inhabitants: Caragans, Mindanaos (or Maguindanao), Lutaos, and Subanuns. The Muslim Mindanaos or Maguindanaos were just one of these groups although the latter were

acknowledged as the most powerful. Thus, a series of Spanish-Muslim agreements proved expedient: 1) the Lopez Kudararat Treaty of 1645, and 2) the accord between the Cotabato Sultan and the Governor of Zamboanga in 1719. In the latter agreement, the Spaniards were to give protection to the Sultan of Maguindanao against his enemies and in return, the Sultan's men were not to harm the Spaniards in their own garrisons.

In due time, Cotabato became a port and the Spaniards were able to establish garrisons along the river banks of Cotabato, Taviran, Pollok, and Tamontaka. On April 30, 1860, Datu Amirol, the father of the Sultan of Cotabato, allowed the Spanish marines to build their garrison at Paiguan along the elevated portion of the Pulangi River. Thus, the Spanish flag became visible at the entry point of the Pulangi River. A *bichara* or conference was held in which it was agreed that there would be non-interference in both parties' religious beliefs and practices, as well as their way of life.¹¹

At this point, in 1855, Ramon Mascaro declared:

The hill people, source of slaves, were to be mobilized and converted to Christianity by the Jesuits; they would be grouped together in towns, their chiefs given Spanish titles, and provided with protection against the Maguindanaos. As for the latter, individuals who wished to submit would be gathered into towns sheltered by Spanish garrisons.¹²

THE JESUITS IN COTABATO

THE RESCATE

The Jesuits arrived in Pollok, Cotabato on 16 September 1861. They were led by Juan Vidal and Jose Ignacio Guerrico with two co-adjutors, Brothers Jose Zumueta and Venancio Belzunce.¹³ They accompanied Governor Garcia Ruiz who was then the Governor of Mindanao.

With the Moro resistance in check by November 1861, Cotabato was considered a Spanish territory. The Spaniards established garrisons along the river bank of the Pulangi delta now named Rio Grande de Mindanao.

Datu Uto of Buayan was defeated during the wars with the Spaniards. One of the terms imposed on him was the release of his slaves wherein the Spaniards compelled the datu to free his slaves immediately. This order was countered by Datu Uto who said that he would rather free his wife and children rather than his slaves because bereft of slaves, his leadership would amount to nothing.¹⁴ The slave issue was only solved through the policy of *rescate*.

Rescate was a process by which the missionaries paid the datus in exchange for the freedom of their slaves. The latter were usually the Tirurays who lived within the vicinity of the Rio Grande de Mindanao and worked as slaves of the Maguindanao sultans. They assumed the status of "*liberto*" upon being freed from their masters. When the cholera epidemic struck, the sultans and datus approached

the Jesuits to have them manumitted since their slaves were dying from this epidemic and becoming useless to their masters.¹⁵

Luis Golfín, the Cotabato governor, approved Fr. Cuevas' proposal which was presented by Fr. Venancio Legarra. The plan was to build a model agricultural community where the *libertos* could live and be trained for a settled, agrarian life. These *libertos* upon reaching the age of maturity were expected to get married with fellow *libertos*. Then, they would be given their own lands and would be supported by the Mission. They could form a community that would eventually grow into a *pueblo* or town. Furthermore, as related by Pastells:

After the ransomed slaves were educated by the Jesuits, they could serve as powerful agents for development (presumably economic and religious) of the area. The *padre* (Superior) was enthusiastic. The next step was to present the plans to the Captain-General and the Archbishop, primarily in order to devise means to raise funds. A Junta Superior headed by the Archbishop himself was formed in Manila, while a subordinate commission was set up in Cotabato to implement the decisions made by the higher council. By the end of the first year, the first donations totalling 4,500 pesos enabled the Jesuits to start work immediately. On February 2, 1873, a great fiesta was held in Tamontaka to celebrate the baptism of the first thirty *libertos* of the Mission.¹⁶

The first batch of *libertos* arrived in 1873. They were given practical education coupled with three hours of training for reading and writing, another three hours for agriculture, and a variety of industrial arts subjects. Soon, this Tamontaka community served as a model community as expected. Many Muslims came to visit the Mission¹⁷ and in the process inquired regarding religion and agriculture. Witnessing the mission's busy activities apparently fired the curiosity of their neighbors. Accordingly, slaves who left their masters were manumitted and were allowed to stay in the Mission. They were given protection by the missionaries in accordance with their agreement with the Muslim datus.

Eventually, the population of Tamontaka Mission increased. On February 2, 1873, a fiesta was celebrated honoring the 30 newly-baptized *libertos*. Later, these *libertos* started having families of their own, and formed new communities that became budding towns of Cotabato. By January of 1880, around 12 *liberto* couples were married. They received carabaos, agricultural tools, household utensils, clothes, and food supplies sufficient for one year as wedding gifts. They stayed in the dormitories but were expected to live on their own on their second year anniversary. Meantime, the missionaries' work continued and succeeded in attracting more people—Tirurays and Moros—to live in the Mission that eventually thrived into a town.¹⁸

Inside the dormitories, the *libertos* were given livelihood trainings: agriculture for the men, and home economics for the women. They were also taught how

to read, sing religious songs, and were given clothes and trained for “civilized” living.

A typical day in the Mission could be described this way: By 1883, there were four Jesuit brothers assigned in the Tamontaka Mission—one of them took the carabaos to pasture, as well as managed the work schedule and the agricultural equipment and tools of the *libertos* who tended the farms and cultivated fruits and vegetables with seeds originating from Spain. Another one supervised the making of pots and ovens needed for manufacturing bricks, tiles, and different kinds of potteries. These pottery pieces were bought by Spanish officials and Muslims in Cotabato and Pollok, adding to the income of the Mission. The third brother was a carpenter and taught carpentry to the natives. The natives later became carpenters in Cotabato and Pollok. The fourth brother was the overall caretaker—in the kitchen, church, etc.—and sometimes, he also served as the paramedic.¹⁹ According to Fr. Bennasar:

This new house (Mission house) is veritably in perpetual motion: some occupied in transporting sugarcane, others in milling sugar, some at the saws, others cutting boards, this one transporting timber, that one putting partitions, etc. The rice-husker fills the air with noise. When one enters the house, it is like going inside a manufacturing town. How different this place is from what it was a few years ago.²⁰

These reports suggest that the Jesuits, to their delight, witnessed the success of the Mission—the fruit of

their labor. Furthermore, the curiosity of the neighbors increased. The Muslims gave the Jesuits the opportunity to lecture to them about the Christian religion whenever they visited for advice regarding treatment of illnesses and livelihood, e.g., agriculture. According to the missionaries, these Muslim *panditas* started to soften their stance on Christianity and some of their freemen even wanted to be baptized. To wit:

In addition, to the respect which Maguindanaos had for the Jesuits as religious personages, as Christian counterparts to their *panditas*, there was a recognition of the practical knowledge (i.e., in medicine, agriculture, reading, and writing) they could offer. This recognition, which belongs to the Southeast Asian ethos of respect for civility and education even in a foreigner, came from viewing the results of the Jesuit efforts at Tamontaka.²¹

However, one incident troubled the Mission. On September 29, 1889, a Moro was suspected of stealing a carabao. While fleeing from his captors, he suddenly struck a nun who was walking nearby with his bolo. The sister was seriously wounded on the shoulder. Fortunately, she survived after being immediately treated by the paramedics. The Moro culprit was caught and Sultan Mamintang had him executed by decapitation. His head was displayed at the town plaza as a warning to everyone.²²

In a report by Padre Bennasar on December 31, 1884, he related the changes they had initiated. He wrote that they already had a sugarcane plantation along the upper

side of the Pulangi River. The sugarcane byproducts were also used as feeders for their cows and carabaos. They also acquired a lime kiln where they manufactured tiles needed for their church construction.²³

Eventually, the Tamontaka project presented itself as the Jesuits envisioned: as a self-sufficient agrarian community which had the potential of being a recognized *pueblo*. They hoped that this community, in the heart of a Moro territory, could convince the Muslims that Christianity had much to offer by way of a more “civilized way of life.” For inside this community one would find the following: the church, the dormitories, farmlands and organized settlements, a workshop, a dispensary, and other structures that were needed to be a self-contained *pueblo*.

Of their Moro policy, Fr. Bennasar said that two things must be born in mind. First, it would be based on the policy of assimilation that would be carefully planned so that the Muslims would themselves imitate the Christian ways and volunteer to get converted. This is important since, according to Fr. Bennasar, violence was inherent in their religion. After the expected success of Tamontaka, the Jesuits also built a mission in Taviran, followed by the Talayan mission where they grouped together all the Lumads and the Moros. Second, that their determined efforts at caring and protecting the Lumads were intended to have them voluntarily submit themselves for conversion so that they would feel protected from the Moros. This was the reason why it was important that they establish missions protected by Spanish detachments in places where both the Muslims and the Lumads congregated.²⁴

CHALLENGES TO THE TAMONTAKA MISSION

Before the aims of Tamontaka Mission to prosper and to increase Christian converts were completely achieved, three developments threatened the continuity of the project: 1) the drought caused by locust infestations; 2) the cholera epidemic; and 3) the attack of Datu Uto.

The frequent invasions of locusts on the farm nearing its harvest of rice and corn were indeed a scourge for farmers, especially to a budding community like Tamontaka. Called *balang* or *berans pudens* by the natives, the locusts would invade the stalks and consumed all the grains.²⁵ This incident happened several times in the farm. Inevitably, food scarcity resulted, and hunger and malnutrition became severe. In Cotabato, lack of food was one of the reasons why the datos, who felt the hunger themselves, had to sell their slaves to the missionaries. They needed the money but due to budget limitations of the missionaries, it was reported that they had to sell their slaves at a lower price.

The Mission continued its function despite the scarcity of food. Meanwhile, even the Tirurays had to go down from their mountain habitat and entrust their babies to the missionaries for caring and feeding. Hunger was so severe that the missionaries, while caring for their increasing number of slaves, were also busy giving the last sacraments to the dying and the dead.

Hunger due to scarcity of food brought about by locusts infestation was worsened by another scourge,

which was cholera. This disease was contracted by drinking contaminated water from the Pulangi River. Both the famished Moros and the Tirurays, including some of the missionaries, became vulnerable because of their weakened immunity. This calamity happened in 1882, and then in 1884, when almost all the communities along the riverbanks of the Pulangi were afflicted by the epidemic. Medicines and doctors from the Mission fortunately succeeded in containing the epidemic until the communities finally became disease-free.

The third event that brought the Mission down temporarily was the siege of Datu Uto. Reliable sources said that the Muslims resented the intrusion of the Mission into the sacred place of their ancestors. According to Fr. Ricart:

These disturbances were occasioned by the establishment of the *bakat* or *buhayen* detachment in the center ... of a beautiful area. The Moros saw that this fort would crush their power, and they expressed their resentment by burning and killing whatever is tagged with the Christian name.²⁶

In the early morning of February 15, 1886, Datu Uto fired his *lantakas* on the Spanish garrisons before three *juramentados* (called *mujahedeen* by the Moros) attacked and burned the Mission's dormitories. The male dormitory caught fire which quickly spread to the other buildings. The house of the priests and their *bodegas* of rice and lumber also caught fire. The church which was under construction was also destroyed. Everything was devoured by fire—

books, archives, manuscripts containing the dictionaries of the Moros and the Tirurays that were works-in-progress, and their *bodegas* that contained 200 *arrobas* of sugar and some 2,000 cavans of rice. There were no casualties among the residents but seven Moro attackers and one soldier of the Tamontaka detachment were killed.²⁷

The disturbances took three years (1885–1888) before it was finally quelled. Several *libertos* perished while some returned to the mountains. Governor Roldan reinforced the Cotabato defenses against the attackers such as the church that was still under construction and the *cottas*. However, the dormitories and the mission buildings were completely razed to the ground. It was the army of Governor Emilio Terrero that finally brought the Uto attacks to an end. Uto's casualties were 12 men whereas among Terrero's troops, only one perished.²⁸

For the Spaniards, the siege of Datu Uto was abominable because he violated the agreement they already made with Datu Ayunan. However, for the Moros of Cotabato, it was Datu Uto who truly represented their sentiments. They feared the intrusions of the Spaniards not only into their territory but also into their way of life, especially their religion. To wit: "A reported incident at Tamontaka is the beheading of a Muslim who was preparing to renounce his faith and become a Christian. Four months previously, he and his brother escaped from Uto's Rancheria and had come to live in the Mission."²⁹

In addition, the slaves of Datu Uto escaped from him and went to live in the dormitories at Tamontaka. Despite

the pleas of Datu Uto, the missionaries did not allow the slaves to return to him. It was not clear, however, whether these slaves were considered *libertos*.³⁰ It was during this incident when Datu Uto uttered his famous retort, i.e., that he would rather release his wife and children rather than his slaves because a datu is not a datu without slaves. Nonetheless, after the Datu Uto incident, the Mission was back to normal.

In 1890, for the first time, the missionaries trekked the breadth and length of the Pulangi River from Linabo up to Bukidnon while they were mapping and writing the ethnography of the natives living near the river banks.³¹

THE TAMONTAKA MISSION AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1896

By 1897, the Tamontaka Mission had 100 families with around 250 youngsters. They were farmers who cultivated and produced palay, sugar cane, coconut, coffee, and vegetables.³² However, after two years, in January 1899, the Spaniards abandoned Cotabato. What followed was a free-for-all competition for leadership. A combined force of Moros, Chinese, and Christian Filipinos was formed. Ramon Vilo became the self-proclaimed governor but he was overpowered by the unified strength of the Moros led by Datus Piang, Ali, and Djambangan. At this point the Christians ran to the hills and remained in the mountains of Cotabato.³³

The Tamontaka Mission was sacked by the forces of Piang, Ali, and Djambangan. To wit:

Cotabato itself was sacked; the church and convent were badly damaged; images, engravings, and other devotional objects were publicly desecrated; the pent-up wrath of the Maguindanaos against the Christian colonizers reached a peak of expression.³⁴

This event also signaled the end of Tamontaka Mission which existed for more than thirty years. By this time, Datu Piang was given by the datus in the Pulangi area a clear mandate to lead. He used to be allied with the Spaniards but after their departure in 1899, he allied with the Americans.

***REDUCCION* AND POST-HISPANIC PERIOD RESETTLEMENTS PROJECTS**

The resonant *reduccion* during the post-Hispanic period bore striking resemblance to the goals and mechanics of assimilation, the impact of which permeated the cultural landscape of Mindanao. This characteristic of internal colonization never departed from the pattern of north-south migration where northern migrants had always been considered culturally superior over their southern host and had the implicit duty of homogenizing a national culture that eschewed diversity and was expressly Western-oriented. This thrust was evident in the American resettlement policy under Harrison-Carpenter colonial administration and was continued during the Commonwealth's National Land Settlement Administration (NLSA), the independent Republic's Economic Development Corps (EDCOR) and President Ramon Magsaysay's National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA).

A comparison is presented in the following table:

MINDANAO RESETTLEMENTS FROM COLONIAL TO POST-COLONIAL REGIMES

	SPANISH	AMERICAN	COMMONWEALTH	PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC
Aims	<i>Reduccion</i> : To convert and consolidate colonial gains	Agricultural colonies: To exploit the economic potential of Mindanao for colonial gains and to distribute the population	NLSA: To mitigate peasant and labor uprisings in Luzon; to exploit the economic potential of Mindanao	EDCOR, NARRA: To entice the Huks to surrender; to broaden the distribution of lands to the landless
Process	Resettlement of Mindanao inhabitants while spreading Catholicism	Luzon migrants to serve as models of the “Ideal Citizen;” to amalgamate diverse cultures	Luzon and Bisayan migrants to speed up Mindanao development	Huk rebels, military trainees, and civilians from Luzon and Visayas to add to the manpower for Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan economic development

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Mindanao was and is the homeland for the Muslims and Lumads (called the “First Nations” in the parlance of peace process literature). It was during the Spanish period

when the *Bisayans* of Visayas were added to this motley of Mindanao population. Slave economy which was central in the rise of the Moslem socio-political ascendancy evolved through slave-raiding for economic gain as well as a means to resist colonial incursions into their (Muslim) territory. As pearl gatherers, farm laborers, court interpreters, and artisans, the slaves became economic assets to the Muslims.³⁵ In trading with the British and the Dutch for sea and forest products in exchange for silver currencies and ammunitions, having slave laborers became mandatory. Slaves from the north were made use of as food producers and being well-versed in the Spanish language, as part of the Muslim court retinue.

Slave-raiding was also done to retaliate against the Spanish incursions into what they perceived as their territory. The Muslims consider themselves as the master of Mindanao which includes its Lumad population. The threat of Spanish dominion was both an economic and political disaster for them; worse, the colonizers brought migrants of Luzon and Visayas to populate the island. Thus, there was the inevitability of the dilution of Mindanoans from dual people to tri-people. Bisayans from the scattered islands of Visayas brought in as slaves and as migrants eventually dominated the Mindanao landscape, making the Bisayan language as the *lingua franca* of Mindanaoans. Slaves were brought in before the coming of the Spaniards, and Bisayans also migrated to Mindanao during the Spanish colonization. The American colonizers brought in more people from Luzon in pursuit of the government's agricultural colonization programs, and this was continued

by the Commonwealth and the postcolonial Magsaysay administration.

Reduccion was essentially about the assimilation of the Mindanaoan natives—the Muslims and Lumads to the mainstream colonial culture already evident among the Christianized populations of Luzon and Visayas. While conversion to Catholicism was the primary goal of the Jesuits in their Mindanao Missions, in paper, particularly in Cotabato, the agenda to completely subjugate Mindanao, the Muslim religion, as well as the indigenous lifeways had to be erased eventually. The missionaries knew the difficulty of eventually Christianizing the entire Mindanao island, but they were willing to wait.

Pablo Pastells laid out the essential features of *reduccion*, the goal of which should not be lost to students of history—that the Muslims who dominated Mindanao should be stopped, particularly their slavery practices, and the way to do this is by persuasion alone. There was never a mention of converting the Muslims by force. Pastell's recommendation was through the policy of attraction. The Tamontaka experiment was a case in point.

The Tamontaka agricultural colony was the model of transforming the mindset of first the Tirurays, then the Maguindanao Muslims regarding Christianity. The introduction of modern agriculture, masonry, carpentry, and metal craftsmanship among others, taught the male natives how to become better farmers and artisans. The women, in turn, were taught home economics and other livelihood skills such as sewing and embroidery.

Transforming the mindset of the natives was expected to influence the neighboring Muslims as well. Conversion would make colonization complete. The Spaniards were on the brink of formally making Mindanao a Hispanized territory were it not for the Revolution of 1896. This agenda supported by the successful military expeditions of Terrero, Weyler, and Blanco in Central Mindanao fizzled out eventually. In fact, an anecdote from the article written by a Maranao scholar, the late Mamitua Saber, mentioned that a Spanish engineer was engaged to initiate a project that would have made Mindanao the first island to have a railway system even earlier than that of Luzon. This plan was reminiscent of Pablo Pastells' idea of connecting all the missions in the entire island. The mapping of Mindanao was already initiated by the Jesuits in order to establish a network of support for all their missions. Thus, it was not a remote possibility at all that the next step was to build the railway system.

The Spaniards spent money and manpower on Mindanao, contrary to the claims of some writers (e.g., that Mindanao was neglected). The military expeditions of Weyler and Blanco brought in the needed materials for the complete subjugation of the Muslims in the island. Knock-down types of naval warships were brought in Lanao Lake to be assembled in situ. These were bought in Hong Kong but the advent of the Spanish-American War aborted all the plans. Blanco had to abandon Mindanao in order to fight the revolutionists in Luzon. He left behind the costly warships and sank them in Lanao Lake. The Americans refloated these vessels later (as reported in archival sources).

The American agricultural colony project was a mirror of the Tamontaka experiment. The resettling of the natives in an agricultural colony to make their new abode productive and to turn them into self-sufficient farmers/producers was the essence of the “ideal citizen” concept of the project. During the term of U.S. Civil Governor Francis Burton Harrison, 13 agricultural colonies were set up in Northern Cotabato for the resettlement of farmers from Luzon and Visayas. These migrants were subsidized with free transportation, food and maintenance allowances for two years, and farmlots and homelots as homesteads that would be legally theirs after five years of productive occupancy. A similar project was opened in Lanao for retired American soldiers and civil servants with Filipino families. The project opened up Central Mindanao for northern pioneers willing to risk life and limb to clear up forests and subjugate the monkeys and wild animals therein.

A similar pattern was followed by the resettlement projects of Quezon’s National Land Settlement Administration (NLSA) in Southern Cotabato and Magsaysay’s Economic Development Corps (EDCOR) in Lanao, Cotabato and Isabela; and the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA) in Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. The matrix on page 80 shows the differentiation of their objectives that had resonated well with the Hispanic Jesuits’ *Reduccion*.

This impact of resettlement of bringing in outsiders to a native territory had far-reaching political, economic and social implications. The *reduccion* might be different in

the sense that it brought into the Tamontaka Mission the Tirurays who were natives of the highlands of Cotabato and residents of the riverbanks of Rio Grande de Mindanao or the Pulangi River but the overall blueprint or strategic plan of Pablo Pastells' *Reduccion* was actually its precursor. Part of Pastells' plan was also to bring in settlers from Luzon and Visayas. Presently, when one thinks of Mindanaoan, it is tri-people: Lumads, Moros, and Christian settlers. A vestige of colonialism, it is a reality that our government and its people—we, Filipinos—must have to reckon with.

NOTES

- 1 Notes, B&R vol. 44: 65
- 2 In this paper, Muslims and *moro* will be used interchangeably to mean believers of Islam.
- 3 In this paper, it refers to the indigenous peoples of Mindanao. A *bisayan* term, it has already gained official acceptance having been used in legal documents, e.g., IPRA.
- 4 Herein referred to as JMLM (*Jesuit Missionary Letters from Mindanao*) published by the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies, National Historical Institute, and the UP Press in cooperation with the Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, 2000.
- 5 "Tribes, Settlers and Administration on Frontier: Economic Development and Social Change in Davao, Southeastern Mindanao, The Philippines 1899–1941" (PhD diss., Murdoch University, Western Australia, 1984).
- 6 "Maguindanao: 1860–1888. The Career of Datu Uto of Buayan," University Research Center. Mindanao State University, Marawi, 1971.

- 7 Herein referred to as B&R. Emma H. Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1903-1909).
- 8 Miguel Bernad S.J., “The Jesuit Letters from Mindanao,” *Mindanao Journal* VI nos. 2–4 (October 1979–June 1980): 54. Also in JMLM I: xx
- 9 Notes, B&R 44: 65
- 10 In Francisco Combes, *Historia de las Islas Ellas Mindanao, Jolo y sus adjacentes. Sucesos de la Religion y Armas Catolicas* (Madrid: Los Herederos P. de Va.1667).
- 11 JMLM I: xxii.
- 12 Iletto, 67.
- 13 JMLM I: xxi.
- 14 Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 2001), 66.
- 15 Iletto, 68.
- 16 Pastells Mission I:30-31 and in Iletto, 69; quoted from Jose Guerrico (Letter) to the Mission Superior. Tamontaka, 3 January 1880, JMLM I: 111–115.
- 17 Iletto, 70
- 18 Jose Ignacio Guerrico to the Mission Superior. Tamontaka, 3 January 1880. JMLM I:117.
- 19 Ignacio Duran to the Mision Superior. Manila, 11 May 1883. JMLM I:174.
- 20 Guillermo Bennasar to the Mission Superior. Tamontaka, 4 February 1883. JMLM I:165.
- 21 Iletto, 70.

- 22 Jose Ignacio Guerrico to the Mission Superior. Tamontaka, 3 January 1880, JMLM I:116–117.
- 23 Bennasar, Tamontaka, 31 December 1884, JMLM I: 204.
- 24 Jacinto Juanmarti to the Mission Superior. Tamontaka, 16 October 1889, JMLM I: 297–298.
- 25 JMLM I: 397.
- 26 The Mission Superior to the Rector of Ateneo de Manila. Zamboanga, 13 March 1886, JMLM I: 228.
- 27 Ibid., also in Pablo Pastells to the Mission Superior. Tamontaka, 15 February 1886. JMLM I: 226.
- 28 The successful military expeditions of Terrero were followed by those of Governor Valeriano Weyler in Lanao (1888–1891) and continued by Governor Ramon Blanco (1893–1896) who defeated Amai Pakpak of Marawi.
- 29 Ileto, 75, citing Pastells Mision II: 56.
- 30 Salman, 66.
- 31 Miguel Bernad S.J. “The Jesuit Letters from Mindanao” *Mindanao Journal* VI, nos. 2–4 (Oct. 1979–June 1980): 48–55.
- 32 Ibid., 53.
- 33 Ileto, 97.
- 34 Pastells’ Mision III, 411 in Ileto, 96.
- 35 See also Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang, “Slaves and Migrants in Mindanao During the Late 19th to Early 20th Centuries: A Comparative Social History” (MSU-Marawi Graduate Forum 5, nos. 1&2, 2007). On the American resettlements in Mindanao, see “Ang Homisteder Bilang Ideal Citizen sa Panahon ng mga Amerikano sa Mindanao (1901–1920),” *ADHIKA Journal* 1, no.1 (1999). Also on the Spanish invasion in Marawi, see “Lanao during the Philippine Revolution and the Heroism of Amai

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