

The Swish of the Kris

By Vic Hurley

The kris may be of any length and two or three inches wide. All of the knives, no matter what shape, are encased in wooden scabbards, and have a keenness of edge equaling that of a Damascus blade."

- Major O. J. Sweet 22nd Infantry U.S. Army

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Author's Note

The casual visitor, stopping in Zamboanga or Jolo between boats, sees the Moro as a slightly grimy individual with a bad reputation. Faintly disturbing stories of the prowess of this villain with the razor-edged *kris*, sometimes reach the tourist's ears. Most of the stories are true. The visitor may also hear something of the enmity which exists between the Filipinos and the Moros. This is also true, as the Filipinos may discover when America leaves the islands.

What the tourist does not realize is that this sinewy, brown man, gaudily dressed in brilliant silk trousers and colorful turban, has an astounding history.

There are many men better qualified to write the military history of the Moros than this author. I know one man who could have done so and it would have been a wonderful book. He knew more about the Moros than any man in the world, I believe. He is dead now. Just before he died, I said to him, "Papa, why don't you write the story of these Mohammedan wards of ours?"

He was a Colonel in the United States Army but everyone called him "Papa".

Papa said, "Someday I will, Vic. It will have to be after some of the high rankers have gone to their rewards. I'd step on too many toes now."

But Papa passed on, as all good soldiers do, and that history of the Moros remained unwritten.

Almost, once, a newspaper man did the job. He was editor of the first newspaper in Mindanao, and he was eminently qualified. But he became busy with other things and the material turned yellow in the trunks of his basement and the book remained one of those nebulous things "that ought to be done".

So I have tried to do it. And when I look back to the seven years' association I had with the Moros while collecting the material, I wish I could have done a better job.

For the Moros are a grand people. Everything written about them, almost, has been authored by their enemies. They are feared and hated by the Filipinos. They were feared and hated by the Spaniards.

They spoiled a conquest.

Every one of them is valiant. There never was a Moro who was afraid to die. Death on the field of battle is a privilege, and they guard their privileges jealously.

History can never forget the Moros, for they did something in the 1500's, and the 1600's, and the 1700's and clear down into the 1800's, that was

supposed to be impossible. They proved too strong for the Spanish conquistadores!

G. V. H.

San Diego, California May, 1936

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In collecting the material for a book of this kind, involving not only untold centuries of warfare but, in addition, a discussion of prehistoric populations of the Philippines, the sources have been so varied as almost to prevent acknowledgement.

Much of the material was collected from the natives during the seven years I spent in Mindanao. During that period I made the acquaintance of elders of many Moro *barrios*, all of whom delighted in telling tales of the old days when the *kri* was the measure of a man.

For the verification of dates and campaigns I have depended upon standard histories of the Philippines. Among the books consulted were:

"The Philippine Islands" -- Foreman

"Historia de Mindanao y Sulu" -- Combes

"The Malay Archipelago" -- Wallace

"Voyage Around the World" -- Pigafetta

"Travels in the Philippines" -- Jagor

"Letters From the Philippines" -- Crevas

"History of the Philippines" -- Fernandez

I am particularly grateful to John Hackett, editor of the *Mindanao Herald*, for the material on "*Kris* versus Krag." Many of the details of this period were obtained from the files of his paper.

I am also indebted to many priests of the Jesuit Order who kindly placed at my disposal sources of information not usually accessible.

The preparation of this book entailed a tremendous amount of reading, as the material has not, I believe, been before confined to a single volume. There are, perhaps, glaring omissions; there are probably some errors, although no effort has been spared to keep the text accurate.

I make no claim for originality, as the story of the Moros is mostly history. I have supplemented my personal research by drawing freely upon all available sources in an effort to encompass within the covers of one book everything about the Moros that anyone might care to know.

G. V. H.

FOREWORD

"O YE WHO BELIEVE, when ye meet the marshaled hosts of the infidels, turn not your backs to them: Who so shall turn his back to them on that day, unless he turn aside to fight ,or to rally some other troop, shall incur wrath from God; Hell shall be his abode and wretched the journey thither."-- Koran.

The region of Mindanao and Sulu is one of the oldest battlegrounds in the world. Until the coming of America, these dark jungles and blue seas knew only the law of the strong, whose song was the song of the *kris*.

Men of all creeds and colors have scrambled for a foothold in Mindanao--from India, Ceylon, Borneo, Celebes, Java, China, Japan, Portugal, France, Spain, Holland, England. Their bones moulder there, and only the spirits of intrepid adventurers remain. They reckoned not on the courage of the defenders of this soil.

East meets West today in peace upon this centuries-old field of battle. Still in possession of his beloved isles remains the Moro; with this *bosque* warrior remains the American who finally conquered him.

In 1899 the Spaniards laid down their weary swords and gave over the task of subjugation of the Moros to the Krag rifles of America. The opening gun of the Spanish-American War found Spain holding a few precarious positions in Mindanao, Palawan and Sulu. This to show for more than 300years of bloody conflict! The Moros controlled the balance of the southern Philippines.

The close of the unsuccessful Spanish conquest of Moroland marked the beginning of the end of one of the most remarkable resistance in the annals of military history. The Moslems had staged a bitter and uninterrupted warfare against the might of Spain for a period of 377 years. It is doubtful if this record has been equalled in the whole bloody history of military aggression. The Dons, accustomed to the easy conquests of Peru and Mexico, met their match and more in the jungles of Mindanao.

As a fighting man of the highest caliber, the Moro has won for himself a distinguished place. This mighty krisman of the jungle has woven a thread of red into the fabric of the history of the East Indian Archipelago.

In common with other savage people, the Moros were ruthless and brutal and cruel, and they spared none in their crimson path. They lived in a stern age, during those days that preceded the coming of the Spaniards. Down through the years sailed the war *praos* of the Moros--ravaging, slaying and enslaving. Always they were masters of the Sulu Sea.

The Moros successfully defended their island empire from a period a century before the Christian era until their power was finally broken by the dismounted cavalymen of Uncle Sam at the battle of Bud Bagsak in 1913.

The history of the Moros is a history of continuous warfare. Other opponents lacking, the Mohammedans fought with their own kinsmen. War was relaxation. To die was an earned privilege. Their history is *Kris* against *Kris*; *Kris* against Toledo blade; *Kris* against Krag.

The Moro was soldier, sailor, fisherman, pirate, slave-trader, pearl-diver, navigator; he was a composite portrait of competent savage. He ruled with cruelty in a sternly disputed domain. Piracy was his profession. Murder and rapine were his lighter amusement.

Nicolo Conti speaks of him in 1430: "The inhabitants of Java and Sumatra exceed every other person in cruelty. They regard killing a man as a mere jest; nor is any punishment allotted to such a deed. If anyone purchase a new sword and wish to try it, he will thrust it into the breast of the first person he meets. The passers-by examine the wound, and praise the skill of the person who inflicted it, if he thrust in the blade direct."

Consistency was ever a virtue of the Moro, for Sawyer speaks of him again in 1900: "Trained to arms from his earliest youth, he excels in the management of the lance, buckler and sword. These weapons are his inseparable companions. The typical Moro is never unarmed. He fights equally well on foot, on horseback, in his fleet war canoe or in the water, for he swims like a fish and dives like a penguin. Absolutely indifferent to bloodshed or suffering, he will take the life of a slave or a stranger, merely to try the keenness of a new weapon."

By our standards, the Moro was a barbarian, but it must be remembered that he occupied an uncertain throne on the crest of Malayan-Mongoloid invasions of a rude and uncultured country. The age of his power was a dangerous one of "conquer and live and leave no opposition alive on the back trail."

And yet, these bloodthirsty pirates were not lacking in sympathy. They waged a just war according to their lights and they were beset upon all sides by land-grabbing aggressors. Let the reader reflect upon one pathetic incident of the American occupation of Sulu. After listening patiently to General Bate's glowing description of the rich and powerful United States of America, the Sultan of Sulu asked, "If all of this be true, why then do you seek my poor little islands?"

To which General Bates made no reply.

In his defense of the religion and customs of Islam against the militant priests of Spain, the Moro set a new historical precedent. He survived. His

religion survived. The Mayas, the Aztecs and the Incas fell before the Toledo steel of the Spaniards, and their language and institutions perished with them. Their temples were destroyed and their literature burned by over-zealous bishops of the Romish church. A few of their cities remain desolated sepulchers of an ancient civilization which melted before the fanaticism of the conquistadores.

Not so with the Moros; sturdy and intact, their religion still flourishes on the shores of Sulu. The conquistadores came, fought vainly, and retired. The Moros remain.

As a civilizing agency, the position of the Moros is doubtful. As fighting men, they take first rank in the pages of martial history.

It is as fighting men that we should judge them.

Part One: The Coming of the Krismen

1. The Setting

The Moros came late to Mindanao.

Anthropology has failed to agree upon a classification of the primitive peoples who inhabited Mindanao and Sulu prior to the coming of the Moros. We know that first settlers in this islands were tribes of dwarf blacks or Negritos, a broad-headed, broad-nosed, frizzy-haired race. There appears evidence that human life existed in the Philippines at least 20,000 years ago, in the Pleistocene Age. The antiquity of man in the East Indian Archipelago has not been fully established, but skulls of the Talagai Man of Australia, of the Java Man found at Wadjak, together with Stone Age culture of the Dutch found in Tasmania, seem to suggest a possible lower Paleolithic culture in the Philippine islands.

The original tribes of black pygmies were driven back into the mountains, to be displaced by a first wave of brown people who swept over the Philippine Archipelago probably as early as 5,000 years ago. The primary black inhabitants have survived, however, to remain as a negligible proportion of the population of the islands.

Padre Crevas, the early historian of the Philippines, preserves for us a description of these Negritos as the Spaniards found them in 1645:

"There are in this island (Mindanao) black, nomadic tribes who recognize no subjection... they live more like brutes, fleeing from all who approach them, doing harm too when they can. They do not settle in villages, nor do they, in these inclement wilds, have other shelter than the trees. They do not use any other ornament than that which they inherited from nature, covering their modesty so meagerly that they altogether fail in the endeavor. Their arms consist of a bow and arrows, tipped with a poison known only to themselves and it appears that this is the first people who occupied them (the islands) -- that these are the original inhabitants of the soil and being the primitive race, no one can account for their origin."¹

In the traditions of a people with a history as misty as that of the Negritos, it is interesting to find references to the Deluge. The Aetas say that Manama, the great God, made men from blades of grass, weaving the grass into human forms. They tell of a great flood which covered the face of the earth and of the drowning of all of the people except two men and a woman.

These survivals of pre-history still remain in the Philippines, represented by various tribes of Bataks, Aetas, Mamanuas. They are interesting as carry-overs from the Paleolithic culture period.

We pass on to the race of brown people who succeeded them in Mindanao. The Negritos were the first victims of the wholesale redistribution of population which was accomplished by the waves of incoming people who swept over the islands.

The history of the human occupation of Mindanao and Sulu is one of constant raids and overlapping cultures. With the first of these series of raids from the mainland of Asia, we find the Negrito falling back to the inhospitable mountains and his place on the pleasant seacoast pre-empted by a race of brown-skinned Indo-Australians.

An understanding of these Indo-Australian invaders of Mindanao must always remain an impossibility. Their roots are buried in the mist of pre-history. Anthropological research can speculate, but we can never hope to roll away the fog which envelops the long trail these people have trod which ends in Mindanao. To understand their origins we should have to go back to ancient myths of white men in the Pacific, and it would be necessary to accept certain speculations involving a science which might well be called "synthetic anthropology." For these long-haired mountaineers of Mindanao are brown-white men misplaced in the silent hills!

Their history involves a consideration of our most remote ancestors. Max Muller, delving into the origins of the Aryan race, states that Vedic literature may go back for 5000 years. The Vedic hymns show the Indian branch of the Aryan race on the march to the southeast. The Rig-Veda is believed to antedate BC 3000. It is made up of a collection of 1017 short poems in which mention is made of the black aborigines who preceded the Aryans to India. It is here, perhaps, that we might probe for the origins of the pagan Indo-Australians of Mindanao.

It is believed that a race of people called Armenoids trickled down through India from a country north of Macedonia. There are indications that these people preceded the Aryans to India. A much later invasion of the Aryans pushed the Armenoids out into Burma and Malaya, and down through Indonesia into the Pacific. They entered the Pacific at an early date, as is shown by the absence in their language of Sanskrit words which came into use after their departure from India.

The Armenoids became the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, setting up the maritime cities of Acre, Sidon and Tyre. In the Pacific, the Armenoids became the Polynesians, and possibly were the basic ancestors of the Mindanao hill men. It is at least a pleasant conjecture, and it places the antiquity of the Indo-Australians at a well deserved early date.

These Indo-Australian people of Mindanao survive as very ancient fragments of a race which was gradually and partially absorbed by the dominant Caucasian and Mongoloid elements with whom they came into contact. It has been suggested by anthropologists that this premier brown stock of Mindanao is

"a branch from the Caucasian stem dating from a time when the Caucasian race was not as white as it is now, and that probably the dark strain in India is due to these aborigines rather than to Negroid influences."²

Kroeber, in his "Anthropology", has this to say of the hill people of the East Asian Archipelago:

"In the lapse of ages, the greater number of Caucasians in and near Europe took on, more and more, their present characteristics, whereas, this backward branch in the region of the Indian Ocean, kept its primitive and undifferentiated ways."

Today, these dark-whites live in scattered groups in the swamps and jungles of interior Mindanao and other islands of the Philippines. Intermixture with succeeding invasion of Indonesians and Malays has greatly diluted the original blood and given rise to great differences of opinion among anthropologists.

"Closely allied to the them, and equally as primitive, are the Moi of Indo-China, the Sanoi of the Malay States, the Toala of Celebes, the Kolarian tribes of India and the Vedda of Ceylon."

A glance at the ethnology of these people might be in order. Somewhere in the period of about BC 30,000, the Cro-Magnon man, a true Homo Sapiens, originated as the ancestor of the living races of mankind. To the Cro-Magnon is credited the beginnings of the Caucasian race. Shortly after the rise of the Cro-Magnons, the human race underwent a certain degree of specialization, and we find the Caucasian stem forking into two main branches.

One branch forges ahead to form a race of light people, the ancestors of the modern European; the other strain falters to emerge as the Indo-Australian. These Indo-Australians, a race of dark, short, slender, wavy-haired people with long heads and broad noses, were in the first wave of emigrants from Asia. They have been in Mindanao for a long time. A sketch of their occupation of the islands is part of the pre-history of Mindanao.

In order to understand the setting for the earliest battles of the Moros, we must have a clear picture of these Indo-Australians who preceded the Moros to Mindanao.

Mindanao today is a vast area of 38,000 square miles, fringed by a thin ring of plantations along the coast line. Scattered at wide intervals, miles apart, are the few towns of the island. Even after more than thirty-five years of American occupation we find few roads, and those only in the immediate vicinity of the settlements. There is no steamship or other transportation service except to these few towns. The Sulu Archipelago is still a closed book to the tourist.

The year 1935 finds 2,000,000 acres of land remaining unexplored in Mindanao, 5,000,000 of standing jungle, and less than twelve per cent of the land under cultivation.

Along the coast line, planters have hacked out a bite from the jungle wall, there to plant coconuts, hemp and rubber. Inside is jungle, black and empty. There in the inner mountains of the island, live the long-haired wild people, Indo-Australian survivors of another day.

These pagans live in a world apart, which is peopled with dreams of ogres and ghosts and demons,. They still practice rites and customs which originated in the dawn of man. Among these practices are the ancient arts of hepatoscopy and haruspicy, of which there is a widespread knowledge.³

In the legends of the Indo-Australians are to be found many references to their origin. It is interesting to note that many of them agree in tracing their ancestors to a continent which sank beneath the sea. There is no place in this volume for a discussion of sunken continents, but the traditions of the Indo-Australians bring to mind the stories of the lost Atlantis, of Mu and of Lemuria. The presence of these brown-white men in the jungles of Mindanao makes it easier to believe the stories of lost civilizations and vanished peoples dating from before some awful catastrophe in the Pacific.

Geologists tell us that the original population of the Philippines could have emigrated as a fragment from early civilizations of the geological continent of Gondwana Land. The lost continent of Lemuria, now covered by the waters of the Indian Ocean, could have been the center of dispersal or a stopping place on the road from India. Even the highly debatable sunken colony of Mu, presumably located in mid-Pacific in ancient times, could have been the homeland of the Indo-Australians of Mindanao.

The story of these aboriginal settlers of Mindanao is not within the province of this book. They were but an interlude, the lull before the storm which ushered in the Malay.

With these comments on the two prehistoric populations of Mindanao, we leave them there in their forested hills. They are an eternal people, endless as time itself. They remain as survivors of an earlier time when the world was new, and they have lived on and on without change in the face of a changing world. Over their silent heads has swept wave after wave of Indonesian, Malayan, Spanish and American invasion. They represent a mysterious anthropological riddle that can never be fully solved. Back of them is unwritten and misty history. Back of that is pre-history, inscrutable and ageless. Four hundred years of white rule has affected them not at all. It is but an incident on the hoary edges of an ancient past.

With imagination we can picture a dim stream of brown figures coming from a far-away home to settle in Mindanao. Where they came from we can never

establish with certainty. They have preserved no records. We can only know them as two vague races of black Negritos and brown Indo-Australians who fell from the ranks to linger in Mindanao on that day when civilization took the march.

We have seen the Negritos pushed to the mountains by the brown horde of incoming Indo-Australians. On the pleasant coasts of Mindanao brown pagan replaced black pygmy. This brown nomadic tribal existence must have persisted along the coast for many centuries, for it extended up to the turbulent period of Mongoloid-Malayan invasions, which began apparently with the coming of the Moros about BC 100.

It is not possible to fix a date for the original invasion of the Moros. We now know that the great Polynesian migration from the East Indian Archipelago to the islands of the Pacific Ocean began about AD 100, and that this flood did not reach the eastern Pacific until late in AD 700. The tempo of the early migrations was not a fast one and it might be assumed that at least two hundred years were required to settle the East Indian region sufficiently to make necessary the removal of the Polynesians to the Pacific islands.

As a part of the confused scramble of the races flowing eastward out of Asia, it appears that the Moros first came to Mindanao and Sulu not later than the first century before Christ.

1 "Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago" -- Francisco Combres

2 "Anthropology" Kroeber.

3 Hepatoscopy is the divination of the future by examination of the livers of animals. Haruspicy is the foretelling of the future by the study of the flight of birds. They are practiced today by certain tribes of Bilaans, Manobos and Bagobos of interior Mindanao.

2. The Coming of the Kris

The primitive Indo-Australian civilization which had been established as the successor of the aboriginal Negroid culture set the stage for the series of mysterious migrations which developed in the following centuries.

On the continent of Asia we find another great family forming which was to disrupt the peace of the East Indian Archipelago. At some distant period in the impressive history of man, probably in the ages between the Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon men, a great race of Mongoloids came into being. This race, represented by the modifications of true Mongol, Amerind, Eskimo and Oceanic Malay, developed somewhere along its line an offshoot from the Malay stem called Indonesian.

The Moro, originally an Indonesian pagan, could be properly classified as Malayan-Mongoloid, a branch of the true Oceanic Malays. In the first century before the Christian era, there was great unrest on the continent of Asia, which culminated in extensive migrations of the population. The Indonesians, wearied of the wide valleys of the mainland, or facing resistance at arms from an unknown enemy, lifted the sails of their *praos* and ventured into the Sulu Sea.

Under the leadership of their war chief, a fleet of their *praos*, comprising the first wave, touched at some nameless island in Sulu. They noted a sea swarming with fishes. There were sea tortoise floating on the water and the forest at the water's edge were filled with deer. The Indonesians looked down over the sides of their vessels and saw beneath them the rich pearl beds of Sulu. It was a fitting spot for the home-seekers.

They sailed through the lovely islands to one of the great bays, rimmed with a beach of white coral sand. Here, on that day centuries ago, their king ordered a halt. The Indonesians reached into the hammocks of their outriggers and brought forth their weapons. A new land was to be contested. In the trees at the water's edge they could see now the slender, brown figures of the Indo-Australians -- fearful yet curious. The peaceful Indo-Australians had awakened to find their seas dotted with the sails of the fierce Asiatics.

The movement of the Mongoloid element began as a gradual constricting wave, enveloping first Java, Ceylon and Sumatra, to be eventually extended into Borneo and the Philippines. This movement apparently continued for about 1500 years, until its northern expansion was checked at Manila with the destruction of the Moro stronghold of the Rajah Soliman by Legaspi in 1571.

Looking back cross the centuries, we can dimly visualize the first landing of the Indonesians. They find a knot of timid little brown men waiting on the sand. They are conducted to the Indo-Australian king who is eager for a parley - - anything to postpone the fate of his people. Sitting there on the sand, naked

and ill-armed, the gentle hosts see in the fierce glare of the Indonesians the destruction of their race. Farther back in the shadows, remain the Indo-Australian women, treated to a preview of their new masters.

It is all over soon. Shouts grow fainter and die out as the destruction goes on. The little brown men who remain alive flee to the hills. The little brown women are led to the boats of the conquerors. The island is cleared of all of the original inhabitants except the captive women and children. New houses appear upon the ruins of the old.

The coming of the Moros brought swift tragedy to the Indo-Australians. Their primitive weapons proved no match for the *krises*¹ of the Indonesians, and the land was swept clean with a circle of steel.

Little can be written of these early conflicts other than to state that the Indo-Australians shared the fate of the Negritos. They were buffeted back into the forests of the interior, to be replaced on the coasts by successive waves of Indonesian invaders.

With the exception of the Manggayans of Mindoro Island and the Tagbanuas of Palawan Island, none of the aborigine pagan tribes possessed a written language. There remains today not even folklore to lift the veil from the fierce conflicts of nineteen centuries ago.

The Manggayans and the Tagbanuas had a syllabic language incised upon tablets of bamboo of which only a few fragments are known to exist today.

We know that the Indonesian conqueror, the ancestor of the Moro today, was engaged in the consolidation of the southern islands of the Philippine group for a period of several centuries. On the smaller islands of the Sulu Sea, the original Indo-Australians were completely exterminated, with the exception of the women who were taken into the harems of the Moros. On the larger islands, the aborigines sought the refuge of the highest mountain ranges where pursuit was difficult, and were able to survive the sporadic raids of the Moro slave parties. The Moros quickly gained possession of all of the coast line of Mindanao and the Sulu group, and their spread was gradually northward toward the present site of Manila.

The Moros have always been a people of the sea. In their bright-winged sailing vessels, they pirated the coasts, extracting a toll from all who crossed their path. By instinct they were pirates, long before Magellan's voyage. Many years before the arrival of the Spaniards those Sulu sailors had made their presence felt from Manila to Thursday Island.

As seafarers, this branch of the Oceanic-Malay has no superior. They carried the cargo of that early day. The famous Venetian traveler, Eben Wahab, wrote in 898 of the city of Confu in China, which was the gathering place of

southeastern traders. Arabian geographers of the tenth century mention the island of Malai, where a brisk trade was carried on in spices.

The Phoenician sailed the Mediterranean. The Indonesian voyaged the wide Pacific from Africa to Easter Island, from China to the coral seas of the south. The wanderings of these early Malays were remarkable achievements of navigation. They brought the sail into the Pacific nineteen centuries ago. The reading of the stars was known to them, as was the making of charts. That these voyages took place at an early date is suggested by the fact that as early as BC 2300 the Chinese had charted the heavens to pave the way for the navigator. The Arabic "Book of Miracles" describes a voyage of three hundred ships made to Madagascar in 945. It is possible that the African coast was reached at this early date.

These early sailors had a share, too, in the colonization of the mainland of Asia. The earliest legends of the Annamese in Siam say that Annam was first peopled by men coming from the islands of the Pacific and belonging to the Malay race.

More than 1100 years ago, the Malays had sailed over a region approximating two-thirds of the circumference of the earth. There appears faint evidence that the *praos* of the Malays reached the coast of America.

It is small wonder that with such a heritage, the Indonesian retained for himself the reputation of producing the greatest pirates of all history.

A pirate has no time for agriculture. A nomadic life precludes the possibility of permanent crops. The Moro has never been a farmer and, prior to the coming of the Mohammedan priests, he disdained agriculture to a marked degree.

Synonymous with the words Indonesian are the words slave trader and fisherman. The Indonesians were the first "black-birders." They filled their harems with the women of many races. They cultivated the harvest of the sea, ranging far into rough waters for the pelagic fishes of the open sea.

This early nomadic civilization of the Moros was not a stable one, and the history of the period must have been one of constant warfare between rival tribal groups and feudal organizations of the coast. The Moro's code was a primitive pagan law based upon the kris, and his tribal organization was a succession of minor kingdoms which flourished, crumbled and were pre-empted by other kingdoms.

In this loosely knit tribal existence is to be found the greatest weakness of the Indonesians and the Malays in general. In the Philippine Islands particularly there has always been a lack of concerted action among the Moro tribes. This lack of cooperative spirit was a contributing factor to whatever successes the Spanish had later in the field against the Moros. If the Mohammedans had

presented a unified front to the enemy it is doubtful if Spain could have established a foothold in Mindanao.

All through the history of the Moros, we find evidences of a great deal of intertribal warfare during periods when they should have been united against a common foe. Each island possessed a minor Datu or chief, surrounded by a few followers and independent of other minor Datus. The unit of organization was a cluster of thirty or forty families called a *barangay*, and it consisted of a strictly community government under the Datu.

While admitting the obvious disadvantages of this form of community government, it should be pointed out that the system offered equally obvious advantages. An invasion of the Moro territory did not imply a successful assault on the capital city and a subsequent conquest of the country. The subjugation of Mindanao and Sulu by a foreign invader necessitated the reduction of every village in the region by hand-to-hand combat. The fall of the capital meant nothing. The Spaniards learned this to their sorrow.

We find the early history of the Moros marked by several periods of partial dependency upon foreign empires. The influence of Hindu civilizations prevailed for several centuries, although at no time was the connection a strong one. At no period in the entire history of the Moro is there evidence that he paid tribute!

History is full of amazing testimonials to the prowess of these Indonesian sailors. Wallace, the great English naturalist, records his impressions after a trip through the Malay peninsula:

"The maritime enterprise and higher civilization of the Malay races have enabled them to overrun portions of the adjacent region in which they have entirely supplanted the indigenous races... and spread much of their language, their domestic animals and their customs over the Pacific."

We find Linschott writing of Malacca in 1584:

"Inhabited by Portuguese and by natives of the country called Malays. It is the market place of all India and East with their ships arriving incessantly."

The Portuguese Admiral, Diego Lopez de Sequerira, appearing on the Sumatra coast in 1509, learned to his sorrow of the fighting ability of the Malays. His four ships, well-armed vessels of exploration, were attacked in the harbor of Malacca and escaped annihilation with difficulty. In the hand-to-hand fighting which occurred on the beach and upon the decks of the ships, Sequerira lost six hundred men before he was able to beat off the attack of the Malays.

By peculiarities of temperament and a terrific fortitude of soul, the Malays are eminently adapted to survival, even when badly pressed by outside influences.

With the passing of the Hindu influence, the Philippines experienced a century of contact with the Javanese. From about 1330, the brilliant-winged praos of the invading Javanese empire of Madjapahit touched the shores of Sulu for a period of seventy years, to sail off eventually on the northeast monsoon and return no more. The blue seas of Sulu ran red with the blood of the invader and the invaded, but the kris prevailed and the Moros clung to their island homes.

After the Javanese came other peoples from southeastern Asia and Oceania. The Moros paid a perfunctory allegiance to many Malayan empires of Sumatra, Celebes and Borneo. It is doubtful, though, if any of these early connections were binding, and it is certain that at no time was the Moro's freedom of action seriously curtailed.

Always the trend of the Indonesian expansion was northward, and it is apparent that several centuries before the arrival of Magellan the sphere of influence of the Moros reached as far north as the region of Manila Bay and Batangas.

3. Early Contacts In Mindanao

The earliest legend of Mindanao and Sulu appears to be that Sinbad the sailor visited Mindanao on one of his voyages. In Sulu we have Moro legends to the effect that Alexander the Great held court in Jolo in BC 320. Many of the Moros proudly trace their descent from the great Macedonian conqueror.

We find Philippine regions mentioned in Chinese writings as early as the third century, but it appears that the Moros did not come under the influence of China until a much later date. The Chinese writer, Chao-Ju-Kua, writing in 1280 but referring to a much earlier period, describes the people of the Philippines, and it is known that the Chinese mapped and named the principal islands at an early date.

It has been maintained by some writers that Ptolemy, the Egyptian geographer, included the Philippine Islands in his tables under the name Maniola Islands.

Trade relations were carried on between China and the Philippines as early as the fifth century, for the annals of the Liang dynasty mention Malacca, and trade with Java had developed by the year 600. By AD 1000 trade was well-developed on regular lines.

Chinese traders greatly influenced the culture of the Moros. We find examples of vases in Mindanao and Sulu brought from China centuries ago by these hardy traders. The Moros have imitated the dress of China in the sleeved jackets and wide trousers worn by both sexes today. The grass helmet of the Moros is identical with the coolie hat of China.

Chinese trading junks visited the Philippines at least three centuries before the coming of Magellan and they brought to the islands porcelain, silk cloth, metal ware and jade in exchange for pearls, wax, tortoise shell and betel of the South Archipelago.

The Chinese came to conquer and they remained to trade. There is evidence of a futile clashing of the Chinese two-handed swords against the crises of the Moros.

Among the most interesting survivals of the old China trade is the Bagobo custom of sewing tiny bells to their jackets. The Bagobos, a tribe of long-haired hill men of southern Mindanao, have continued this custom. In their barrios may be seen jackets sewn with ancient bells from China. Yellow is the royal color of the Maguindanao Moros of the Lake Lanao district of Mindanao, indicating an early contact with the Chinese.

The ordinarily placid disposition of the Chinese is very well suited to contact with savage tribes. During the early days of the Spanish conquest,

isolated Chinese merchants were able to maintain their tiny stores in districts which were untenable to the Spaniards. Occasionally the storekeepers were bushwhacked by Moro bandits, but another Chinese would blandly open on the same site and the trade went on.

It appears that about the year 1400 Chinese adventurers returned to the islands in force, and for a time the Philippines came under the domination of China as a part of the empire of the Mings. This connection, lasting officially for about forty years, has a profound influence upon the islanders.

Siamese trading junks also conducted an early trade with the islands, and it has been noted that a few days before the arrival of the squadron of Magellan, a Siamese vessel entered the harbor of Cebu. Pigafetta tells us that the King of Cebu demanded the payment of port dues from the ships of Magellan. "I make no exceptions," said the king to the Spaniards. "Four days ago a ship from Siam brought to me concubines and it paid dues."¹ Borneo, the Moluccas and Sumatra also participated in this early trade, drawn by the magnet of the rich pearl beds of Sulu. The extent of the activity of Portuguese traders is not clearly known. It is certain that they had relations with Mindanao and Sulu at an early date, far in the van of the Spaniards.

The Chinese taught the Japanese the use of the sail about AD 100 and there is faint evidence that the newly manned ships of Nippon sailed to the Philippines during that period.

As early as the year 1500, we find the city of Brunei in North Borneo a thriving trade center of more than 70,000 inhabitants. The commerce of this city was augmented by a constant stream of Malay boats pouring in from the ports of the South Pacific.

Marco Polo sailed from Chinchow in 1292, carrying a royal bride from the court of Kublai Khan to the Khan of Persia. His ship spent many months on the coast of Sumatra waiting for a favorable monsoon, and Polo probably utilized the time to explore the coasts of Mindanao and Sulu.

From the Malay sailors Polo learned of Zanzibar and Madagascar and Abyssinia, carrying back to Europe geographical knowledge of the absorption of which was far beyond the capacity of European nations of the period.²

The world was in a commercial frenzy and the Malays were leading the way to new products and exotic shores.

When Albuquerque conquered Malacca in 1511, he reported the presence in the harbor of two trading vessels from the Philippines. These early commercial voyages must have been extensive journeys, and they were a supplement to the illicit pirate and slave trading expeditions conducted by the Malays.

History is reluctant in placing credit for the first white man to visit Mindanao. In 1512, nine years after the "discovery" of the Philippines by Magellan, unnamed Portuguese sailors effected a brief landing on Mindanao.

During the year 1523 we find evidence of the death of Barbosa and thirty-five men before the crises of the Moros of Mindanao.

In February 1579, we see Juan Arce de Sadornil conducting a brief and disastrous campaign against the Moros of Borneo and Sulu.

During the same year we have a picture of Captain de Ribera toiling through the forests of Mindanao to reach the mouth of the Rio Grande River in Cotobato. An ascent is made up the river to a point well within the Moro territory. With De Ribera at the head, the malaria-stricken Spaniards wade ashore, holding their arquebuses above their heads to keep their powder dry. The forces of Sultan Correlat fall upon the white men with terrible suddenness. Ribera calls to his men to hold their fire until the maddened Moslems are well with range of the spreading fire. The arquebuses thunder, and clouds of white smoke drift through the tree tops. The Moros do not hesitate before this terrific hail of iron. "What manner of men are these Moslems?" cries De Ribera, "who fear not the hail of the arquebus?" The Moro charge comes on to close grips. Kris rings on steel helmet. Toledo blade shears through carabao-horn armor.

Harassed by Moros on all sides and bearing his ill and desperately wounded men with him, this doughty commander retires to Manila, a victim of the two potent "M's" of Mindanao -- malaria and Moros.

In December, 1579, Sir Francis Drake careened his vessel on the shores of a small island south of Celebes, and it is probable that this famous explorer touched the shores of Sulu.

To the Portuguese appears to belong the credit for being the first white men to reach Mindanao. These early visits of white men were little more than parties of exploration. They accomplished nothing except to give a pre-view of the military prowess of the Moros.

The main struggles of this early period were between races of the East. The white men were incidents. In most cases the white men were accidents.

The closing years of the old pagan civilization found the Moros engaged in desultory conflict with Japanese corsairs in the north. The Moros had gradually extended their sphere of influence to include Luzon and the northern islands of the Philippines. A bridge of sailing vintas connected Luzon with Sulu.

In the face of attacks from all quarters, the Moros came to the year 1400 and awaited the coming of Mohammedanism.

Behind them were fifteen centuries of successful combat!

1 "Voyage Around the World" -- Pigafetta

2 "Discovery of America" -- Fiske.

4. The Spread of Mohammedanism

Mohammedan conquests from Arabia reached India and Sumatra about AD 700. Thence the religion spread slowly across the Netherlands East Indies to envelop all of the islands of the East Indian Archipelago. Sumatra was converted by 1200, and Java came under the influence of Islam by 1500.

It appears that in the year 1380 the first Mohammedan missionary, a noted Arabian judge named Makdum introduced the religion to the Philippines. The ruins of the mosque he built at Tubig-Indangan on the island of Simunul are still to be seen.

Later, about 1400, the Rajah Baguinda continued the work of Makdum. The remarkable campaign of this missionary ended on Sibutu Island where he lies buried today in the village of Tandu-Banak. The work of Baguinda appears to have been confined to the islands of the Sulu Archipelago. To Shereef Kabungsuwan is credited the conversion of Mindanao.

The followers of Mohammed were zealous in spreading the faith. They conquered Asia Minor and Africa. Then the robed priests entered Europe, first by way of Spain and through the Red Sea southward to Madagascar and eastward to India. No hardship was too great, no people too savage. From India, the Star and Crescent were carried to the Malay Archipelago. A Mohammedan settlement was established in Borneo as early as 1400, and Malacca was penetrated in 1276. The Portuguese Moluccas was converted by 1456.

The early Mohammedan missionaries were a sturdy lot. They came into raw countries without ships or armies or governments to back them. They must be numbered among the most sincere disciples that any religious faith has produced. They sought nothing but the privilege of converting the unbeliever. Gold they wanted not. Trade routes were not the object of their search. They came alone into the heart of one of the most savage countries on the globe, buoyed high by a faith which protected them well.

They had all the fanaticism of the Spanish priests without the accompanying greed for gold. They were the most purely altruistic preachers in the world. Their utter sincerity inspired the confidence of their savage hosts. 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 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.

And so to the island of Simunul came the missionary Makdum in 1380, to land unarmed and unafraid in the group of brown krismen who came down the

strip of white beach to meet him. The Moros were puzzled and in awe of this man who came unannounced among them, asking nothing but the privilege of being heard. The iron of the Koran had arrived to fortify the souls of the Moros.

Through the islands spread the word of the man who told of the true God and of the warriors slain on the field of battle, reclining on damask couches with houris with "large black eyes."¹

The Mohammedan missionaries found a receptive field in Mindanao and Sulu. The tenets of the martial religion of Mohammed appealed to the warlike instincts of the Moros. Through the islands sounded the new battle cry, "*La ilaha illa'l-lahu.*" There is no God but Allah.

The year 1450 marked the coming of Abu Bakr. Abu married Paramisuli, the daughter of Baguinda, and upon the death of his father-in-law, Abu succeeded him in authority, later proclaiming himself as the first Sultan of Sulu.

The Sultanese carried on though the years, and it was during the reign of the sixth Sultan that Governor De Sande sent the first expedition to Jolo in 1578.

The attempted Spanish conquest of Mindanao and Sulu was an accident of history. It is doubtful if Spain would have seriously considered the occupation of these islands could they have known the difficulties attendant upon the subjugation of the Mohammedans.

Mohammedanism in the Philippines preceded the Spaniards by only sixty years, and the northern islands were but lightly touched by the priests of Islam. The only conquest effected by the Spanish arms was among the pagan peoples of Luzon, Panay, Cebu and other of the northern islands. The Mohammedans remained unconquered to the end.

When Legaspi blasted the Moro Rajah Soliman from his fortress at Manila in 1571, he destroyed forever the prospect of a united Mohammedan state in the Philippines. With this defeat of Soliman, Catholicism came to the northern islands, accompanied by a great withdrawal of the Mohammedans to their strongholds in the southern islands. Spain's original foothold in the Philippines came through conversion of pagan tribes and not after contact with the Mohammedans. The conversion of the north was a simple matter, and it was accomplished by very little bloodshed. The easy reduction of the pagans inspired by the Spaniards with false confidence when they first began the assault of Mindanao.

The Spanish conquest of the northern islands was a repetition of the conquests of Mexico and Peru. The conquistadores met with little resistance. Legaspi, with four ships and about 600 men, reinforced at times with levies from Mexico, successfully reduced the north in a period of eleven years.

Juan de Salcedo, a valiant gentleman and veteran at the age of twenty-four, successfully explored the island of Luzon (larger than Mindanao) with a force of forty-five men. History has neglected this remarkable soldier, who should take his place alongside Sandoval, the "terrible infant" of Cortez. Salcedo led his tiny company of ill-armed troops through the swamps and jungles of Luzon in safety, to finally die of fever in 1576 at the age of twenty-seven.

In pre-Spanish times the Manila Bay region was known as Lusong and was held by a Mohammedan force under the leadership of Rajah Nicoy. Manila was defended by a *cotta*, or fort, constructed of *nipa* and bamboo. The Mohammedans were there as missionaries, their station being surrounded by pagan hill men.

Nicoy was succeeded by Kanduli, who in turn gave way to Lakanduli. Lakanduli claimed descent from Alexander the Great. The ruler at the time of Legaspi's conquest was Soliman, who had succeeded Lakanduli. Soliman, a Borneo prince of royal blood, was killed in the unsuccessful defense of the *cotta* of Lusong. His death destroyed the Mohammedan state in the north.

At Mambrao, on the central island of Mindoro, a Mohammedan pirate stronghold remained so well defended that it survived until the late eighteenth century, to be eventually wiped out by a strong naval flotilla from the base at Cavite. With a few exceptions, however, we find the Moros retreating to the south, where the three strong states of Maguindanao, Sulu and Zamboanga were established.

On the Sarangani Island, at the extreme southern tip of Mindanao, the Moros built a great slave trading market which supplied the harems of the East. Organized and systematic raids were made upon the northern islands and the Moro buccaneers took captives from the very wharves of Manila.

Shortly before the death of Legaspi in 1572 we see this truculent soldier coming to grips with the Moro corsairs. On one of his expeditions Legaspi surprised and captured a Moro *prao* after a savage battle. Forty-five Moros defended the *prao* against an equal number of attacking Spaniards. In the engagement that ensued, the Spanish boat was boarded by the pirates who, kris in hand, defied the arquebuses of the Spaniards. The shattering close-range fire of the Spaniards exterminated the pirates before many could come to close grips with the Spanish soldiers.

After witnessing the ferocity of the Moros' attack, there must have come to the old soldier forebodings of the disasters which were to meet Spanish arms in Mindanao, for we find in Legaspi's official report of the battle the following statement:

"I have been assured that they fought well and bravely in their defense was quite apparent for besides the man they killed, they also wounded more than twenty of our soldiers."

During the early days of the conquest, Spain was in no condition to carry the wars to the Moros in Mindanao. The Moros brought the war to the Spaniards. In 1574 a Moro fleet of one hundred *garays* and one hundred small *praos*, manned by more than 8,000 warriors, attacked the city of Manila. All of the resources of Spain were called upon to beat this attacking force, and Manila was saved after a savage defense which cost the lives of many Spaniards. The Moro charge into the cannon fire of the fortified Spaniards resulted in an enormous loss of life before the order was given to return to the pirate ships.

Violent and repeated pirate raids required the attention of the Spanish soldiery, and they were badly pressed by the Moro raids during the consolidation of the northern empire. In spite of these attacks from the Mohammedans, the subjugation of the northern pagans rolled on to a successful conclusion. One by one, the tribes of Luzon and the Visayas fell before the Toledo blades of the Spaniards.

With the conversion of the northern islands complete, and the consequent development of the Missions, a restless desire for expansion came, intensified by the goadings of the militant priests.

In the closing years of the sixteenth century the Spaniards turned confidently to Mindanao and Sulu. The Padres were now eager for martyrdom in Mindanao. The northern islands were conquered, converted and subject to tribute and forced labor.

The time had arrived to teach the Mindanao Moslem a lesson!

5. The Spanish Conquest of the North

While this book is interested primarily in the Moro feud with Spain and not with the Spanish conquest of the northern islands, it has been considered necessary to include a short chapter on the discovery, exploration and conversion of the Philippine Islands in general.

Many of the characters engaged in these northern campaigns were also closely identified with the southern Mohammedan islands. Their exclusion from the book would leave too many blank spaces for a reader unfamiliar with Philippine history.

On August 10, 1519, Magellan set forth with 265 men from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda in Spain on a voyage which was to culminate in the "discovery" of the Philippine Islands. The object of the voyage was to seek a passage to the Pacific Ocean.

After passing through the straits which bear his name, Magellan sailed on to the Ladrone Islands and thence to the north coast of Mindanao. It also appears that Magellan must have made a brief contact with the pagan tribe of Manobos on the southeastern coast of Mindanao, for we learn from Pigafetta, that "at a cape near Butuan are found shaggy men who are exceedingly great fighters and archers. They use swords one palmo in length and eat raw human hearts with juice of oranges or lemons."

Magellan must also have touched at Sulu for we find Pigafetta describing the King of Jolo.

"The King was seated on a palm mat and wore a cotton breech-cloth and scarf, embroidered with the needle, about his head. He had a necklace and gold ear rings set with jewels. He was fat and short and tattooed and was eating turtle eggs from porcelain dishes. There were four jars of palm wine near him, with a small reed in each jar."

"Girls were playing instruments. Some were almost white. They wore a tree cloth about their waists which reached to the knees. Some were nude. All had holes in their ears and long hair wrapped in a short cloth."

Magellan had then proceeded to the uninhabited island of Homonhon, on to Limasawa Island, where a mass was said, to reach eventually the site of the present city of Cebu on April 7, 1521.

A treaty was signed with the Cebuanos, many of whom accepted the Christian faith. Among the tribes who refused to abandon the old pagan gods were the inhabitants of the island of Mactan, near Cebu.

The resistance of these natives provoked Magellan, and upon the insistence of the priests, he determined to conduct a religious crusade. Magellan had no doubts as to the outcome of the battle, and he was assured by the priests that the campaign would greatly aid the efforts to secure converts. A landing was therefore made on Mactan, with Magellan at the head of a force of fifty men. The massed natives on the beach opposed the interference with their tribal religion.

Magellan, obsessed with religious fervor, refused the assistance of 1,000 native Cebuanos, eager to aid him. The battle which ensued resulted in the rout of the Spaniards. Retreating to the water's edge, Magellan was sorely wounded in the leg by a poisoned arrow. In the shallow water near the shore a bitter fight was waged for more than an hour until Magellan, wounded again in the face, finally fell into the water as a result of a terrific kris wound in the leg. Pigafetta tells us "the Indians then threw themselves upon him with iron-poisoned bamboo spears and scimitars, and every weapon they had, and ran him through -- our mirror, our light, our comforter, our true guide -- until they killed him."

Following the death of the leader, command of the expedition passed to the various members of the party. A return to San Lucar de Barrameda under the command of Juan Sebastian Elcano on September 6, 1522, completed the first circumnavigation of the globe.

The initial discovery of the Philippines was followed by the failure of three succeeding expeditions.

The attention of the Spaniards was divided during this period between the new lands in the Philippines and the Mexican conquests of Cortez. April 25, 1521, was a momentous day in Spanish history. On that day two Spanish parties were waging terrific warfare on opposite sides of the world. Magellan died on Mactan Island on that day at almost identical moment that Cortez was sounding the charge for the attack on Mexico City. The gold of Mexico outweighed the glory of the Philippines, and as a result we find the succeeding expeditions to the new islands very poorly equipped and outfitted.

The first expedition to follow the path of Magellan was conducted by D. Fray Garcia Jofre de Loaisa, who sailed from Corima in Spain on July 24, 1525. Loaisa died en route to Mindanao and the expedition accomplished no result. Alvaro de Saavedra then outfitted and sailed from Mexico in 1527. The party ran short of food supplies, and a boatload of starving men finally sighted Mindanao. A difficult landing was effected upon a beach swarming with hostile Moros, after which the ships were blown by contrary winds to the Moluccas, where the crew had ample time in a Portuguese prison to meditate upon the expedition to Mindanao.

The last expedition conducted during the reign of King Charles was commanded by Ruy Lopez de Villalobus. It sailed from Navida, Mexico, on the

first day of November, 1542. Months later a scurvy-ridden ship was rolling helplessly near the inhospitable coast of Sarangani Island off the southern tip of Mindanao. The expedition disembarked on Sarangani, where a fierce fight with the Moros resulted in the death of six of the Spaniards.

Villalobus held a council of officers in the great after-cabin of the galley which served as flagship. There in the shadows beneath the swinging cabin lamp, the officers drew lots to see who would win the doubtful honor of sailing a ship to Mindanao for food supplies. Even at that early date, the Spaniards knew that they faced inevitable conflict with the Moros.

As a result of this momentous throw of the dice, Bernardo de la Torre sailed a galley to the region of the Cotobato coast of Mindanao. A landing was effected and the mail-clad Spaniards entered the jungle, Toledo blade in hand.

Instead of food supplies, however, the men of the expedition found death. In a narrow valley by a river the party was set upon by scores of Moro krismen and it was with difficulty that De la Torre withdrew the mangled remains of the party to the waiting ship. A more fortunate landing on an island of the Molucca group provided the starving Spaniards with food, and the expedition sailed on, also to pass from history in the confines of a Portuguese prison.

None of these early expeditions succeeded in establishing a colony in the new land. The conquest of the Philippines was to be delayed for more than twenty years.

The actual conquest began on November 21, 1564, with the departure from Navida of the fleet of Miguel Lopes de Legaspi. This expedition was composed of 385 persons, including six priests, one of whom, Andres de Urdanete, acted in the capacity of co-leader.

The ships reached the Philippines in February, 1565. Legaspi found the natives hostile, but after considerable cruising he determined to make a landing at Cebu. The first Spanish settlement was made there in April, 1565. The town of Cebu was taken by assault after it was found that peace overtures were impossible. The dethroned King Tupas was baptized into the Catholic faith and his daughter was given in marriage to one of the Spaniards. On the smoking ruins of the native town, the first Spanish fortification was raised late in 1565.

The island of Panay was soon reduced and by 1570 the Spaniards had the middle islands of Visaya well under control. Catholicism replaced the pagan religion the Spaniards found there.

During the year 1570, Juan de Salcedo, the grandson of Legaspi, accomplished a prodigy of valor by exploring the island of Luzon with a force of forty-five men. Peace treaties were signed in blood and most of the inhabitants

came docilely under Spanish domination. One notable exception was the Rajah Soliman, who held the Moro stronghold at Manila.

The Spanish subjugation measures having proceeded smoothly in the middle islands of Visaya, Legaspi determined in 1570 to accomplish the reduction of the Moro fortress which a thorn in the side of the Spanish aims in Luzon.

Under the command of his lieutenant, Martin de Goiti, a party of several hundred Visayans and 130 Spanish soldiers was sent against Soliman. The history of this campaign is confusing and unreliable. Some authorities state that Goiti fired a cannon to recall a boat sent on an errand and the Moros mistook the fire for the beginning of hostilities. Other sources indicate that Soliman himself opened the battle upon sighting the Spaniards.

In the savage assault which followed, the town was burned and more than one hundred of the Moros were killed. Among the dead was Rajah Soliman.

Manila was declared the capital of the archipelago and the country was formally taken possession of in the name of the King of Spain.

Gaspar de San Agustin, a writer of the period tells us:

"Legaspi ordered the natives to construct a fort at the mouth of the Pasig River. He also ordered them to build a large house inside the battlement walls for his own residence and another large house for the priests. Besides these two large houses, he ordered them to construct one hundred and fifty small houses for the remainder of the Spaniards."

The Moros promised to do this but did not carry it out, and the Spaniards were forced to erect their own dwellings.

Following their defeat, the Moros withdrew to Mindanao and Sulu, leaving the Spaniards to carry on the successful reduction of the north. Legaspi died in 1572, but he had lived to see the conquest bearing on to a successful conclusion. When Salcedo followed him in 1576 as a result of an arrow wound aggravated by fever, the conversion of the northern islands had been accomplished.

At the death of Salcedo, Spain had conquered as much of the Philippines as was ever to come under her domination. In the space of eleven short years the combined activity of Legaspi and Salcedo had resulted in the conquest of an area containing more than seventy thousand square miles. One half of the Philippines was conquered by 1570.

It is small wonder that following this series of easy victories, the Spaniards turned to Mindanao and Sulu in 1596 with a feeling of assured self-confidence.

6. The Seat of Moro Power

There was no arithmetical proportion to the Spanish conquest of the Philippines. Though Spain could conquer one half of the Philippines within the spaces of eleven years, she was to find that the remaining 300 years of occupation of the islands produced no colonization of the unconquerable half.

With the completion of the Spanish conquests of the north, Mindanao and Sulu no became definitely the territory of the Moros. Hope of a northern expansion of Mohammedanism was extinguished and the Moro power became limited to the lands of the south.

This region defended by the Moros against Spain consisted of more than 300 scattered islands, many of which were barely more than coral reefs. This territory stretches from 10° north latitude to 4° 30' north latitude, and encompasses an area of 40,000 square miles.

Moroland divides into three natural geographic divisions which will be treated in detail.

The first of these is the island of Mindanao, second largest of the Philippine group and inferior in size only to Luzon. Mindanao, as before mentioned, contains 38,000 square miles, an area slightly larger than Ireland.

On Mindanao the Spaniards found some 250,000 Moros. One out of ten of the Moros was a warrior of fighting age. In early days this great island was ruled by a number of minor kings who held forth in overlapping territories. The Rio Grande Valley in Cotobato came under the domination of the Kings of Mindanao and Buhayan. The region is in the vicinity of Lake Lanao and was under the rulership of the powerful King Buhisan at the time of the first Spanish penetration. This district was a very ancient settlement of the Moros.

Malabang on the Lanao coast was a trading post where the Moros had conducted commercial transactions with Borneo and Celebes for centuries prior to the coming of the Spanish. It as a part of the empire of Buhisan. There was no central authority over the island until 1640, when the Sultanate of Mindanao was founded with Maguinguin as the first Sultan.

The northern portions of Mindanao were never definitely a part of the Moro territory. The regions of Dapitan and Surigao were occupied by the Spaniards as early as 1600, and no serious effort was made to dislodge them.

In Zamboanga there was established at an early date a powerful pirate town which controlled the territory on both sides of the peninsula for a distance of one hundred miles.

With the formation of the Sultanate of Mindanao in the latter part of the seventeenth century, all of these districts were loosely gathered under a

common seat of authority to make up the group known as the Maguindanao Moros.

The second center of Mohammedan population was found on the island of Basilan. It was ruled over in ancient times by the King of Taguima, who commanded a force of 5,000 armed Moros. Basilan contains an area of about 600 square miles and the population was distributed very sparsely through fifty Moro villages. From earliest times this island was a hotbed of bandits and pirates, and it was not until early in the twentieth century that American arms made it safe for travel. The island remained unknown in its entirety until Father Cavalleria sailed around it and mapped the coast in the year 1893.

The third and most interesting of the divisions of the Moro country are the islands of the Sulu Archipelago. This territory is made up of some 300 scattered islands, many of which are barely more than a coral reef. It was here that the main seat of the Moro power was located.

Upon the main island of Jolo was found the town of the same name, which became the object of countless assaults in the succeeding three centuries. The town of Jolo was the residence of the Sultan of Sulu and the hereditary capital of the Sulu Moros. Its embattled existence is detailed elsewhere in this volume.

The Moros had developed a higher stage of centralized government in Sulu than existed upon the island of Mindanao. Here in Sulu, a Sultanate existed since the middle of the fifteenth century. The coming of Spain found the sixth Sultan on the throne of Sulu.

Following the formation of the Sultanate of Mindanao two centuries later, the Moros divided into two strong states, each ostensibly in support of the other but actually operating more or less independently. The Sultan of Sulu was, however, the highest political and religious authority in the islands and its seldom his influence failed to make itself impressed upon all the Moros in matters relating to the Koran.

Although not strictly included within the territory of the Moros, the island of Palawan requires brief mention. The great island, lying to the northwest of the Sulu group, was controlled vaguely by the Sultan of Sulu. In actuality, it was a "no-man's land" for both the Moros and the Spaniards. The island was in the center of a deadly malarial zone and it required very little protection. The Spanish posts established at Puerta Princesa and on Balabac Island at the tip of Palawan suffered terribly from fever and lack of food.

Palawan was largely ignored by the Moros. It was a long sail across rough waters in a region of dangerous coral reefs and no campaigns of any importance were carried on either in its defense or its conquest. Palawan today is a forgotten territory of the Philippines. It is isolated and almost totally undeveloped.

It can be seen from this brief description that Moroland was a comparatively small area, not appreciably larger than the single island of Luzon in the north.

What the Spaniards failed to consider was the existence of ideal conditions for a successful defense. Here was an empire of a small coral islands, widely separated and thinly populated. Its cities were temporary residences of nipa and bamboo. They could be taken by assault and burned with the utmost ease, but they could as easily be rebuilt.

The fierce fighting men of the region were nomadic. If repulsed at one point they drifted down the coast to establish another village of *nipa* and bamboo. The constant shifting of population made them an elusive foe. The burning of a town meant nothing. The walls and ceiling of the *nipa* houses very quickly became filled with scorpions and centipedes and as a result, even under conditions of peace, they were abandoned by the Moros after a few years. The burning of the towns by the Spaniards was, indeed, often a relief, for it provided an excuse to move down the coast and build another town with new, insect-free houses.

The whole archipelago was before the Moros. Their sailing ships were moored to their doorstep. The removal of a village was accomplished with less formality than that accompanying the removal of an American family across the street.

With these preliminary remarks on the territory of the Moros, we turn to the beginnings of the futile struggles of Spain to establish a foothold in this country of islands.

II. Kris versus Toledo Blade

7. The First Expeditions to Mindanao

The first official gun of the Spanish conquest of Mindanao and Sulu was fired by Governor-General de Sande in 1578.

Never a laggard in matters concerning the spiritual, this worthy Governor determined to impress the Catholic religion upon the Mohammedans of Borneo and Sulu. There were other potent reasons influencing de Sande's decision to conduct this holy crusade. Straggling adventurers drifted into Manila from this terra incognita of the south, bringing reports of the rich pearl beds of Sulu policed by thousands of potential tribute-paying Mohammedans.

The conquest of the Philippines had been singularly unproductive of gold. In the pearly beds of Sulu, de Sande saw an opportunity to dim the luster of the golden trail left by Cortez. The crown in Madrid was impatient of this new country which lagged in its duty of filling the coffers of Castile.

The moment was propitious, for one of the endless inter-tribal wars of the Moros was in progress. Conditions in Borneo gave the Spaniards an excuse for armed intervention. The Sultan Sirela, ejected from the throne of Brunei, solicited aid from the Spaniards in his quest for a return to power.

With a fleet of forty ships manned by a force of several hundred Spanish soldiers and 1,500 Visayan auxiliaries, de Sande set out for Borneo. The expedition was a success in that the Spaniards defeated the forces which came against them. The city of Brunei was captured and burned, together with twenty-seven pirate ships; and more than one hundred brass cannons were taken.

But although the Moros were defeated in this first engagement they were far from subdued. A cordon was laid about the victorious Spanish force with the result that sickness and loss of food soon compelled the withdrawal of the troops of Spain. No conversion of the Mohammedans resulted, and the Moro as a payer of tribute still remained a vague and pleasant possibility.

During the return voyage to Manila, de Sande dispatched a party under Figueroa, of whom we shall hear more later, to attack the Moros in Mindanao and Sulu. Figueroa arrived before the town of Jolo in June of the year 1578. The result of this expedition was the first capture of Jolo, the hereditary capital of the Mohammedans in Sulu. Figueroa made a surprise call on the city and finding most of the inhabitants away on a pirate cruise, was able to partially burn the rows of scattered *nipa* huts and retire.

The Te Deums sung in Manila upon the return of de Sande were rudely interrupted by the series of terrible raids which centered upon the northern

islands. To avenge the burning of their capital, the Moros sent immediate retaliatory parties to the coasts of Luzon and the Visayas. These expeditions became more and more frequent, and terrible depredations were committed by the Moro pirates.

The Spanish veterans, fresh from the conquests of Mexico and Peru, and more recently from the easy victories in the northern islands, held the Moros in sight esteem in the sixteenth century. The rumblings of Legaspi were forgotten and Spain entered confidently into conflict with the infidels of the south.

The self-assurance with which the Spanish government sent a few hundred troops against thousands of determined native warriors remains one of the most astounding things in history. In general, the principle was successful. In a few cases it failed. It was this fanatical belief that the Toledo blade was invincible that cost the life of Magellan at Mactan. The Moros of Mindanao, singularly unappreciative of Spanish valor, proved to be of sterner breed than the Aztecs.

Spain still remained to be convinced that her arms would not prevail in Mindanao within a few years at most. The extra ordinary decree of King Philip of Spain indicates that the Spaniards anticipated no lengthy war in Mindanao.

After a suitable period of thought behind the walls of a monastery, King Phillip made known to his vassals in the Philippines the provisions of this remarkable and naïve Royal Decree.

"The European forces of the Colony shall consist of 400 men-at-arms, divided into six companies, each under a Captain, a Sub-Lieutenant, a Sergeant, and two Corporals. The pay of which shall be as follows: Captain \$35, Sub-Lieutenant \$20, Sergeant \$10, Corporal \$7, rank and file \$6, besides an annual dispensation of \$10,000 to be prorated among the troops²

"Natives unsubjected to the Crown (Moros) shall pay a small recognition of vassalage until subdued and subsequently the tribute in common with the rest³.

"No Spaniard or native is henceforth to make slaves. All new-born slaves are declared free. All slaves from ten years of age are to become free upon reaching the age of twenty. Slaves more than twenty years of age are to serve five years and then become free.

"In the most remote and unexplored parts of the Islands, the Governor is to have free and unlimited powers to act as he should please."

With this royal carte blanche before them, the Spaniards took up anew the endeavor to bring the Moros into subjugation and to smash the slave markets of Sulu.

During the reign of Sultan Muhammed Halim Pangiram, Captain Figueroa made an expedition to southern Mindanao with instructions from Governor-General de Sande as follows:

"The first is that they shall cease to be pirates, enslaving whenever they can.

"You shall order that there not be not among them any more preachers of the sect of Mohammed since it is evil and that of the Christian alone is good.

"And because, for a short time since, the Lord of Mindanao has been deceived by the preachers of Burney⁴, and the people have become Moros, you shall tell them that our object is that they shall be converted to Christianity, and that he must grant a safe place where the law of Christianity be preached and natives may hear the preaching and be converted without risk or harm from the chiefs.

"And you shall try to ascertain who are the preachers of the sect of Mohammed and to seize and bring them before me.

"And you shall burn or tear down the house where the evil doctrine is preached.

"And you shall order that it not be rebuilt."⁵

During the subsequent expedition, Figueroa fought the Moros in Sulu and Mindanao in what turned out to be a mere raid of the country. If he had carried out the orders of Governor de Sande, the Moros would have been informed that the Spanish object was to convert them to Christianity. This interference with their religious beliefs paved the way for legitimate *jihads*⁶, or holy wars, as authorized by the tenets of the Koran.

Upon the return of Figueroa to Manila, the mosques burned by his party were rebuilt, and a powerful alliance between the potentates of Mindanao and Sulu developed to resist the desecration of the Mohammedan faith.

This alliance gave great stimulus to piracy. Corsairs went out under the full sanction of the Sultan and every port of the colony was ravished. Not a single peopled island was spared and whole villages were murdered or carried into captivity. For a period of more than four years, Spain was forced to suspend all tributes from the Christian subjects of the Visayan Islands who had been impoverished by the Moro raids.

The flood of piracy loosed by Figueroa's first campaign only encouraged the Spaniards to greater efforts. Whatever his other limitations, the conquistadore of the golden age of Spain was blessed with terrific confidence. These warrior-priests offer some of the strangest contrasts in history.

We have the spectacle of barefooted priests leading a frenzied attack on a Moro *cotta*, mercilessly putting the garrison to the sword with unbelievable tortures. In the middle of the fray we see these same priests laying down their swords to offer benedictions for the heathen their Toledo blades had cut down.

We find the same Missioners who tirelessly conducted a religious campaign which involved the tender ministrations of doctor, nurse and spiritual guide, calmly putting an ignorant house servant to the garrote for the theft of a crust of bread.

We see the priesthood substituting for the golden idols of the natives, an image of dark wood, with the comforting assurance *"that God, as a benediction, has changed the golden color of the image to a brown color like them."*

We find religious parades and the chanting of Te Deums in the morning followed by the slaughter of hundreds before the sun goes down. Truly the conquistadores were remarkable fanatics.

Knowing these things we cannot find it strange that history records Figueroa blandly proposing to Governor de Sande in 1596 the conquest of Mindanao under the following terms:

"Said Figueroa binds himself and promises to pacify and colonize the said island of Mindanao at his own expense, within a period of three years."

Picture if you can, this suave adventurer standing in the Governor's palace in Manila, swearing on his blade to subdue an area of 38,000 square miles peopled by the finest fighting men in the world. And all within a period of three short years!

There were certain strings attached to this offer of Figueroa. He offered his person and his means in exchange for the trifling consideration of the looting privilege (as Governor) for a period of ten years. It was an ambitious program and it is unfortunate (for Figueroa) that he was unable to survive to see its successful accomplishment.

With the keys to Mindanao in his pocket and his mind filled with visions of the fortune that is to be his, we see the Adelantado Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa setting out for Mindanao in 1596 with three priests and a company of soldiers.

In May of that year he arrived at the mouth of the Rio Grande river in Cotobato, which he ascended as far as Buhayen into the territory of the Moro chieftain, Silongan. The forest was deceptively silent and the party effected a landing upon the beach without difficulty.

If Figueroa was haunted by the shadow of the gallant de Ribera who had passed that way in 1578, his subsequent activities do not make the fact evident.

The soldiers are lined upon the beach and the Adelantado addresses them: *"Soldiers of Felipe, we stand upon the newest soil of Spain. To subdue this dark forest and rid the soil of the infidel Moslem is our aim. They shall submit as vassals and converts or fall before the Spanish blades. Forward to our duty for King and country."*

The soldiers properly inspired, a reconnoitering party is sent out to survey the state of the resistance. After they have been gone a few moments, the Adelantado grows restless and, collecting a party of soldiers about him, he hastens into the woods after the scouting party.

A few hundred yards from the beach the party is assaulted, and Figueroa is cleaved almost in two by a kris in the hands of the younger brother of Silongan. The jungle is suddenly alive, and after a terrific battle, the Spaniards pick up their wounded leader and retire to the beach, where a barricade is raised against the Moros.

Six hours later, the Adelantado raises himself weakly from the hummock of reddened white sand and murmurs: *"They have killed me."*

Then there passes from his mind forever all thought of the conquest of Mindanao.

With the death of Figueroa, the survivors of the ambush flee to Manila and the colonization project comes to an abrupt ending.

Father Crevas, the Spanish historian, writing in 1860, looks back two hundred and fifty years to Figueroa and takes a somewhat more charitable view of the fiasco. The good father remarks:

"Figueroa was accompanied by Father Juan del Campo and Brother Coadjutor Gaspar Gomez. At Tampacan, a place about a league upstream from Tumbao, he set foot in 1596 and the conquest seemed sure when his boldness made him advance to find his death in an ambush of the Moros."

Command of the retreat of the leaderless party of colonists was assumed by one Juan de la Jara, whose chief activity appears to have been an amorous pursuit of the charming widow of the Adelantado Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa.

1 The Spaniards named the Mohammedans of Mindanao and Sulu Moros. It was but natural that they should confuse the Moslems of this country with the Moors so recently expelled from Spain.

2 Probably Mexican dollars worth approximately fifty cents in American currency.

3 The King's tribute was fixed during this period at ten reales per annum per person (about \$1.12 in American currency).

4 Borneo

5 P. Postells. Volume I, Page 140.

6 The *jihad* against unbelievers is enjoined by the Koran. It consisted of organized warfare against the Christians and should not be confused with the religious rite of running *juramentado* which developed late in the Spanish period. *Juramentados* and *amuks* are explained in detail in a later chapter.

8. First Footholds in Moroland

While the Spaniards had been putting out these tentative feelers in the expeditions of de Sande and Figueroa, the Moros had been engaging the enemy in the north. Fleets of pirate vessels sailed almost on schedule from the Samal stronghold on Balanguingue¹ Island to harass the coasts of Luzon and the Visayas. During the years 1595 and 1596, Manila suffered almost constant pirate raids. Spanish history has preserved one instance during this period of the capture of a Moro *prao* at the mouth of Manila Bay by the Spanish armed sloop *San Martin*.

The pirate vessel had been commanded by Datu Abdulla Carrahil, who had aboard with him his wife, Mahal, and two young daughters, Mildas, aged eighteen, and Lincad, aged sixteen. A search of the hold of the pirate ship revealed two Spanish priests, bound tightly with ropes of *bejuco* fiber. The pirate ship was loaded with a cargo of bolts of silk, gold dust and beads which had been looted along the coast.

After deliberation, the captain was found guilty of piracy and sentenced to death. The two young daughters were converted to Christianity and committed to a convent.

As the hardy Moro was being escorted under a guard of halberdiers to the public place of execution, he contrived to elude the piquet and escape to Sulu. Forthwith, with characteristic Spanish justice, the young daughters were haled from the sanctuary of the convent and hanged in the place reserved for their father.

These isolated captures had no effect on the pirate activities. The Moros accepted the non-return of a boat as part of the game. To them piracy was the profession of a gentleman; if they looked for loot and slaves on a pirate cruise, they also looked for death.

The closing years of the sixteenth century found the Mohammedan power to the south the only bar to a Christianized Philippines. Following the passing of Figueroa, a persistent stream of adventurers began to filter into Mindanao, encouraged by the exhortations of the priests.

In November 1596, Juan Ronquillo arrived at Caldera Bay, fifteen miles north of the present site of Zamboanga, where he built a block house as a base of operations against the Cotobato Moros. Captain Paches was left in the outpost at Caldera Bay with a small garrison which passed into historical oblivion. Repeated Moro assaults soon wiped out this small detachment of unknown martyrs and the place thereafter proved untenable to the Spaniards.

In 1598 a strong expedition was dispatched to Jolo. Severe fighting was experienced, and the company returned to Manila leaving nothing to show for the visit but a reddened beach stained with Spanish blood.

The government of General de Guzman, which came to an end in 1602, witnessed great piratical raids from Sulu. In 1599, a great fleet of fifty pirate ships plundered the coasts of the Visayas. The islands of Negros, Panay and Cebu suffered so horribly that many of the coast towns became depopulated, with the inhabitants either held in slavery in Sulu or fugitives in the mountains.

The century ended with the military status of the Moros still undefined. The fighting had consisted of a series of abortive raids, with the advantage very much in favor of the Moros. The serious conquest of Mindanao was not to begin until the seventeenth century. The Spaniards, sobered by the reverses of their arms in Mindanao and Sulu, made provision for the formation of a serious military policy against the Moros.

The first days of the year 1600 were filled with feverish activity on the pirates island of Balanguingue. Panglima² Abdulla had ordered a concentration of the *mangangayao* (pirates) of Sulu. Daily the swift-sailing *vintas* visited the outlying islands bearing the news of the rendezvous. In the citadel on the hill the women prepared rice cakes and filled long bamboo tubes with water for the fighting men soon to put to sea. Moro blacksmiths pumped their goatskin bellows, putting the final temper in the kris blades which were to soon cross with the swords of the Spaniards.

Down on the beach, the *garays*, the long, forty-oared outrigger boats of the pirates, were drawn up to be conditioned for the trip. Fresh bindings of *bejuco* vine secured the lashings of the outriggers, and the gaily colored sails were repaired and renewed.

At length all was ready and the pirate fleet put to sea, threading its way carefully through the knife-edged coral reefs that surrounded their fortress. The breeze of the northeast monsoon bellied the sails and the fighting ships, seventy in number, sailed in a huge crescent, with Abdulla's carved prow pointing the way.

Their course led them east of Basilan Island and the peninsula of Zamboanga, across the open sea to the eastern tip of Negros Island and thence through the straits to the capital of Panay.

Eight thousand Moro warriors fell upon the city of Ilo-Ilo without warning. A few fishermen, trolling for *taraquita* in the early morning hours saw the pirate armada bearing down upon the town. They fled to the shore, and raced through the streets crying, "El Moros, El Moros -- the pirates are upon us."

The defenses of the town were hastily organized under the direction of the Governor. Arquebusiers were posted at the walls and the brass cannon were rammed to the throat with iron fragments.

A heavy tropic rainstorm partially shielded the movements of the Moros. The arquebusiers at the walls shivered as the rain pelted on their leather jerkins. With their powder wet, the battle would develop into a contest of *kris* against the Toledo blade. "Holy Virgin protect us from death on the *Kris*."

In the first savage rush, the Moros scaled the walls. The mouths of the cannon blazed once and then were silent. There was no time to reload. The artillerists fell beside their silent pieces, struck down by the wavy-edged weapons of the Mohammedans. Discipline was forgotten and the retreat from the walls to the center of the town was a massacre.

At the door of the Government building the badly wounded Governor of the town rallied his men. With blood streaming from a ghastly wound in his shoulder, he grasped his sword for the last time. The wave of Mohammedans reached the small force, hesitated briefly, and engulfed it forever.

Abdulla then gave the town of Ilo-Ilo over to organized loot. Detachments of Moros looted the churches and rounded up the fleeing women and children. Krismen passed from house to house down the narrow streets, ferreting out the frightened women.

In the plaza of the ruined town, the plunder was collected in a great pile. White-skinned Spanish women mingled with the brown Visayan girls in the long line assembled for the inspection of Abdulla. The fairest of the women were selected for the harems of Sulu; the ill-favored were relegated to slavery, together with the children. The male survivors of the conflict were put to the *kris*. The citizens who escaped into the hills looked down that night upon a burning city as the krismen turned the prows of their *garays* back to Sulu.

The pirate raid was cruel but effective. It discouraged further Spanish aggression in Mindanao for thirty years. The expedition of Figueroa and the burning of the Mohammedan mosques had let down a hornet's nest about the ears of the Spaniards. For almost half a century Spain made no reply to the terrible raids loosed upon the north. Piracy grew worse with each succeeding year. Churches were plundered and priests carried away for ransom. The Spaniards were so helpless against this tide from Sulu that Moro corsairs raided to the very wharves of Manila. Visayan mothers frightened their crying children into silence by repeating the dread word "Moro".

However, a word must be said in defense of the Moros. They held no monopoly on cruelty in these seventeenth century days. The conquistadore was notorious for his vile treatment of the people he brought under subjection.

Batolome de Las Casa, the Spanish historian who died in 1566, indicts his own countrymen in his "History of the Indies". He mentions the seven year administration of governor Ovando in Hispanola which was "so full of horror that his name cannot be mentioned without a shudder." Ovando raped the wife of the Indian chieftain Caonabo and afterwards tortured her to death after making her witness the burning alive of her husband. Cortez murdered by treachery the military leaders of the Aztecs and took the daughter of Montezuma for a concubine.

John Fiske tells us in "The Discovery of America":

"It was cheaper to work an Indian to death and get another than to take care of him, and accordingly the slaves were worked to death without mercy. From time to time the Indian rose in rebellion, but these attempts were savagely suppressed and a policy of terror adopted. Indians were slaughtered by the hundred, burned alive, impaled upon sharp sticks, torn to pieces by blood-hounds. In retaliation for the murder of a Spaniard it was thought proper to call up fifty or sixty Indians and chop off their hands. Little children were flung into the water to drown, with less concern than if they had been puppies. Once, 'in honor and reverence of Christ and his twelve Apostles,' the Spaniards hanged thirteen Indians in a row at such height that their toes could just touch the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword points, taking care not to kill them quickly."

Reading further in Fiske, we find another example of the cruelty of the conquistadores:

"At another time, when some old reprobate was broiling half a dozen Indians in a kind of cradle suspended over a slow fire, their shrieks awoke the Spanish captain who in a neighboring hut was taking his afternoon nap, and he called out testily to the man to despatch those wretches at once, and stop their noise. But this demon, determined not to be balked of his enjoyment, only gagged the poor creatures."

In the Philippines the vile treatment meted out to the Negrito women by the expedition of General Primo de Rivera in 1881, delayed the subjection of these mountaineers for a decade, as the Negritos preferred to die rather than submit.

Foreman mentions in his book "The Philippine Islands":

"The license to indulge in by white men at the expense of the mountaineers -- and boasted of to me personally by many Spanish officers -- raised the veil from the Spanish protestations of wishing to benefit the race they sought to subdue."

The Spaniards put to death without mercy the occupants of captured Moro *cottas*. They had refinements in cruelty undreamed of by the Moros they

opposed. Where the Spaniards worked their slaves to death, we have the pleasing picture of Moros treating their menials with kindness. Sawyer tells us in his "Inhabitants of the Philippines":

"The Moros do not always treat their slaves with cruelty, they rather strive to attach them to their new home by giving them a female captive or a slave-girl they have tired of, as a wife, assisting them to build a house, and making their lot as easy as is compatible with getting some work out of them. But perhaps the greatest allurements to one of these slaves is when his master takes him on a slave-raid, and gives him the opportunity of securing some plunder, and perhaps a slave for himself. Once let him arrive at this stage, and his master need have no fear of his absconding."

The Moro was the first foe of the conquistador who understood equally well the fundamental Spanish principles of treachery and lust for loot. He was not to be misled by honeyed words of the Spaniards. His conquest had to be sought sternly at the point of the Toledo blade and the Spaniards proved unequal to the task.

In their dealings with the Moros, the Spaniards exhibited a treachery exceeding that of their Mohammedan antagonists. They attempted the old deceit, so successful in Mexico and Peru, of seizing the Moro leaders under the guise of friendship. What had succeeded in Mexico, however, was to fail in Mindanao.

The Moros were great anticipators. They met treachery with treachery; guile with guile. Most of all, they met steel with steel.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Spaniards had no answer to these Moro depredations for a period thirty years. They did, however, send a punitive expedition to Sulu during 1600, the same year which witnessed the terrible attack on Ilo-Ilo. This force, under the command of Juan Gallinato, made an unsuccessful attack upon the Moro capital at Jolo. Two hundred Spaniards floundered through the swamps and forests to be systematically butchered by the Moros.

Two years later, in 1602, another Spanish force was sent against Jolo. After three months of severe fighting, which ended in a rout of the Spaniards, the government abandoned for the time all attempts to subjugate the Mohammedans.

To preserve Spanish prestige in the East, a baffled government sent a strong force under Pedro Acuna against the Portuguese in the Moluccas. Ternate, Tidore, Marotoy and Herraio were captured and a Spanish garrison of 700 men was left to maintain order.

Encouraged by this success against the Portuguese, but still avoiding the Moros of Sulu, the Spaniards made the tactical error of attacking the blood

brothers of the Moros in Java. They found these Mohammedans just as fierce as their brethren in Sulu. The expedition ended in a series of defeats for the Spaniards and the once proud party returned in disgrace to Manila.

These "red herring" expeditions only postponed the evil day when the Spaniards would be forced to return to Mindanao. The resumption of the assault in the Philippines began again in about 1629 when the Spaniards succeeded in establishing a foothold in the extreme northern part of Mindanao. This region was very lightly held by the Moros and was farthest removed from the kingdom of Sulu.

This Spanish settlement, founded near the present site of Surigao, was put to continuous fighting to preserve its existence from bands of wandering Moros. The garrison of the small fortress lived a ghastly life. At times it was impossible to relay food through to the beleaguered soldiers, and many of the troops died of starvation in the midst of a land of plenty.

With this new base on the edge of Moro country, expeditions against Jolo were launched in 1628 and again in 1630. No good resulted from either attack and the Spaniards were face to face with the unpleasant fact that the first century since Magellan had accomplished nothing in Mindanao. Mohammedanism had been established a bare fifty years before the arrival of Magellan, but the time had been sufficient to put iron in the already case-hardened souls of the defenders of the Faith of the southern islands.

1 see chapter on Moro pirates.

2 see appendix for an explanation of Moro titles.

9. Corcuera and Almonte

The one thing most vitally needed by Spain was a strong fortress situated well within the territory of the Moros. Such a station would have to be amply fortified to withstand the Moro attacks, in order to insure a secure haven for all of the Spanish forces in Mindanao and Sulu. The Spaniards pored over the inadequate maps of the Moro territory, seeking a fortunate location of such post.

In 1635, Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, Governor-General of the Philippines, received reports relative to the Moro power concentrated about the site of the present city of Zamboanga. During that year, Padre Juan Batista Vilancio, who had been for years a captive in Jolo, escaped to Manila and brought to the ears of the Governor-General an account of the town where "*the nobility of Mindanao held court.*"¹

Salamanca resolved to take possession of this strategic peninsula, hoping in this manner to strike a heavy blow on to the Moro power. A fortress at Zamboanga would command the Straits of Basilan, the waters of which were the ordinary course of the pirate vessels infesting the coasts of Visaya. The region of Zamboanga, while not as important as the seats of the Sultans of Sulu and Mindanao, was nevertheless the territory of a minor king whose authority reached along both sides of the peninsula for a hundred miles on either side. Salamanca hoped to divide this unbroken front and his efforts were successful.

After due preparation, an expeditionary force under the command of Captain Juan de Chaves landed at Zamboanga on April 6, 1635. There de Chaves founded the town of Bagumbayan, which was the first name for Zamboanga, and from this station he soon reduced the towns of Caldera and Balvagan.

After Captain de Chaves' force of 300 well armed Spaniards and 1000 Visayans had cleared the peninsula temporarily of hostile Moros, the construction of one of the finest forts in the East was put into execution. On June 23, 1635, the foundations of the grand fortress of Nuestra Senora del Pilar was laid by Father Vera, engineer of the Spanish army.

The erection of this fortress was accompanied by serious interruptions in the way of Moro attacks. With only a portion of the massive walls in place, the Spaniards awoke one morning to meet the attack of 5,000 Moros, who entered Rio Hondo and hurled themselves upon the fortification.

The greatest weakness of the Moro as a fighting man has always been the inability to curb impatience. Siege work of a fortress is not for the Moros. Almost without exception, their attacks on a strongly fortified position were unsuccessful. Their policy is hand-to-hand attack upon sighting the enemy.

Cannon were hastily mounted upon the fragmentary walls and the Spaniards retired to the partial shelter to pour a terrible fire into the advancing Moros. The Moro wave broke on the uncompleted walls and the force eventually retired. Severe casualties were inflicted upon the Spaniards by the few bands of kris men who succeeded in penetrating the walls in the face of the cannon fire.

With the completion of Fort Pilar, a convenient base for operations paved the way for the first major victory of the Spaniards. This strong fortress, only ninety miles from the Moro capital, always remained as a serious bar to Moro aggression. The stout walls withstood many attacks, and in all of the long history of this fortress it was never captured.

The first victory for the men of the fortress and also the first major victory for Spain, was the destruction of a Moro pirate fleet. In 1636, Tagal, brother of the Sultan of Mindanao, gathered a large fleet recruited from Mindanao, Sulu and Borneo and made a cruise to the Visayan islands. The result was a glorious field day for the pirates. Every town of importance on the whole coast of the Visayas was looted.

When Tagal wearied of the slaughter and raised his hand to turn the prows of the pirate vessels to the south again, 650 captives lay trussed like chickens in the pirate hold.

One hundred miles from Jolo, a Spanish fleet, operating from the base at Zamboanga, intercepted the victorious Tagal as he rounded the treacherous angle of rough water at Puerta Flecha. Hampered by the hundreds of captives in the holds, the *garays* of Tagal were slow and unwieldy, and in the naval engagement that followed the Moros suffered a crushing defeat. Three hundred Moros, including Tagal, were killed, and 120 captives were set free. Tagal jettisoned many of the captives as the tide of battle turned against him, and the sharks at Puerta Flecha fed well on the bound bodies of Christian slave girls bound for the harems of Jolo.

The year 1635 had witnessed the arrival in Manila of a very efficient Governor-General and a perfect soldier. The coming of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera marked a period of success for the Spanish arms which was not to be equaled again until the mighty soldier Juan Arolas arrived 250 years later.

In all the history of the Spanish conquest, these two names stand out to eclipse all others. Corcuera and Arolas, the first in 1635 and the second in 1685, were the only two Spaniards to command the whole-hearted respect of the Moros. They were fighting men of the first caliber and equal to the best traditions of the conquistadores.

After the extermination of Tagal had been conducted at Corcuera's instigation, he proclaimed, in 1637, a Holy War against the Mohammedans. This grand old soldier pursued the campaign with his customary vigor. He went to

Zamboanga to take personal command of the expedition, and in February of 1637 he took the field against the *cottas* of the Sultan Correlat on the coast of Cotobato.

Correlat was one of the greatest figures of the Moros. He controlled a territory extending from Siocon to Davao, and it was said that more than 20,000 vassals acknowledged him as lord.

Corcuera found the *cotta* he attacked well fortified and garrisoned by a force of 2,000 Moros. In this campaign the Spaniards were a small force against fantastic odds.

The battle was the first Philippine counterpart of some of the campaigns of Cortez in Mexico. In routing Sultan Corellat at Lamitan, Corcuera deserves more credit as a fighting man than does Cortez for his successful assault upon the city of Mexico. The Moros had no legend of Quetzalcoatl to stay their *kris* against the blond-bearded Spaniards. Where the Aztecs viewed Cortez with religious superstition, the Moros had only religious hatred for Corcuera. Cortez had been the first white man to Mexico. The Rio Grande River in the Philippines had seen the rout of the two Spaniards who preceded Corcuera. Instead of the rude obsidian knives of the Aztecs, the Spaniards at Lamitan found themselves opposed by a flashing *kris* which was the equal of their Toledo blade. The lives of many of the soldiers of Cortez in Mexico were spared because of the desire of the Aztecs to take them alive for the sacrificial stone on the altar of Huitzilopochtli. In Mindanao the Moros sacrificed no captives; their object was to kill as quickly as possible with one stroke of the *kris*.

We see Corcuera mounting a small hill to look down into the court of Correlat which swarmed with thousands of naked, howling savages. We wonder what the old soldier thought as he gazed upon this scene. Two Spaniards had preceded him to Cotobato. Corcuera must have thought of Captain de Ribera bearing his sick men to sanctuary fifty-eight years before. He must have remembered that Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa had passed that way to die on the Rio Grande River.

Whatever Corcuera's emotions as he gazed down the valley to the horde of brown kris men waiting to resist him, there can be no question as to his valor. At a flourish of a mailed fist, the Spanish plumes disappeared into the wave of Moros.

We are indebted to Father Crevas for an account of this campaign. From him we learn that corcuera, with a squadron of small vessels and a dozen flat boats, entered the river, defying Correlat. *"The forces which he had were five companies; his own of 150 men, those of Captain Nicholas Gonzalez and Lorenzo Orella de Ugalde of 100 men each; another company of sailors; another of Pampangos; all the rest were rabble and pioneers. The same day he reached the river, he entered, with seventy men, the court of Correlat, defended by more than two thousand armed Moros."*

As we consider the caliber of the men who opposed Corcuera that day, we wonder how he kept his small company from being overwhelmed. The Spaniards had arquebuses, but they were slow and laborious to reload. A great deal of the combat must have been hand-to-hand. Pitched to religious fervor, a Moro was the equal to any Spaniard in hand-to-hand battle, and yet Corcuera survived to win a brilliant victory.

Lamitan, the court captured by Corcuera, appears to have been the town known at present as Pagalamatan. The *carabao* horn mail of the Moros proved ineffective against the arquebus fire, and the Spaniards carved their way through the court to force the retirement of the Moros.

Corcuera then divided his troops into two corps, one commanded by himself and the other under Nicholas Gonzalez. *"The latter entered from the rear the place where Correlat had retired as a last refuge, while Corcuera engaged from the front."*

This expedition does not appear to have penetrated farther than the delta of the Rio Grande River. Corcuera had passed the morning in sounding the river channel and giving chase to pirate vessels. The afternoon was devoted to the engagement with Correlat.

After spending six days in the vicinity of Lamitan, near the present site of the town of Cotobato, Corcuera retired after destroying sixteen towns and forcing Correlat to the mountains. Padre Cuervas continues:

"Accompanying Corcuera on this expedition was Father Marcelo Mastrillo who led the troops under the standard of St. Francis Xavier; Father Melchor de Vera, who carried home to Spain the banners of the Moros captured; Father Juan de Barrios, Gregorio Belin and Miguel Solana."

The spiritual was apparently not neglected in the Cotobato campaign!

Corcuera was a consistent soldier. The next year he duplicated his success in an assault upon Jolo. In January of 1638 he set sail for the Moro capital with eighty ships and a force of 2,000 men. For sixty years the city remained in Moro hands, and had successfully withstood Spanish attacks in 1628 and 1630. Not since Figueroa in 1578 had a Spaniard set foot in Jolo.

Corcuera found the town well fortified and garrisoned by several thousand warriors. After a siege of several months he captured the town and left a force of 200 Spaniards as a garrison. Corcuera retired to the safety of the walls of Fort Pilar in Zamboanga, leaving the inadequate Jolo garrison to develop into conspicuous martyrs of history.

This garrison remained in the Sulu capital for seven years, and there was never a day of the occupation that did not witness and assault of the Moros. Upon several occasions the garrison was almost exterminated, and a steady

stream of replacements filtered down from Zamboanga as the line of Spanish graves grew longer and longer.

Corcuera closed his campaign against the Moros with a series of indecisive battles against the Sultanates of Buhayen and Basilan, and in 1640 all Spanish forces were withdrawn to Manila with the exception of the pitiful garrison at Jolo. Fear of a war with the Dutch inspired this movement of the Spanish troops, but as nothing came of the threatened Dutch conflict the troops were returned to Mindanao to resume the assault.

Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera remains as one of the conspicuous figures of the Spanish conquest of Mindanao. He was a perfect soldier. His reward for distinguished service in the field against the Moros was paralleled by the treatment Cortez and Balboa received at the hands of the Spanish crown. During his term of office as Governor-General of the Philippines (1635-1644), he incurred the displeasure of the Friars, and upon being succeeded by Diego Fajardo, he was haled into court, fined \$25,000 and thrown into prison for five years. He was finally released by a Royal Order and given the tardy award of Governor of the Canary islands.

There was no worthy successor to Corcuera for more than a decade, and his equal did not appear on the Philippines for more than two centuries. The respect imposed by this grand campaigner was soon forgotten, and by 1645 we find conditions in Mindanao and Sulu more terrible than before. In that year there were more than 10,000 Christian slaves in Moro hands in Mindanao alone, and the harems of Sulu were filled with thousands of women from every nationality in the Philippines. During this period there began a series of ferocious wars in Jolo, which resulted in the ultimate wiping out of the Spanish garrison at the Moro capital during the year 1645. The garrison was not reestablished in Jolo again for almost a century.

Father Combes, writing in 1663, describes the Moro assault on a landing party at Jolo:

"The Moros were so eager to display their valor as well as confident humbling of ours, that scarcely had our troops reached land when the Moros came to meet them so resolute that, taking no account of bullets or campilanes, they struggled from five directions to penetrate our troops... to their natural ferocity the greater part had added that of opium² and like mad brutes they hurled themselves to their death, not fearing wounds. The campilanes made no impression upon them and they laughed at the arquebuses... fear could not restrain them and they pressed forward from five directions."³

By 1646 the situation had become so intolerable that the Spaniards negotiated terms for a lasting peace. On April 14 of that year a treaty was signed between Spain and the Sultan of Sulu. It remained in force only a short time. A permanent alliance between Spain and the Moros was impossible.

There remained always the intolerance of the Spanish priests and a fanatical desire to force Catholicism upon the equally rigid Mohammedans.

With the collapse of this treaty it became increasingly evident to the Spaniards that there was need for more fortifications. Accordingly, in 1649 it was decided to establish a chain of supporting forts in the Sibuguey country north of Zamboanga. This country, never penetrated to any extent by the Spaniards, was the seat of a strong Moro power directed from Cotobato.

On March 2, 1649, a decree from the Governor-General ordered the construction at Sabanilla in the Bay of Illana, of a fort capable of holding 200 men. According to Crevas, the work was placed under the supervision of Father Vera, who had accomplished such a miracle of engineering at Zamboanga.

Almonte came to Sabanilla and found at the scene of the work a reserve of reinforcements which had arrived from Manila in four small boats. Here the forces were organized for an intensive campaign against the Cotobato Moros. Almonte left as a garrison at Sabanilla, Captain Pedro Navarro and Sergeant-major Jose de Victoria with a force large enough to attract the attention of Sultan Correlat.

Sergeant-Major Pedro del Rio was then sent into Cotobato valley with a force of 1,000 well-armed men. He was accompanied by Father Guitierrez who was acquainted with the region due to previous service as Ambassador to the court of the Sultan of Mindanao.

Almonte then left Adjutant Alvaro Galindo with a force of sixteen vessels to attack the Moro villages along the coast, and he himself, with eight little boats, ascended the Rio Grande River for fifteen leagues to the fort of Sultan Moncay. Almonte was followed by several smaller vessels and a galley.

This campaign, a simultaneous assault upon the Moros from four directions, was the most ambitious action of the early Spanish conquest.

Arriving before the fort of Moncay, Almonte sent Adjutant Cristobal de las Eras with two brigantines to a point ten miles farther up the river where the Moros had an extensive plantation of sago. This plantation, cultivated by slaves and ill-defended by the Moros who were concentrated within the forts, was destroyed by De las Eras, together with all of the small vessels anchored there.

The loss of the plantation was a serious blow to the Moro defenders, as the sago represented an important part of their food supply.⁴

De las Eras then aided Almonte in the reduction of the *cotta* of Moncay, which was demolished by artillery fire after a four-day siege. The success was accompanied by the death of many Moros who hurled themselves upon the arquebuses of the Spaniards to seek death in preference to defeat.

While this major action was in progress, Captain Lopez Lucero carried a sizeable force to the mountains. Where he made a complete ruin of fields, groves, orchards and villages. Simultaneously, Sergeant-major Pedro de la Mata Vergara occupied the *cotta* of the brother-in-law of Sultan Moncay.

All of this done, Almonte left a suitable garrison and retired to the fort at Sabanilla.

The Spanish fort established at this time upon the ruins of the *cotta* of Moncay represented the extreme limit of Spanish penetration into the Cotobato Valley until shortly before the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. This Spanish fort, known as Boayen, was commanded successively by Captains Cristobal Marquez, Lopez Lucero, Francisco Zabala and Benavides y Sornaz. It was constructed of wood and nipa palm, with walls reinforced by earth filings. The fort was never of much value to the Spaniards as it was so completely isolated in the middle of unconquerable territory. Expeditions conducted from it were mere sallies, with immediate retreat to the walls of the fortress.

This mode of warfare distinguishes the whole Spanish conquest of Mindanao and Sulu. The countryside was never under Spanish control, and the soldiers were never able to walk with safety outside the walls.

The Spaniards had no mode of attack in Mindanao. In general, they waged a defensive warfare, building strong fortifications and staying within them.

1 This account, taken from the works of a Spanish priest, is not wholly accurate. The nobility held forth in Sulu and in the Lake Lanao district of Mindanao. Zamboanga was a pirate settlement and while important, it was under the technical domination of the Sultanate of Mindanao.

2 Probably the good Padre was misinformed, mistaking the fanaticism of the Mohammedan for drug-deadened insensibility to pain.

3 "Historia de Mindanao y Sulu" Combes.

4 In the records of this campaign, we find vague reference to the use of Punayama (the Alleviation herb) and the Satiety plant by the Moros in their

desperation at the loss of their food supply. Punayama was an herb supposed to be in common use among the Moros which deadened the flesh and was supposed to prevent fatigue. It was applied across the kidneys. The Satiety plant, when chewed, had the virtue of diverting hunger for as long as two days. There appears to be no proof of the use of these herbs, to which repeated references are made in the old Spanish histories..

10. The Sulu Pirate

So many allusions have been made to the pirate activities in Sulu that it seem necessary to devote a chapter to the organization of this not inconsiderable part of the Moro resistance to Spain. These small islands spawned the terrible freebooters who laid waste the coasts of the East Indian Archipelago.

In order to approach properly the subject of Piracy in Sulu it should be remembered that to the Moro, piracy was the profession of a gentleman. For centuries these Indonesian sailors pillaged the coasts in conducting a huge slave traffic which supplemented their legitimate trading voyages.

In the romantic literature of the sea, they are referred to as the "Malay pirates" and their exploits have been the basis for many stirring tales of fiction.

The pirates of Sulu are not, however, figures from a dim past. Their career extends down to the twentieth century. In 1868, the Governor-General of the Philippines issued the customary annual edict to the inhabitants of the coast towns, warning of the approach of the pirate season. As late as 1908, the *International Instructions to Mariners* carried warnings that the Straits of Basilan were infested with Sulu pirates. During this same year headlines in the newspapers carried advice of pirate outrages within twenty miles of the city of Zamboanga. Under the date of August 22, 1908, the *Mindanao Herald* of Zamboanga published a story of the pirating of a pearling lugger off Tonquil Island under the headline:

"Moro Pirates Attack Pearlers"

This after a decade of American occupation!

The Sulu pirates operated from well-fortified strongholds located at strategic points in the southern islands. The expeditions were organized to a degree comparable to modern warfare. The Moro pirates guarded their settlements with pretentious cottas constructed upon hill crests. The walls of these forts were of a double thickness of tree trunks solidly filled with earth or coral rock. The fortresses were nearly square, and upon the walls were solid posts mounting brass swivel cannon. Some of these walls were as much as thirty feet in height and many were more than twenty feet in thickness.

Sitanki Island, at the extreme southern tip of the Philippine group and only fourteen miles across the straits from Borneo, was one of the favorite posts of the pirates. For centuries a pirate garrison was maintained there to command this sailing route of Australian clippers. The shores of Sitanki are strewn with the wrecks of noble ships that fell victims to these pirates. Many towering

clippers, listed in the annals of sea as missing, found their resting place on the white sands of Sitanki.

The big clippers were boarded far out on the rollers of the open sea by fleets of swift-sailing pirate ships. Not even the well-armed ships of exploration escaped the notice of the Sulu pirates.

As mentioned previously, another great pirate base of the Moros was on Sarangani Island near Mindanao, where extensive slave-trading operations were conducted. Another citadel was at Mambarao on Mindoro Island, eventually destroyed by a Spanish fleet from Cavite. Still another was on Burias Island, within striking distance of Manila which is only ninety miles away.

The main seat of the pirate activity was in the Samales group of islands south of Basilan Island. Here, at Balanguigue and Tonquil Islands, the Moros constructed great forts which were ingeniously protected by shallow coral reefs and towering walls of earth. These strongholds were a source of constant annoyance until the year 1848, when an attack by a Spanish steam gun-boats under Claveria resulted in their complete destruction.

The story of the bloody assault on Balanguigue and Tonquil belongs properly in the section devoted to the later phases of the Spanish-Moro conflict, and it may be found there in the chapter called "The Later Wars."

To a casual inquirer, piracy might appear to have been a casual and disorganized profession, conducted upon purely individual lines. During the course of the seven years devoted to the collection of material for this book, the writer found much to alter such belief. In the course of conversations with the old men of many barrios and with other reformed pirate characters of the coast, it became apparent that piracy in Sulu waters was a well-organized business. It is true that we find evidences of many raids presided over by individual geniuses and conducted without the sanction of the Sultan, but in the main, piracy appears to have been well-developed along privateer lines.

The pirates in general (excluding the unauthorized raids of individuals), appear to have been separated into two classifications.

The first of these consisted of the Sultanic expeditionary forces, who plundered under the direction of the ruler and who held commissions as a part of the armed forces of the Sultan. Under the command of a Datu, these naval forays were conducted to enrich the strong-box and the harem of the Sultan. At the conclusion of the expedition, the booty was placed in a pile and the captured women were ranged in a line. After the royal inspection, the Sultan made a selection from the two treasures and the balance was distributed among the officers and crew.

The second and logical development of piracy occurred with the formation of the privateers. These expeditions, independently recruited by a *nakura*, or

commander, conducted forays under the sanction of the Sultan, to whom was paid a retainer of fealty amounting to one quarter of the spoil.

The pirates used a specialized vessel which came down through the years almost unchanged in its detail. This craft, called a *garay*, was a long narrow boat propelled by sails and bay a bank of forty or fifty oarsmen. With the *garay* was employed the smaller *vinta* as an auxiliary vessel. The *vinta* was a small sailing vessel equipped with bamboo outriggers (as was the *garay*), and capable of sailing at a tremendous speed.

Father Combes, in his "*Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago*," tells us: "Their boats were built with a view to piracy and are designed especially for speed. Many of these boats provide for a crew of sixty men although they are only twelve *brazo's*¹ in length. I have seen one that was manned by three hundred hands. Outriggers of bamboo give them the steadiness and strength."

Captain Thomas Forrest, who sailed the small *sapit*, *Tartary Galley*, in the Philippines in 1774, also gives us a picture of the pirate vessel of the day. He mentions seeing in the harbor of Cagayan, a pirate ship belonging to the Rajah which was outfitting for a cruise of the Philippines. The ship was of four tons burden and was armed with four *lantakas* carrying a quarter-pound ball.

Forrest tells us: "They build their vessels of various dimensions and employ them in trading from one port to another, often cruising the Philippines Islands for slaves and plunder. They cruise also as far as the island of Java and the islands of Celebes and Borneo, seizing whatever *praos* they can master. The vessels are always very long for the breadth."

The pirates were horrible in attack. They employed as weapons the *kris*, the wavy-edged sword with a double cutting surface, the blade of which was incised with blood channels. The wooden or ivory handle was often heavily ornamented with silver or gold. The *kris* is one of the most terrible offensive weapons to be developed by man. The frightful wounds inflicted by its wavy cutting edge are difficult to heal and the tremendous leverage engendered by the offset handle makes possible the cleaving in two of a man at a stroke, it has been stated that the remarkable temper of the kris furnished a cutting blade equal in every particular of the finest steel of Toledo and Damascus.

The kris was a boarding weapon for hand-to-hand conflict and was supplemented by the *barong*, a heavier, single-edged knife, and by the *campilan*, a tremendous two-handed sword.

For distant offensive work the Moro pirates made use of the *simbilan*, a small bamboo spear with an iron or fire-hardened point. The dexterity with which the Moros handled this weapon was amazing. Some of the pirates were able to hurl as many as five of the spears in one motion, causing them to spread in their flight. They were intended primarily to force the crews of

attacked vessels to seek cover, during which interval the Moros could board for close work with the *kris*, *barong* and *campilan*.

For artillery, the Moros employed the *lantaka*, probably the oldest form of portable ordnance in the world. The *lantaka* was a brass swivel cannon, often as long as six feet and capable of propelling a half-pound ball. The *lantaka* was bored by hand. The long guns were sunk into a pit and carefully packed with dirt to maintain them in a vertical position. The barrel was then bored by a company of men walking around and around to turn the crude hand bits. Considering the conditions under which these cannon were manufactured, the workmanship was remarkable.

The Moros were not familiar with the compound swivel, permitting a movement in any direction, as used on the mounts of modern machine guns. In consequence, the range of the *lantaka* was limited, as the amount of vertical elevation was small.

All available evidence indicates that the use of the *lantaka* has been known to the Moros for a period of at least five centuries. It was probably introduced to the Philippines from Borneo. Jernigan's "*History of the Philippines*," notes that Goiti, at the capture of Manila in 1570, observed a clay and wax mold of a brass cannon more than fifteen feet in length.

Until recent years, the *lantaka* was valued very highly by the Moros. It was not until they had become thoroughly convinced of the superiority of the modern high-powered rifle, that the Moros could be prevailed upon to sell a *lantaka* for less than five hundred pesos. In recent years their value has declined greatly.

The Sulu pirates wore coats of mail, fashioned of plates of the horn of the *carabao* and fastened with lengths of brass wire. This armor was effective against edged weapons but provided no protection against the arquebus fire of the Spaniards.

No adequate defense against these pirates was developed until the advent of steam gun-boats in 1848. The old Spanish men-of-war were unable to cope with the swift-sailing pirate ships. A special force was raised in the Philippines in the later days of the struggle with the Moros. This anti-pirate force, called the *Marina Sutil*, or light navy, was a patrol system devised by Spain.

The men of the *Marina Sutil* operated from flat boats propelled by sails and oars. The boats were half-decked forward and carried a long brass cannon with smaller swivel guns at the quarters. The boats were coppered on the bottom to allow scraping on the coral reefs with a minimum of damage, and were fitted with an after cabin. They carried a crew of fifty to sixty men. Flotillas of the *Marina Sutil* patrolled the seas of Sulu for more than a decade in a vain attempt to curb piracy. They were succeeded by steam vessels in 1848.

As a part of the armed resistance against Spain, the pirates played a not inconsiderable part in the demoralization of the Spaniards. They were very valuable naval aids to the land forces of the Moros. We find Father Combes writing in 1860: "The depredations live in the memories of the Visayans and especially in Leyte where there is scarcely a town which is not lamenting its ruin; who came against our people in strong force, having robbed us of Palo the capital and ruined all of the towns of the coast, carrying prisoner the Father Redentor who exercised office for the entire country, and obliged villagers to flee to the mountain towns for protection. The Moros supported themselves by their own valor, setting their courage against all and failing against none. It is a nation that is brave on land and sea."

When Wallace, the great English naturalist, visited the Malay Archipelago in the nineteenth century he was particularly impressed by the activity of the pirates. We find him writing: "Opposite us and along the coast of Batchian, stretches a row of fine islands completely uninhabited. Whenever I asked the reason why no one goes there to live, the answer was always, "*For fear of the Maguindanao pirates.*" The scourges of the archipelago wander every year in one direction or the other, making their rendezvous on some uninhabited island, and carrying desolation to all of the settlements around... their long well-manned *praos* escape from the pursuit of a sailing vessel by pulling away right into the wind's eye, and the warning smoke of a steamer generally enables them to hide in some shallow bay or narrow river or forest covered inlet until the danger is past."

An encounter with these pirates is related by Wallace in "The Malay Archipelago": "A small *prao* arrived which had been attacked by pirates and had a man wounded... The natives were of course dreadfully alarmed as these marauders attack their villages, burn and murder and carry away their women and children as slaves. Several *praos* were sent out to search for them, sentinels were appointed and watch fires lighted on the beach to guard against the possibility of a night attack. The next day the *praos* returned and we had definite information that these scourges of the Eastern seas were really among us. One of the *praos* had been attacked as it was returning. The crew escaped in their small boat and hid in the jungle while the pirates came up and plundered the boat. They had four large war boats and fired a volley of musketry as they came up and sent off their small boats to attack. Two other *praos* were also plundered and the crews murdered to a man. They are said to be Sooloo pirates."

In defense of the pirates of Sulu, it must be said that the Moros fought Spain with the weapons at hand. Theirs was the invaded country and theirs was the imperiled religion; they had a choice of weapons in this duel with Spain. Not the least of the weapons employed were the pirates of Sulu. They were extremely formidable antagonists and the victories they won on the sea were an important aid in the thwarting of the Spanish conquest of Mindanao and Sulu.

This volume attempts in no way to make heroes of the Moro pirates. No more blood-thirsty crew of buccaneers has sailed the oceans of the world. But they were as legitimately a part of the organized resistance against Spain as were the privateer fleets of any nation in wartime.

They murdered and enslaved and looted, but war at its kindest is always cruel and the Moros held no monopoly in the execution of atrocities. The Spanish-Moro struggle was a religious war with two rival groups of intense fanatics in a struggle which sought the extermination of the loser.

The military history of a people must treat not with causes but with effects. Blood-thirsty as these pirates were, their methods were successful, and they must be given credit for their remarkable seamanship and extreme bravery under fire. Of such virtues is martial history constructed. Their Spanish antagonists conceded to them the virtues of superlative skill upon the sea and an unquenchable eagerness in attack.

Their method of attack was a simultaneous assault from all directions, approaching close under the sides of a vessel in order to hurl their spears with the greatest effect. The pirates were careless of the cost of victory, and frequently a quarry was not captured until every member of the pirate crew bore at least one honorable wound.

The pirates of Sulu were eliminated as an organized body in 1848. The destruction of the scattered survivors was accomplished by the American forces during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Piracy was replaced by the smuggling which still persists in the islands of Sulu in spite of the stabilizing effect of thirty years of American occupation.

The piracy of Sulu was a sea phase of the military history of the Moros. The superb seamanship of the Moros exhibited as pirates, when taken in conjunction with their military prowess against the land forces of Spain, gives deservedly to the Moros the proud title of *amphibian warriors of the Pacific*.

1 A *brazo* was equivalent to a fathom, or six feet.

11. A Century of Conflict

During this period of brilliant sea victories and successful pirate raids of magnitude, the title of victory flowed very strongly in favor of the Moros. The pirate raids on the Visayas nullified to a great extent the splendid victories of Corcuera and Almonte in Cotobato. The struggles on land rapidly assumed a condition of virtual stalemate.

Following the successful campaigns of Corcuera in 1637, we find no supporting Spanish expeditions for more than two decades. Hostilities were resumed in 1658, when a strong force took the field against the Moros under the command of don Francisco Estovar, Governor of Zamboanga. The expedition debarked before the Moro town of Mamucan in the Cotobato Valley. Here an action conducted by Don Pedro de Biruga, who, with a force of 180 Spaniards, destroyed the town of Butig, with many vessels and a quantity of rice.

Pressing this victory, the command was divided, one section being given to Don Fernando Bobadilla and the other to Sergeant-major Intamarren. The two divisions entered simultaneously from the two mouths of the Cotobato River, Intamarren proceeding to Tantilla, which he systematically looted, and Bobadilla entering the towns of Lumapuc and Boayen. A heavy concentration of Moro troops resulted in the forced evacuation of the Spaniards with nothing accomplished save the burning of a few unimportant *nipa* towns.

A period of comparative peace was now settled over the Cotobato Valley with the Spaniards making little effort to break the Sultanate of Mindanao. The burned villages were rebuilt and the desecrated mosques replaced. Moro blacksmiths quietly turned out weapons of matchless steel to combat further invasion of their country. There began a period of watchful waiting, with the Spaniards reluctant to resume the offensive.

In 1649, during the reign of Sultan Salhud Din Karamat, there was great trouble in the Moro provinces. The Spanish garrison at Jolo had been massacred and the capital passed into the hands of the Mohammedans again, not to be relinquished until a century had passed. Alliances between the Sulu and Mindanao potentates had greatly strengthened the Moro front. Spanish penetration of the Cotobato Valley had been definitely hampered, and the garrison in the main fortress at Zamboanga was confined to the walls by the circle of howling Moros who controlled the countryside.

By 1653 there were great unchecked depredations in Mindanao, which contributed to the abandonment of the fort of del Pilar at Zamboanga in 1663. By a decree of May 6, 1662, signed by Governor General Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, the mighty fortress was evacuated and the garrison returned to Manila.

The silent fort was destroyed by the Moros, who built in its place a pirate village.

With this thorn in the Moro side removed, the Sulu capital became hysterical with joy. Great pirate flotillas took to the water to sail unimpeded through the Straits of Basilan on great raids to the Visayas. The abandonment of the Zamboanga fortress was not, however, wholly due to Moro activity. Manila was threatened by an invasion of the Chinese pirate Koxinga and all troops were withdrawn to defend the city.

The period from 1650 to 1700 saw the Spaniards definitely on the defensive and waging a desperate war to maintain a suzerainty over the islands in the south. During this period, a strong united offensive on the part of the Moros would have ended the war, as Spain was incapable of maintaining their Mindanao footholds. A concentrated Moro attack upon Manila might have swept the Spanish entirely from the Philippine Islands.

But the Moro incapacity for cooperation again revealed itself this moment of assured victory. The beginning of the new century saw the Spanish cause greatly strengthened by rumbles of dissension among the Moros. In 1701 an unfortunate incident deprived the Moros of the solid front they had presented against the Spaniards.

The Sultan of Sulu departed for a friendly visit to the Sultan of Mindanao, carrying with him an escort of sixty-eight vessels. At the sight of this formidable squadron, Cutay, the successor of Correlat, caused the mouth of the river to be closed against the visiting fleet. This action so affronted the Sultan of Sulu that he forthwith challenged the rival potentate to single combat in full view of the two armies.

Within a circle of cleared area before the cotta of Cutay, the two Sultans fought to the death with kris and spear. Each killed the other and a bloody engagement between the two armies followed the individual combat of the Sultans. The Sulu Moros won the battle and returned to Jolo laden with spoils.

1

The incident is most descriptive of the Moro character. Other opponents lacking, they fought with each other. They fought for the love of combat. They competed eagerly for the privilege of dying on the field of battle. It was a quirk in the Moro character which Spaniards were never able to understand. With the battered Spaniards against the wall, the Moros lost interest in the campaign and turned aside to wage an intertribal war with their own countrymen.

The whole history of the Spanish-Moro wars indicates that at no time did the Moros consider the Spaniards of sufficient importance to honor them with their undivided attention. The Spaniards went at the conquest of Mindanao in a spirit of deadly solemnity. The Moros opposing them accepted the Spaniards as

another entry into the game, wandering off in the midst of the Spanish campaigns to engage Portuguese, English and others of their own tribesmen.

The Spaniards had one antagonist in Mindanao; the Moro had many antagonists. The ease with which the Moro wandered from one opponent to another was at once his greatest weakness and his greatest strength.

The Moros fought according to the rules of warfare. They rallied strongly after defeat, seemingly refreshed even by a struggle which went against them. They failed to press the advantages of a victory. They were defeated only to reappear unexpectedly. They struck successfully only to vanish. War was a serious business to Spain; to the Moros, it was an enjoyable game. It was all the most confusing to the Spaniards.

The early part of the seventeenth century saw the Spaniards in a frenzy of fort-building activity. Taking advantage of the Moro dissension, they rebuilt and strengthened the old fort at Iligan, and established new posts at isolated points in the southern islands.

The sufferings of the Spanish garrisons were almost beyond belief. Encompassed within stone walls, these miserable soldiers lived in constant fear of Moro attacks, and they were decimated by malaria. In the 1700's, the men of the garrison at Iligan died of starvation, with relief unable to break through the cordon of hostile Moros. Had the Moros been content to play a waiting game of systematic starvation of the Spanish garrisons, rather than risking all on a hand-to-hand encounter with the kris, they could have won a bloodless victory.

The Spanish activity of this period was not directed against the seat of Moro power in Jolo. They turned rather to the neutral ground on the island of Palawan. A Spanish fort was erected at Labo in Palawan in 1718. Supplies were sent only infrequently to the men of the garrison and the location of the fort itself was in a deadly malarial zone. Most of the garrison died without coming to grips with the Moros at all, and the fort was abandoned in 1720.

The Spaniards were, however, still interested in securing a foothold on Palawan as it offered a course of least resistance with less possibility of Moro attacks. In 1730, Captain Antonio Fabeau, at a remuneration of \$50 per month, was sent with troops to Palawan with orders to subdue the country. This announcement was equivalent to waving a red flag. The Moros, who had hitherto ignored Palawan, now descended in force upon the hapless garrison. The fort was repeatedly attacked, and hardly a member of the garrison survived the combination of rotting food and Moro kris.

In 1735 a settlement was established at Tay-Tay in Palawan, but this suffered the same fate as the fortress in Labo.

There has been preserved for us a contemporary account of the horrors of the Spanish outposts. Padre Crevas says in part:

As far as Balabac (Palawan) is concerned, its history shows the colors of a sorrowful tragedy, where the death of its first Governor, Senor Garnier, appeared like a pre-announcement of the many victims this deadly soil was to devour. The position of this little isle between Palawan and Borneo is eminently strategical and thus very wisely the government decided upon its occupation and colonization. We find that not a few of the men maliciously make ulcers or conceal them until the moment of embarking for Balabac, a point which imposes respect upon the soldiers. It is certain that the lack of things most necessary to life have added sometimes its rigors to those of the climate, and when the Elcano arrived from Balabac we found to our sorrow that since the end of December the garrison lacked meat, oil and lard, and only sustained itself with a liter and an eighth of rice daily. Thus it is that the state of entries into hospital and deaths are horrible. I will content myself with saying that in a town composed of two companies of 80 men each, of 150 sailors, 15 artilleries and 50 prisoners, in one year 122 people died.

The closeness with which the Moros confined the Spanish soldiers to the fort is shown by the lack of meat and lard in a country which abounded in deer, pigeons and wild boar.

The Spaniards proved unequal to the development of the Island of Palawan. At the time of the evacuation of the Philippines by Spain in 1899, we find but two stations on the entire island. At one of these, Balabac, Spain retained a small naval station with a force of twenty-two marines. The other post on Palawan was a gunboat station at Puerta Princesa manned by two companies of infantry. Two small gunboats made periodic patrols of the island and the station was visited by a mail steamer every twenty-eight days. The post at Puerta Princesa was of modern date, being established only twenty years prior to American occupation of the islands.

With this brief account of the dismal occupation of Palawan, we return to the fort-building era which began in the year 1718. During that year Governor-General Bustamente decided to rebuild the fortress at Zamboanga which had been abandoned in 1663. The erection of new walls was commended to General Gregorio de Padilla y Escalante. The fort was constructed upon the ruins of the old foundation, which was considered capable of sustaining the new structure. The building followed the delineations (sic) of Father Vera who had engineered the original structure, and the walls were fortified with sixty-one pieces of artillery.

Crevas describes this most famous fort of the Philippines for us:

"My first visit was to the royal Fortress of Nuestra Senora del Pilar. On nearing its blackened walls, I remembered those noted men of the company (Jesuit Order) to whom was due the foundation and maintainment (sic) of this presidio and bulwark. We entered into the fort by its only port which looks towards the north where the guard is formed. In the interior court we saw the

magazines, barracks, and prisons, and we went around the walls in all its circuit, examining the artillery which is composed of twenty-four cannon and some mortars. The fort is a perfect square, with bastions at each of its corners bearing the names San Luis, San Francisco Xavier, San Felipe and San Fernando.

"Above the Fort, sculptured in stone, the image of Pilar. Beneath the image of the Virgin I could read, although with much labor, the following inscription:

"Ruling over Spain his Catholic Majesty Don Felipe V, Emperor of the New American World, and governing these Philippine Islands the very illustrious Sr. Mariscal de Camp Don Fernando Bustillos Bustamente y Rueda, Governor and Captain-General, there was established and constructed this Royal Fort of our Lady of Pilar of Zamboanga, the 16th of April, the year 1719.'

"A little above there is read naother of this following tenor:

"Governing this presidio, Sr. Don Juan Antonio de la Torre Bustamente, this frontpiece was made in January of 1734 years."

The grand fort still stands in Zamboanga in much the same condition as Crevas saw it in 1860. It is the headquarters of the American army in the southern islands and is now known by the less romantic name of Petit Barracks. General Pershing, Wood and others of our finest officers have governed the Moro province from this old Spanish fortress.

The solidarity of the walls of Fort Pilar and the valor of the defendants were soon to be put to a serious test, for on December 8, 1720, there came against the place one Dalasi, the King of Butig, with an armada of one hundred vessels manned by several thousand Moros.

"The Moros vigorously attacked the fortification and with the utmost temerity planted ladders and scaled the first wall, it being not in a position to receive the greater part of the fire of cannon and rifles, when an enormous stone, thrown from the bastions took the life of Dalasi, precipitating him into the moat, when his men retired, covered with blood to their vessels."¹

The Moros were unable to move the largest of their vessels in time to prevent their capture by a sally party emerging from the fortress. The Spaniards fired (sic) the boats in the river after having sacked their cargo.

Hardly had this attack been beaten off when the Spaniards were called upon to repel a much more potent foe. The Kings of Mindanao and Jolo² presented themselves to the garrison at Zamboanga in the guise of friendship and under color of aiding the Spaniards against the King of Butig.³ Their duplicity becoming known, they threw off their masks and united with the vessels of the slain Dalasi, still standing by under the command of the brother of Dalasi.

The three armadas entered the river and blockaded the fortress. Thousands of Moros decamped from their *vintas* and hurled taunts against the beleaguered Spanish garrison.

In this emergency, an unknown and nameless Spanish priest made his way to the quarters of the Spanish Governor. We can never know the conversation which took place in the little room high on the fort's walls but we can well judge the heroism of that priest by an examination of the events which followed.

In the dark of the moon, a rope was let down from the fortress walls and the young priest, descending from the safety of the fort, made his way through the tight cordon of Moro pickets. Alone and unaided, he filched a tiny sailing *vinta* from among the Moro boats drawn up on the shore and sailed five hundred miles to Manila through a sea commanded by the sails of the Mohammedans. It was an impossible, gorgeous feat.

In Manila, this astounding priest demanded aid for the besieged fortress. A Spanish fleet sailed from Manila with a great firing of salutes and a solemn religious parade, but after proceeding as far as Cebu the commanders lost enthusiasm for a brush with the Moros and they tarried in that port without venturing on to Zamboanga. In vain the young priest raged and stormed; his courageous voyage ended in nothing, for the Spanish ships rocked at anchor in the harbor of Cebu and no attempt was made to raise the siege of the fortress at Zamboanga.

The history of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines is filled with reference to the bravery of the militant priests of the Jesuit order. These ambidextrous missionaries, Cross in left hand and Toledo blade in right, were in the first wave of every attack on the Moros.⁴

In the meantime, the siege of Zamboanga was maintained for more than two months, the Moros occupying themselves with vain attempts to charm the artillery fire of the Spaniards. One day, seeing the mouth of a cannon blaze without a shot leaving, the Imams shouted that the God of the Christians was vanquished and the kris men rushed the walls. A rain of iron from the artillery at close quarters, supplemented by the terrible fire of the double-charged arquebuses, cost the lives of hundreds of the Moros during their vain attempt to scale the high walls.

Four savage attacks were launched in as many days before the Moros gave up the siege and withdrew.

The Spaniards now began a series of indecisive campaigns which accomplished no result other than a carrying of the conflict into Moro territory. In 1721, Toribio Cosio, the new Governor-General of the Philippines, sent Antonio de Roxas against the Moros. Roxas was defeated in a series of engagements and returned to Manila after a few months. During the next year

Andreas Garcia took over the task of chastising the Moros but his efforts were also unsuccessful. Command was then assumed by Juan de Mesa who accomplished the only result of that period. A strong expedition under his command entered the country north of Zamboanga and captured the fort of Sabanilla which had been lost when Mindanao operations had been abandoned in 1663.

Conducting a retaliatory policy of attack, the Moros organized a force of 3000 warriors and in 1730 the island of Palawan was raided. Hundreds of captives were taken and entire coast line was pillaged. This same force besieged the Spanish fort at Tay-Tay but was unable to make a breach in the walls after twenty days of severe fighting.

The Moros were never able to stand the monotony of siege work. The Spaniards were fairly safe as long as they remained within their stout walls of stone; a procedure which they followed faithfully for a period of more than 300 years.

In 1731 the Moro capital at Jolo fell again into the hands of the Spaniards. In retaliation for the Moro raid on Palawan, Governor-General Valdez sent General Ignacio Iriberry with a strong force of more than 1000 men, and Jolo was captured after a lengthy siege. Iriberry ravaged the islands of Talobo and Capual before retiring to the walls of Zamboanga.

This capture of their capital so enraged the Moros that the succeeding ten years brought a reign of terrors to the islands. By 1735 the Moro raids had assumed such proportions that no community on the sea coast was safe from attack. The Christian population of the northern islands took to the mountains, leaving a desolate coast line. Lookout towers were constructed along all coasts to warn the approach of pirates and the villagers were ordered by the Spanish government to concentrate into groups of no less than 500 inhabitants.

Some of the greatest heroism of the conquest was displayed by the cut-off garrisons of these Spanish outposts. The watchtower at Santa Maria Bay, north of Zamboanga, garrisoned by an adjutant and thirty-seven men, filled the small graveyard with casualties from the deadly malaria and the crises of the Moros before a galley limped in to bear the survivors to Manila. The watchword of the Philippine coast was the dread cry "Hay Moros en la costa," which signified the approach of the dreaded sea-rovers of Sulu.

In 1737, a treaty was ratified between Alimud Din I and Governor-General Valdez y Timon. It provided for "a permanent peace and alliance." The treaty was not observed by either party and was finally abrogated by the ascent of Bantilan to the throne of Sulu in 1748.

During this desperate period, the Spaniards were not idle. Frantic expeditions were hurled into the field to stem what was rapidly turning into a

route of the Spanish arms. The conquest of Mindanao and Sulu had assumed for the Spaniards the proportions of a major war.

With decisive victory in sight, the Moros turned aside to engage in the inevitable tribal dispute. The Spaniards were so completely whipped that Prince Malinog of Cotobato found time to rise against the authority of Manlana, the Sultan of Mindanao. With the city of Supanga as his capital and with more than thirty cities behind him, Prince Malinog prepared for a bitter struggle for the Sultanate.

With intense enthusiasm the Moros rushed to take sides in this internal battle of *kris* against *kris*. The Spanish struggle of almost two centuries duration was laid aside, and for the moment the Sultan of Mindanao became an ally of the Spanish forces.

The Spaniards took this opportunity to go into the field with a strong party under Don Pedro Zacharias. With two galleys and other small vessels, which were joined in Zamboanga by a *felucca*, a *piroque* and several canoes, Zacharias started for Tamontaca, where the expedition was organized.

The fort of Malinog, defended by eight cannon and 300 men, was captured by Zacharias, thereby incurring the favor of the Sultan of Mindanao. Zacharias then took the capital of Malinog, where he found a defense of six forts and thirty cannon. In the grand assault he was aided by the forces of the Sultan of Mindanao. *Kris* supported Toledo blade in the torrid battle which ended in the elimination of the usurper Malinog.

The Spanish aid applied to the reduction of Prince Malinog tempered the fiery spirit of the Sultan of Mindanao and he was disposed, for a short time, to look with favor upon the Spaniards. During the lull in hostilities which followed, the Spaniards pressed for an agreement of friendship and permanent peace. But the psychological moment had passed. The Moros were not ready to sign an agreement with the hated Spaniards, and disagreements between the Mohammedan priests and the hot-blooded Jesuits soon made all thought of alliance an impossibility. Had the Spaniards allowed for some toleration and non-interference with the religion of the Moros, they might have secured the lasting cooperation of the Sultan of Mindanao.

With the year 1750 a century of conflict drew to a close. The contributions of Corcuera and Almonte, more than a hundred years before, still remained the bright spot of the conquest. The Cotobato Valley remained isolated and unconquerable. The islands of Sulu were untenable to Spanish occupation. The Palawan had proved to be a death trap to the conquistadores.

To show for the work of a century, Spain had a powerful fortress at Zamboanga and a precarious grip on the Moro capital of Jolo.

The conquest of Mindanao and Sulu had not developed into a duplicate of the Mexican and Peruvian campaigns where each ship to Spain had borne a load of plunder extracted from the native population with small loss in men. We find that in 1738 the fixed annual expense of the fort of Zamboanga was \$17,500, with an incidental disbursement of \$8,000 additional. These figures did not include the costs of armed expeditions dispatched from the walls against the Moros. No tribute from the Moros enriched the coffers of Spain.

The conquest of the Moros was proving to be a decided expense in men and money, a situation most distasteful to the thrifty Spanish temperament. Spanish prestige in the East was suffering, and the Crown at Madrid was showing unmistakable signs of great displeasure.

Spanish governor-generals succeeded each other with sputtering rapidity. It seemed unbelievable that a scattered band of Mohammedans could stand up against the forces of Spain.

Mexico and Peru were prostrate, and the Spaniards had passed into California. Cortez had been in his grave for two hundred years. In the Western World an American nation had grown up and there were rumblings of a rebellion against England which was to culminate in the Revolutionary War.

In Mindanao and Sulu conditions were strikingly the same as Magellan found them. The Sultan still sent his privateers after slaves for the royal harem. Krismen still ravaged the coasts without restraint. The *Imams* still chanted their prayers to Allah. The krismen still held the soil of Sulu.

The long feud with Spain was but one minor phase in the embattled existence of the Moros. They were witnessing the growth of nations and the fall of nations. The world changed about them but they changed not at all. They carried on through the golden age of Spain and they survived to witness the decline of Spain.

Mighty krismen of Mindanao!

1 From the letters of Father Crevas.

2 This incident, taken for the Spanish Father's account, lacks authenticity. It is doubtful if the Sultans of Mindanao and Sulu presented themselves to the

Spaniards. The participants were probably minor chieftains.

3 In attempting this duplicity, the Moros appear to have usurped the old Spanish custom used so successfully by Cortez in Mexico.

4 In the second month of the siege of Zamboanga, Father Juan Monet, sailing a ship through the straits of Basilan, came in sight of the fortress and found himself surrounded by a fleet of forty of the enemy ships. The captain of the Spanish boat failed in the emergency and the worthy Father took command. Steering his boat into the middle of the pirate vessels, he personally applied matches to the cannon and sent forth such a destructive fire that he was able to win his way through the trap and find safety within the walls of the fortress.

12. The Captivity of Alimud Din

By the year 1750, the dissension among the Moros has reached an acute and dangerous stage. Alimud Din I, the reigning Sultan, was a weakling, and that was a thing not to be tolerated among the Moros. The signing of the abortive treaty with Spain in 1737 has aligned many malcontents against him and the powerful Sultanate was disrupted by internal plottings.

Bantilan, the brother of Alimud Din I, planned the assassination of the Sultan and the seizure of power. He was supported by a majority of the iron-souled Moros who opposed bitterly any compromise with the detested Spaniards.

Details of the plot becoming known to Alimud din, he fled to Zamboanga where he asked aid from Governor Abando, the Spanish commander. Abando, seeing a chance to eliminate Bantilan and restore the weakling Alimud Din to the throne, sent a powerful armada to Jolo and the Moro capital fell again into Spanish hands. Alimud Din proceeded to Manila for an audience with the Spanish Governor-General.

In Manila, Alimud Din was received with great pomp. The Governor-General showered him with presents, and he was received as honor guest at solemn enclaves of the Catholic Church, in an effort to persuade him to accept the Christian religion. After several months of persuasion, the indecisive Sultan yielded and announced his intention to accept baptism.

The Spanish in Manila were crazed with joy. They saw in this act an end to the fighting in Sulu. With solemn ceremony, Alimud Din received baptism, assuming the title of Ferdinand II of Sulu. Attendant to the ceremonies, he was invested with the rank of Lieutenant-General in the Spanish army.

Great fiestas followed. At length it was decided to return the new ruler to Sulu to replace the usurper Bantilan. The "Catholic" Sultan sailed on the Spanish frigate ship San Fernando and after an unfortunate trip attended by shipwreck, he arrived in Zamboanga on July 12, 1751.

Before leaving Manila, Alimud Din (or Ferdinand), at the insistence of the Governor-General, wrote a letter to the Sultan of Mindanao, who at the time was Muhamed Amirubdin. The original was in Arabic script with a translation in Spanish.

When these documents reached Zamboanga, they were translated for the Governor. Alimud Din had written:

"I shall be glad to know that the Sultan Muhamed Amirubdin and all his chiefs, male and female, are well. I do not write a lengthy letter, as I

intended, because I simply wish to give you to understand, in case the Sultan or his chiefs or others should be aggrieved at my writing this letter in this manner., that I do so under pressure, being under foreign domination, and I am compelled to obey whatever they tell me to do, and I have to say what they tell me to say. Thus the Governor has ordered me to write to you in our style and language; therefore do not understand that I am writing you on my own behalf, but because I am ordered to do so, and I have nothing more to add. Written in the year 1166¹ on the ninth day of the Rabilajer Moon, Ferdinand I, King of Sulu, who seals it with his own seal. "²

The translation of this letter was accompanied by great excitement in Zamboanga. The note was pronounced treasonable and Alimud Din I was arrested and thrown into prison.

Included in the retinue of the Sultan were his four small sons, his brother Prince Asin, his sister Princess Panguian, four daughters, seven Mohammedan priests, numerous Datus, one hundred sixty retainers and thirty female concubines. All were confined within the damp recesses of Fort Pilar. A Spanish Lieutenant hurried to Manila to advise the Governor-General of the facts.

The Spanish mills began to grind and a decree of the Governor-General set forth the following accusations against the captives:

That the Prince Asin had not surrendered Christian captives held in Sulu.

That while the Sultan was in Manila new captives had been made by the powers usurping his throne in Jolo.

That the letter to the Sultan of Mindanao insinuated asking for help against Spain.

That Mohammedan but no Christian books were found in the Sultan's luggage.

That the Sultan had only attended Mass twice.

That the Sultan had cohabited with his female concubines.

That during the journey to Zamboanga, he had refused to pray in Christian manner, and had sacrificed a goat with Mohammedan rites.

An impartial reading of history makes it appear that the Spaniards deliberately falsified charges against Alimud Din with the intention of holding him in captivity. He was detained in Zamboanga for more than a fortnight for no apparent reason before the charges of the falsified letter were brought against him. For the imprisonment of the Sultan's retinue, there was no

justification, as the female concubines and small children of the Sultan were not implicated in any crime against Spain.

The Sultan and his followers were transferred to the fortress of Santiago in Manila, where the proud Prince Asin soon died of grief. The Spaniards now displayed their reasons for detaining the personnel of the Sultan's retinue. The Governor-General proposed to Alimud Din that the liberty of each noble be secured by remitting to Manila of 500 captives for each Datu released. Prince Asin, who died while the negotiations were in process, was held with seven Mohammedan priests to be exchanged for all of the remaining captives held by the Moros in Sulu.

As Alimud Din was himself a captive, with his throne in the hands of a usurper, it was obviously impossible for him to accede to these demands, and the party languished in captivity in Manila.

In 1753 Alimud din requested the Spanish Governor-General to allow his daughter, Princess Faatima, to proceed to Jolo to attend to personal affairs of the Sultan. This was granted on the condition that the Princess forward at once from Jolo fifty captives, or have her father reduced to the grade of a common prisoner and placed at an oar in the galleys. To this condition Princess Faatima agreed and upon her arrival in Jolo she forwarded fifty captives and one more -- a Spaniard named Jose de Montesinos.

Upon the return of the Princess to Manila she brought with her an emissary from the Sultan Bantilan, who after consulting with Alimud Din, signed a treaty with Spain which provided:

An offensive and defensive alliance.

All captives within the kingdom of Sulu to be released within a period of one year.

All objects looted from churches to be returned within one year.

On the fulfillment of these, conditions, the Sultan and his party to be set free.

The treaty was obviously an impotent gesture, as, with Alimud Din a captive in Manila, he had no authority to see that the provisions were carried out and furthermore, he was not the actual ruler of Sulu. In view of the perfidy displayed by the Spaniards, the subsequent action of Bantilan, on the throne of Sulu, is excusable.

Bantilan ignored the treaty and hell was let loose in Jolo. The krismen were ordered by Bantilan to harry the coasts of all of the islands held by Spain. Pirate raids assumed proportions never before witnessed. From the strongholds on Balanguingue and Tonquil, pirate fleets went forth for systematic plundering raids.

In 1754 the pirates infested all of the waters of the Philippine Archipelago. They besieged Fort Iligan and did not withdraw until a powerful Spanish fleet came from Cavite. Moros attacked Tagoloan, Imponana, Surigao and Butuan and killed or enslaved most of the inhabitants. Raids were carried into the very heart of the Spanish territory. Hastily the Sultan Alimud Din was released from the prison of Santiago and carried again before the Governor-General. There he was given orders that the raids must stop. Unable, however, to prevent the expeditions of the maddened Moros, the unfortunate Sultan was returned to the confines of his cell in Manila.

The next year the most terrible raid of all took place. In retaliation, a large Spanish expedition was sent to Jolo, but the routed Spaniards returned to Manila without accomplishing the reduction of the Moro capital.

This expedition, consisting of 1,900 men and several ships, anchored off the town of Jolo and displayed red and white flags, giving the Moros a choice of peace or war. When the Moros approached under a white flag to ask news of the imprisoned Sultan Alimud din, they were treacherously fired upon by the Spanish fleet. No good resulted from this bombardment, for the Moros attacked so viciously that the expedition withdrew after sustaining a considerable loss.

In order to save face, the Spanish commander, one Valdez, sailed on south to the island of Tawi-Tawi to make an assault. A captain was sent ashore with a landing party, which was attacked by the Moros and slain to a man. Returning to Zamboanga, Valdez resigned his command.

Pedro Gastombide then took over the direction of the Spanish operations, and after fruitlessly attacking the Kingdom of Basilan he also withdrew, with great loss, to Zamboanga.

During all of the year 1754 the Spaniards waged a series of bloody wars against the Moros, using the fortress at Zamboanga as a base. Extremely cruel measures were employed in an attempt to bring the Moros to submission. The year was a blank failure for the Spanish arms and irate Moros organized a guerilla warfare by land and sea to which Spain responded but feebly. Spanish priests were made an object special search by the Moros and many were captured or slain.

In 1754 the Maestro de Campo³ of Zamboanga seized a Chinese junk bearing goods to the Sultan of Mindanao. After a long delay the ship was finally released, but the Maestro de Campo appropriated certain of the Sultan's goods for his own use. So enraged was the Sultan of Mindanao that he declared a *jihad* upon the Spaniards, hunting down the Spanish priests for ransom.

The militant Jesuit priest, Father Jose Ducos, headed an expedition to the island of Jolo in 1754 and accomplished the only success for the year. This valiant Father, laying aside his rosary for the moment, captured 150 pirate ships and laid waste three cities of Sulu.

Through all this bitter conflict, the unfortunate Alimud din remained a captive in Manila. In 1755 he was placed on a Spanish retaining fee of \$50 per month against the day when his services would be useful.

It was not until 1763 that Alimud Din was restored to the throne of Sulu by the British who captured Manila. When peace was signed between Spain and England, the British forces evacuated the city, taking Alimud Din with them.

Twelve years of captivity at the hands of the Spaniards had so embittered Alimud Din that one of his first acts as Sultan was to proclaim a Holy War against the Spaniards. If he had been weak at the time of his imprisonment by the Spaniards, the years of adversity had strengthened him, for he plunged into warfare in a manner that delighted the hearts of his followers, and the hated Catholic religion fell from him like a disused cloak.

In the capture by treachery of the Moro ruler, Spain had made use of one of their favorite methods of subduing a savage antagonist. Pizarro used the method in Peru and Cortez was very successful with the same perfidy in Mexico. The imprisonment of Alimud Din bears a striking resemblance to the treatment meted out to Montezuma. Both came to the Spaniards with good intentions; both were basely used.

The failure of this subterfuge in the Philippines can only be accounted for only by the differences in character between the Aztecs and the Moros. The Moros were not a simple people to be easily duped by Spanish duplicity, for they were as well versed in treachery as were the conquistadores.

The Moro ruler was not a god, revered by the people, whatever his shortcomings. A Moro Sultan held his position through strength of character and by virtue of a strong right arm. There was no place for a weakling on the throne of the Sultanate of Sulu.

1 Mohammedan calendar.

2 "The Philippine Islands" Foreman.

3 Obsolete grade representing a modern General of Brigade.

13. Stalemate in Mindanao

During the time of Alimud Din the Spaniards forfeited all claim to sympathy in the conduct of their feud with the Moros. The Mohammedans of Mindanao and Sulu had indeed proved to be barbarians of the first order. They slaughtered thousands of people in a series of bloody raids, and the *Datus* made merry with the captive women in the harems of Sulu. But if the Moro was a barbarian, the Spaniard proved to be equally as barbarous.

The conquistadores of Spain were of a generation which fed on blood. The savage resistance of the Moros infuriated them and the Spaniards adopted a policy of merciless intimidation to bring the Mohammedans to their knees.

As the course of the Moro wars flowed against them, the Spaniards encouraged a privateer system to break the Moro resistance. These privateers, enlisted under the banner of Castile, were all encouraged to rape, slay and torture all Moros who fell into their clutches. The Spanish government gave "*carte blanc*" to depredations of the worst order.

A decree dated December 21, 1751, was signed by the Governor-General of Manila. It provided:

The extermination of the Moslems of Mindanao and Sulu with fire and sword and no quarter for Moros of any age or either sex.

The fitting out of Visayan corsairs with authority to extinguish the foe; to accomplish the burning of all that was combustible.

To destroy all crops; desolate all land; make Moro captives and recover Christian slaves.

One fifth of the spoil taken from the Moros belong to the King.

All Visayans engaged to be exempt from the payment of all tribute while engaged in the extermination of the Moros.

Criminals who volunteer to the service to be granted full pardon for past offenses.

In order to encourage the privateers to a policy of extreme cruelty, the Royal fifth was eventually abolished, permitting the privateers to retain all of the loot.

Supported by this decree, great fleets of privateers sailed from the port of Manila to engage the Moros in the southern waters. The Moros met the fleets, steel on steel, and the privateers were defeated during the bloody year which followed. So great was the rage engendered among the Moros by this decree,

that it was withdrawn after a period of severe Spanish defeats which rocked the stability of the government. Thereafter, the Moros remained absolute masters of the seas for a period of more than twenty years, with the Spaniards in retirement in the north, well satisfied to abandon the Mindanao campaigns.

The immediate results of the Spanish privateer decree had been to bring the Moros into close harmony within the tribal units. Bantilan incited all of the Moros to join him in a jihad against Spain and the krismen flocked to his banner.

There were no more engagements of magnitude with the Spaniards until the year 1777, and the peace which the Moro loathed settled over Mindanao and Sulu.

In 1775, the Moros, chafing under the failure of Spain to provide more kris fodder, turned their backs upon the defeated Spaniards and found a new antagonist in Sulu.

Following the capture of Manila in 1762, the British had established a base on one of the islands of the Sulu group. As the years passed, this British colony became a well-fortified post which resisted the best efforts of the Spaniards to dislodge them. Twenty years of severe reverses had virtually eliminated the Spanish as contenders in Mindanao and Sulu, but by 1775 the British had made themselves sufficiently obnoxious to require the attention of the Moros.

After a conference with the Sultan of Sulu, a grand assault on the British was proclaimed by Datu Tating. With joy the krismen flocked to his island rendezvous where preparations for the undertaking were in process.

All of Sulu became inflamed at the prospect of testing the kris on a new foe. From the thousands of applicants, Tating selected 4,000 krismen.

A fleet of twenty Moro vessels, each carrying a hundred warriors and a hundred rowers, set sail for the British post. Tating's boats were ninety feet long and were well-armed with brass cannon.

In the dark hours of the morning, the Moro fleet was assembled on the opposite side of the island from the site of the British fort. Here the force was divided, 2,000 warriors proceeding overland to approach the fort from the land side. The remaining warriors then sailed boldly around the island to attack from the sea.

The men of the British garrison fought bravely, concentrating their forces on the fort walls in a position to repel the Moro attack from the sea. With fierce cries, the Moros beached their vessels and rushed to the attack. The fierce battle waged on the sea-walls of the fort required the full attention of the British and too late they found themselves fallen upon from the rear by 2,000 warriors who burst from the jungle.

In a few moments the embattled fort was silent. Six men of the British garrison escaped to sail a fast vinta on the shores of North Borneo. The kris, at close quarters, accounted for all the rest.

From this post the Moros took booty amounting to a value of more \$1,000,000, together with an enormous supply of materials of war. It was not until 1803 that the British returned to re-occupy the island and then for a short period only, pending their permanent withdrawal from Sulu in 1805.

Encouraged by the success of the attack upon the British fort, Tating now turned to a resumption of the attack upon Spain. The strong fortress at Zamboanga was attacked, but the stout walls proved impregnable and Tating was forced to withdraw after a desperate struggle with heavy losses. Krismen succeeded in penetrating the walls of the fortress, decapitating many of the Spanish garrison, but the numerous cannon of the fortress prevented the entrance of a sufficient body to command the fort.

Spain retaliated futilely with a punitive expedition to Jolo under Vargas which failed to effect a landing in the Moro capital.

The Moros now made a bid for a foothold in Spanish territory. The town of Mambarao on Mindoro Island was fortified in order to provide a safe haven close to the Spanish settlements. From this port, great pirate fleets went out to the coasts of Luzon. The Moros found this depot impossible to defend. It was too close to the Spanish capital and too far from the Moro base at Sulu. A squadron of the Royal Spanish navy drove the Moros from Mambarao.

In 1784 Aguilar organized the land and sea forces of Spain and waged a fierce if indecisive war against the Moros. During the period from 1778 to 1793, Spain spent more than 1,500,000 pesos in the pursuance of the war with the Moros. Spanish squadrons patrolled the seas to little avail. Spanish records show that during this period the Moros were completely masters of the sea, making an average of five hundred captives each year. To the Spanish armada was added thirty-six launches armed with cannon. Still the Moros raided the coasts. The war was carried on almost entirely in the north in the heart of the Spanish territory.

In 1763, Fort Pilar in Zamboanga was reconstructed and greatly strengthened. Six years later, the garrison sat within the walls and watched the return of a successful Moro raid on Manila which resulted in captives being taken from the wharves of the Spanish capital.

Ilo-Ilo was again attacked by the Moros and a colony of Portuguese traders exterminated. The towns of Baler, Casuguran and Palanan on the east coast of Luzon were plundered and 450 captives were carried back to Sulu. Among the captives were several Catholic priests finally ransomed by Spain for 2,500 pesos each.

A new pirate depot grew up on Burias Island within fifteen miles of the Spanish island of Luzon. In 1796 Admiral Alava was sent from Spain with a powerful fleet to combat the pirate raids. To celebrate the arrival of a worthy antagonist, the Moros again invaded Manila and we have the picture of swaggering krismen raiding the streets of the Spanish capital. The whole of the year 1798 witnessed attacks of great severity in eastern Luzon, and traffic between Luzon and Mindanao became virtually paralyzed.

The nineteenth century dawned to find krismen still raiding the streets of Manila. Could Figueroa in 1596 have looked forward two hundred and seventeen years he would have marveled at the sight of these jungle warriors. The men he promised to subdue within three years were walking the streets of Manila in 1813, still unconquered.

Across the Pacific, thirteen untied American colonies had grown strong enough to wage a second war with England. These colonies had already developed into the United States of America; within the century they were to take over the faltering sword of Spain and accomplish the downfall of the proud Moros.

But before the day of American intervention, there remained for Spain the hurdle of the 1800's. Alonso Morgado carried the torch in 1824 as Captain of the *Marina Sutil*. This force has been described in the chapter devoted to Sulu pirates. With a flotilla of these new vessels, the Moro pirate base at Pilas Island was attacked by the Spanish and destroyed. Fifty Moros were killed in the action. Morgado then carried his fleet to Illana bay and Dumaquilas Bay, where other pirate vessels were burned.

The activities of Morgado at sea were supplemented by Spanish fort-building operations in Mindanao. The Moros had long been accustomed to avoid the rough sail around the peninsula at Zamboanga while engaged in pirate cruises to the Visayas. Sailing their garays to the south of Basilan Island, they entered Illana Bay, proceeding to its head to a point where Mindanao narrows to a bottle-neck fourteen miles across. Here the Moros disembarked and hauled their vessels across the portage to resume the sail to Manila. To circumvent this, the Spaniards had designed a fortress on Panguile Bay, forcing the pirates to resume the southern route past the frowning fortress at Zamboanga.

The pirate activity was further hampered by the construction of a strong fort at Isabela on Basilan Island. This station, facing the fort of Zamboanga only fifteen miles away, virtually closed the straits of Basilan to the pirate fleets. Basilan was also valuable in providing a convenient sally port for operations against the pirate citadel on Balanguingue Island. The fortress at Isabela, garrisoned by a force of eighty-six sailors, became the naval base for Spanish vessels in the south.

The middle of the nineteenth century found the isolated garrisons of Spain in a precarious position in Mindanao. The churches were built within the walls

of the forts, as were all of the dwellings, and the entire population was confined closely to the ramparts. The Moros howled without and hurled taunts and missiles into the fort. There was no permanent settlement in all Sulu where the Spaniards would come and go freely without danger from the Mohammedans. The land warfare was purely defensive and Spain was hard pressed to maintain her defensive positions.

The futility of the Spanish arms is well indicated in the records preserved of one abortive expedition conducted against the Moros about the year 1846. During the course of this campaign the Spanish expenses amounted to 200,000 pesetas and the net result of the expedition appears to have been the death of seven Moros!

In 1840 we find the Moros turning to engage another antagonist. A French fleet blockaded the island of Basilan to punish Datu Usak for depredations against French vessels. French marines landed on Basilan and conducted a desultory campaign against the Moros, after which negotiations were opened for the purchase of the island. Nothing came of the matter and the French withdrew with Usak still at large.

In December of 1850, a strong expedition left Zamboanga for Jolo, but finding the town well garrisoned, no attack was made upon the Moro capital and the party returned to Zamboanga after destroying a few pirate boats on Tonquil Island.

Spanish prestige had been badly hurt and the Moros had at length retired sullenly to the coral islands of Sulu. In Mindanao, the Sultan effectively closed the entrance into the Cotobato Valley, leaving the Spaniards closely penned up within the few strong posts they maintained. It was a period of virtual stalemate, with both antagonists taking a breather in anticipation of another century of conflict.

The next few years ushered in a terrible period of *juramentados* and *amuks*. With the final occupation of Jolo in 1876 as a permanent Spanish post, *juramentados* ran daily in the town. The havoc created by these ritualists was so extensive that a chapter has been devoted to *juramentados* and *amuks*.

14. Juramentados and Amuks

The word *juramentado*, meaning oath, was first employed by General Malcampo during the final occupation of Jolo in 1876. The practice of "running *juramentado*" was a religious rite involving the waging of a jihad, or Holy War, upon infidels. Originally, the practice was conducted by a band of men determined to sacrifice their lives in accomplishing the death of Christians. In the later years of the Spanish conquest, single individuals howled through the streets of Jolo, leaving death in their wake.

The jihad against unbelievers is enjoined in the Koran. In its pure form, the jihad consisted of bona-fide organized warfare against Christians. *Juramentado* was the degenerate form of jihad evolved by the Sulu Moros.

The Koran exhorts the true believers as follows: "War is enjoined against the Infidels." II, 215 "Oh True believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you." IX, 124 "When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them." XLVII, 4

In waging their individual war against the unbelievers, the Moros were more enthusiastic than religious, for they violated the strict tenets of the Mohammedan faith. The Koran expressly states that before a jihad may be waged, notice of attack must be given, the unbeliever must be called to the true faith, and the attack must not be treacherously made. The rite of the *juramentado*, as waged by the Moros, did not fill the injunction of jihad given in the Koran itself.

The Koran says, Surah VIII, Verses 39 and 40: "Say to the unbelievers, if they desist from their belief, what is now past shall be forgiven them."

And again in Verse 60: "God loveth not the treacherous."

The tradition as set forth in the Hidayah, or Guidance, states: "If a Moslem attack an infidel without previously calling him to the Faith, he is an offender because this is forbidden."

And further: "Giving due notice to the enemy in this case is indispensably requisite in such a manner that treachery may not be induced, since this is forbidden."

The Koran amplifies this further: "For whosoever shall kill a believer of set purpose, his recompense shall be Hell, forever shall he abide in it."

The *juramentado* of Mindanao and Sulu killed treacherously and without warning. In all of the 200,000,000 Mohammedans scattered over the world, only the Moros practice the rite of *juramentado*. Waging a holy war became an

individual matter in Sulu and Mindanao. A Moro who had become overzealous in religious matters decided to commit, not suicide, which was forbidden, but rather an act of constructive self-destruction, to terminate his unwillingness to live. To accomplish this act and to slay as many Christians as possible, paved the way for great renown in the other world.

Elaborate preparation of the body was a forerunner to the running of *juramentado*, in order that the individual might appear before God in the most favorable light. In the deep silence of early morning, fanatical youths gathered to hear the Imams, or priests, tell of the old days. The stories flamed these ambitious recruits to martyrdom, and custom then necessitated a solemn conference with their parents. After a family council, which usually granted permission for the youth to run *juramentado*, the youths were banded together with the Sultan's permission to engage in a holy war.

The candidates were then turned over to the Imam for organization and instruction. Prayers were offered and each candidate placed his hand upon the Koran and repeated the following: "*Jumanji kami hatunan ing kami ini magsabil karna sing tuhan.*" (We covenant with God that we will wage this holy war, for it is of God.)

The body was then carefully washed, the teeth were cleaned and the nails cut and trimmed. The family of the candidate shaved his eyebrows so that they "looked like a moon two days old." The hair was cut short. The waist was supported by a tight band for strengthening effect. A man so bound could remain on his feet long after an ordinary man would succumb to wounds.

The candidate was then clothed in a white robe called the *jubba* and was crowned with a white turban. To the waist was attached an *anting-anting* or a charm, to ward off the blows of the enemy. The genitals were bound tightly with cords.

After beautifying and polishing his weapons, the candidate was then ready to go forth to the holy war. In the Moro dialect, these men were known as *mag-sabils*, which means to endure the pangs of death. The Moro who decided upon *juramentado* took the solemn oath (Napi), to prepare himself to pursue the Parang-sabil, or road to Paradise, with valor and devotion. The *juramentado* could not be called insane but was under the influence of a frenzied religious excitement.

There were seven grades of ascent into Paradise and seven grades of descent into Hell, to compare with the seven books of the Koran. Thus the Moro deliberately prepared himself for the terrors of the desert journey by carrying with him as many Christians as possible.

The *juramentado* apparently confined his attacks to Christians. Occasionally, in his last frenzied moments, he slashed his own countrymen,,

but this occurrence was rare. Women were not permitted to engage in the rite of *juramentado*.

The method of attack of the *juramentado* was to approach the largest group of Christians possible and shout to them from a distance the Arabic phrase, "La ilaha il-la'l-lahu" - There is no God but Allah. The kris or barong was then unsheathed and a rush was made, each *juramentado* hoping to kill at least one Christian before he found a martyr's death.

The Sulu warrior, never a strictly orthodox Mohammedan, supplied from his imagination certain rewards not specified by the Koran. The dead *juramentado* mounted to Paradise riding a white horse. Each Christian killed accompanied him as a slave in Paradise. Death on the field provided for the presence in Paradise of beautiful virgins, with whom the warriors reveled in a perfumed garden. This last of course refers to passages in the Koran: "On couches with linings of brocade shall they recline, and the fruit of the two gardens shall be within easy reach. Therein shall be the damsels with retiring glances whom no man hath touched before them. Theirs shall be the Houris, with large, dark eyes, like pearls hidden in their shells, in recompense of their labors past."

Following his final collapse on the field of battle, the dead *juramentado* was washed again and wrapped in a white cloth for burial. If the enemy was vanquished in the attack and the *juramentado* escaped with his life after slaughtering the Christians, he passed to Paradise forty years after the battle.

With such rewards in store for them, it is little wonder that the *juramentado* Moros of Sulu and Mindanao take their place as the most deadly combatants of history. The *juramentado* was practically non-stoppable. Even when riddled with bullets he remained on his feet to kill the enemy.

Dr. Montano, an eminent scientist sent by the French government to Sulu, describes the entry into the city of Tianggi of eleven *juramentados* during the Spanish occupation:

'Divided into three bands, they crept into town, pursuing a frenzied course. Hearing the cry of "*Los Juramentados*", the soldiers seized arms. The *juramentados* rushed upon them fearlessly with crises. One of them struck in the breast by a bullet, rose and flung himself upon the troops. Transfixed by a bayonet, he remained erect, trying to reach his enemy who held him impaled. Another soldier ran up and blew out his brains before he dropped. When the last *juramentado* had fallen and the corpses were picked up from the street, it was found that fifteen Spaniards had been hacked to pieces and many wounded. And what wounds! The head of one Spaniard was cut off as clean as if with a razor and another was cut almost in two."

The utter disregard for death held by the *juramentado* Moro probably remains unequalled in history. In Mindanao and Sulu, we have the astounding picture of a race of men who sought death as a blessing. And with little

wonder, for they were informed by the Koran: "And say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of God, that they are dead; yea they are living, but ye do not understand." II, 155.

Often confused with the practice of running *juramentado* was the custom, so prevalent among all Eastern peoples, of running *amuk*. Running *amuk* had no religious significance. Such a performance was called *manuju* by the Moros. The practice still persists in Mindanao and Sulu. To the knowledge of the writer, *amuks* have cleared the streets of Zamboanga within the last two years.

The practice of running *amuk* occurs when the natives have what is called a "bad head". The *amuk* is temporarily insane. The Malay is prone to brood and linger over imaginary ills and this culminates in the seizure of a kris and a mad slashing of every person in the *amuk's* path. Even the Moros are not spared when in the path of an *amuk*.

15. The Later Wars

By 1847 the Spaniards had recovered sufficiently from the terrific battering of the preceding two decades to attempt the colonization of the Davao Gulf region of southern Mindanao. Jose Oyanguren engaged the Manobo and Bagobo hill people of that region and succeeded in establishing a foothold near the pirate depot on Sarangani Island. Oyanguren had undertaken the campaign at his own expense with the understanding that he would be permitted to remain as governor of the captured territory for a period of ten years. Governor-General Claveria supplied the expedition with arms and ammunition and Oyanguren did well in a campaign conducted over a period of two years. He was recalled, however, in the midst of the campaign as it was decided that the territory was too isolated to colonize properly.

During the year 1849 there arrived from Spain formidable additions to the Spanish arms in the new steam warships Magallanes, Elcano and Reina de Castilla. Claveria decided to break up the Samal pirate strongholds in the south.

The Moros held the fortified islands of Balanguingue and Tonquil, where they established a great pirate base. Tonquil had been captured by the Spanish upon several occasions but they had been unable to retain possession. Balanguingue Island had remained through all the years of the struggle as an impregnable position defying Spanish attack.

The pirate forts were admirably protected by shallow coral reefs and by the high earthen walls which bristled with brass cannon.

Claveria attacked with a formidable land force which was supplemented by the new steam cruisers. The warships could sail faster than the Moro garays, and their armament was immensely superior. The Moro vessels took shelter at Balanguingue and the men retreated to the walls of the fortress.

Now the steam vessels came into play. The Elcano and the Reina de Castilla approached through one channel entrance, successfully threading their way through the reefs to a point which brought them well within the cannon range of the pirate fort. Supported by the Magallanes, which opened a cross-fire from another channel, a deadly barrage was laid upon the Moro citadel.

Under cover of the terrific artillery fire, a large Spanish force was landed on the beach. Claveria gave the order that there was to be no quarter. The Spanish troops attacked the walls three times and were repulsed with heavy losses. After each unsuccessful Spanish charge, the Moros sallied from the fort to come to death grips with the Spaniards. Clad in suits of mail fashioned from *carabao* horn, the Moros hurled themselves upon the superior weapons of the Spaniards.

The Moro defense was greatly weakened as more than half of the troops were away on a pirate cruise. As the Spaniards re-formed for the fourth charge which was to take the citadel, the Moros took counsel on their battered walls. It was apparent that their defense was hopeless. Screams rose from the fortress as the Moros killed their women and children. The gates were the opened and the krismen rushed into the open to meet their death before the Spanish rifles.

Four hundred Moro warriors died in this action. The Spaniards released 200 slaves and captured more than 150 pirate ships. For the living slaves found in the pirate fortress the Moros must be commended highly. They killed their own women and children to prevent them falling into the hands of the Spaniards, but the helpless slaves were spared in that dreadful moment before the krismen advanced to seek their death.

In 1850 Urbiztondo completed the destruction of the pirate strongholds with a successful assault on Tonquil Island.

Jolo was then attacked on February 27, 1851. The Spanish squadron blasted the walls with artillery fire and burned the town after suffering heavy casualties in the last bloody assault. The capture of the Moro capital was not accompanied by occupation of the city. The invaders departed after a few days, but not before they had destroyed the town by fire and removed 112 pieces of artillery.

During this period, a Spanish expedition to the Island of Basilan failed because the troops were recalled hastily to defend the fortress at Zamboanga against a determined Moro attacks by more than 3,000 warriors.

The Spanish success did not have the desired effect of weakening the Moro resistance. The Spaniards were unable to retain possession of the Moro capital at Jolo and an abortive treaty was signed with the Sultan of Sulu, with Spain settling upon the Sultan an annual payment of 1,500 pesos in the hope that he would use his influence to suppress piracy.

The Moros rebuilt their shattered citadels and affairs in Sulu were soon moving in their accustomed course, with the pirates as busy as before.

Indeed, matters reached such a state that before the end of the year warships were ordered out for another attack on Jolo. Four regiments of infantry and a corps of artillery aided the gunboats. Included was a battalion of Cebuanos who sought revenge for the Moro raids. The wives of the Cebuanos emulated Lysistrata in reverse. Every wife took an oath before Father Ibanez to deny forever their husbands all of their favors if the Cebuano men turned their backs to the Moros.

In the battle of Jolo, Father Ibanez lost his life in the assault on a Moro cotta. The good Father tucked his cassock about his waist and plunged into the

thickest of the battle. The Cebuanos performed prodigies of valor and Jolo fell again. The seat of the Sultanate was removed across the island to Maybun, and the Moros paid regular visits to Jolo to slaughter the Spanish garrison which remained.

Padre Crevas, writing of Moro successes of this period, says: "The results of the Spanish expedition, it is sorrowful to confess, having been almost null in spite of the banks of the beautiful river having been bathed in Spanish blood. The company of Jesus have seen perish at the hands of the Moros, four of its sons, Fathers Zamora, Sanchez, Lopez and Monthiel; and others reduced to miserable captivity without the Spanish banner being able to protect them."

The Moros, recovering their capital after a series of bloody assaults, were now in a position to resume the offensive. In 1858 a determined Moro attack was launched upon Zamboanga. All of the inhabitants were forced within the strong walls and the town was systematically looted and then burned, while the Spanish garrison remained powerless to prevent the outrage.

The whole country was overrun with Moro bandits. Eighteen steam vessels were based at Isabela in a vain effort to stem piracy and protect the seas. A force of two steam sloops and nine gunboats patrolled Sulu constantly to protect Spanish traffic between Manila and Zamboanga.

The hampering effect of the steam vessels infuriated the Moros. Instead of quelling their activities, however, it resulted in a greatly increased pirate activity during the years 1860 to 1863.

A time had arrived for the summing up of the results of the 300 years which had elapsed since De Sande had taken the first expedition to Mindanao and Sulu. Spain was face to face with the facts of frustration and defeat. As a payer of Royal tribute the Moro was elusive. Payments of money were following an opposite current, with the Sultan of Sulu the recipient of an annuity of 1,500 pesos from Spain.

A word might be said in regard to the tribute system of Spain. Among the Filipino tribes, the Spaniards required of each person an annual tribute of six reales, or about seventy-five cents per couple. In addition to this payment of money, each male was required to give his personal services during forty days of each year, working for the benefit of the public as he was ordered by the government. This enforced labor was greatly abused by officials, who employed the peons for their own private ventures. This service was never regularly impressed upon the Moros in all of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines. Nor was the payment of the annual head tax.

Spanish historians, writing as late as 1860, say: "The people of Zamboanga are braver than any of the Filipino (Christian) natives, and the Moros have so proven their courage that the name Zamboanga is heard with awe, so skillful

are they with the management of the *kris*, lance and *campilan*. From ancient times the inhabitants of Zamboanga have been exempt from tribute."

This inability of the Spaniards to collect tribute from the Moros was intolerable if the Spanish prestige in the East was to be maintained. In order to clothe this inability with certain legal aspects, a typical Spanish gesture was made on September 24, 1877.

By a decree of this date, all of the Moros of Sulu were exempted from the payment of all tribute or taxes for a period of ten years. This done, the Spaniards settled back in a spirit of pious pleasure at the thought of the manifestly fair treatment meted to the Mohammedans.

Great was the hilarity among the Moros at Jolo. Some of the old chieftains laughed for the first time in years.

"Since when," asked the Datus, "has a Moro paid tribute to Spain?"

16. The End of the Feud with Spain

The history of the little Moro capital of Jolo reads like the plot of a war novel. The town was officially captured by the Spanish forces on five occasions and in each case was almost immediately evacuated. Eleven unsuccessful assaults were made by Spain between the period from 1598 and 1899. The Moro capital was a bone of contention for 321 years, beginning with the first raid of De Sande's expedition of 1578 and ending with the evacuation of the Spanish troops in May, 1899. In all of this long struggle, the town was garrisoned by Spain for a total of but thirty-one years, as against Moro control of 290 years.

Spain's final assault on the Moro capital was led by Admiral Malcampo in 1876, and resulted in the permanent occupation by Spanish troops until Spain relinquished the post to the United States in 1899. The Malcampo expedition consisting of more than 9,000 men, occupied the town after a heavy shelling which drove the defenders from the walls. The steam gunboats laid a cordon about the town which prevented the import of arms and ammunition. The Moros fought with their bared kris against the rifles of the Spaniards but were overwhelmed with terrific slaughter.

Jolo was occupied by a garrison composed of two regiments of infantry, one company of artillery and one company of engineers under the command of Captain P. Cervera, who became the first military governor of Jolo.

Following the successful engagement at Jolo, the troops were marched into the interior in an attempt to subjugate the back country. The large Spanish force was ambushed and forced to withdraw after suffering heavy casualties.

When the expedition returned to Manila, the Spanish garrison at Jolo controlled the area of ground encompassed by the walls of the town. The remainder of the island was wholly in Moro hands.

For two years the Moros made almost daily assaults in an effort to win back their capital, but their armed forces failed to penetrate the walls. Jolo was well fortified with two outer forts named Picesa de Asturias and Torre de la Reina and by three inner forts named Puerta Blockaus, Puerta Espana and Alfonso XII. The town was completely encircled with a brick, loopholed wall.

Failing in organized attempts at recapture, the Moros adopted a system of guerilla warfare. Juramentados penetrated the walls daily, inflicting heavy losses upon the garrison.

Captain Cervera relinquished governorship of Jolo to Brigadier General Jose Paulin, who in turn was relieved by Colonel Carlos Martinez in 1877. Conditions went from bad to worse in Jolo, and by 1880, when Colonel Rafael Gonzales de

Rivera assumed the government, juramentados were so active that Spain supplanted their regular troops with convict battalions.

The Spaniards were confined so closely and were under such constant attack that the place became a disciplinary station where troops were compelled to serve as a punishment.

The year 1880 saw the beginning of Spanish attempts to secure a foothold in the lower islands of Sulu near the Borneo coast. The sixth regiment of Spain was sent to garrison Siasi and Bongao.

The historian Foreman visited Jolo in 1881 and wrote in detail of the conditions of that period. He says in part:

I was dining with the governor when the conversation ran to details of an expedition which was to be sent to Maybun in a day or two, to carry out despatches to the Sultan. The Governor seemed surprised that I expressed a wish to join the party as the journey was not unattended with risk of one's life."

Maybun was the seat of the Sultanate and was located on the opposite side of the small island of Jolo, less than three hours by horseback from the Spanish post.

But although Maybun was only a few miles from the Spanish post, practically all dispatches were sent around by sea on a gunboat as the island was not safe for travel. Only a few days before, a young Lieutenant had been sent on a patrol on a short distance from the fort and had come back with one of his hands cut off.

During the year 1883, juramentados ran wild in the streets of Jolo and hardly a day passed that did not see Spanish soldiers killed by these fanatics. Montero, in his "Historia de la Pirateria del Mindanao y Jolo," preserves one incident for us:

"The second of July, 1883, three juramentados succeeded in penetrating the plaza of Jolo. They entered a Chinese store for the purpose of making purchases and when no one was looking, drew their crises and hurled themselves upon various officers who were seated at the door of the establishment. With the very first blow, Lt. Don Pedro Bordas of the Disciplinary Company was killed and Lt. Caledonio Manrique of the same company mortally wounded and died in a few hours. Dr. Juan Dominguez of the sixth regiment and a soldier of the guard were seriously wounded, the latter dying the next day. They further wounded another private and a corporal."

During the last eight years of the Spanish government of Jolo more than 300 soldiers were killed by juramentados in the city alone. Spain had absolutely no control over Sulu, as is shown by the interesting circumstances which led to the opening of the customs port of Zamboanga in 1831. The Spaniards claimed

suzerainty over the Island of Jolo but were not strong enough to establish and protect a customhouse there. In consequence, a regulation was imposed which required foreign ships loading in Sulu to clear through the customs at Zamboanga ninety miles away. British ships refused to make this long sail, saying that if Sulu was a Spanish territory, a customhouse should be maintained there. This Spain was unable to do, and upon receiving a British ultimatum that Sulu must either have a customhouse or be declared a free port, chose the latter.

A customs decision of 1909 was based upon the assumption that the Moros were never subject to Spain. The colors of Leon and Castille were carried back to Spain, leaving the Moro province in much the same state as Magellan found it.

In the year 1887, and during the governorship of Colonel Juan Arolas, there was fear of a general Moro assault and the fortifications of Jolo were greatly strengthened. Arolas anticipated the Moro attack by ordering a severe Spanish attack on the seat of the Sultanate at Maybun. After a terrific struggle during which the Moros fought like beasts, the town was destroyed on April 15, 1887, The Sultan fled to the hills, returning to rebuild Maybun after the Spanish troops had withdrawn in Jolo.

During this period the Spaniards built the forts of Alfonso XIII at Tucuran, Infanta Isable at Lubig and Santa Maria at Lingtod.

Arola was a merciless and aggressive campaigner, and a man of great resource and tremendous enthusiasm. His appointment as Governor of Sulu was not in the nature of a promotion; rather, he had been sent to Jolo to die. The Spanish government of this period had no place for aggressive republicans. It was not intended for Arolas to return from Jolo, for the Spanish crown planned on his final elimination by the Moros. But they counted without the spirit of the man himself. Arolas survived Jolo to earn the distinction of being the only Spaniard except Corcuera to win the respect of the Moros. With the meager forces at his command he fought the Moros upon every possible occasion and he was a consistent winner. He made the defenses of Jolo impregnable and constructed waterworks and improved the sanitation of the city. He built markets and school systems and a hospital. Without doubt, Arolas was one of the finest administrators of the entire Spanish regime. Like Corcuera, his efforts were wholly unappreciated.

When Weyler, the pig-like Spanish Governor-General, visited Jolo during his tour of office his expression of opinion upon leaving the island was characteristic of the brutish Governor-General himself, and an orchid to Arolas. Weyler said, "*Demasiado limpieza y demasiado gobernador.*" (Too much cleanliness, too much governor.)

Arolas was a stern soldier and his rules were very strict. No Moro could enter the city of Jolo during the night. Between sunrise and sunset, entries

could be made through a designated gate where a guard of twelve soldiers and a Lieutenant was posted. Some yards from the actual gate was a building called the Lanceria. Here was stationed a guard of four soldiers under a Sergeant. Some distance from the Lanceria was a small white stone which constituted a deadline. A Moro wishing to enter the town was expected to approach along this route. When the guard saw him he called out, "Moro armado," and the guard at the main gate turned out with full equipment. If the Moro attempted to pass the white stone, he was immediately shot down. If his intentions were peaceful, he halted before reaching the deadline and five men from the guard approached him. Ten paces from the Moro a halt was made while the Sergeant went forward to take his weapons, after which the Moro was allowed to enter.

These precautions did a great deal to stop the entrance of juramentado Moros during the governorship of Arolas, but even they were not sufficient to stop occasional raids. On one occasion a Moro entering the town passed through the guard in regular fashion, and upon leaving later in the day, drew out cigarettes to offer the guard as he was recovering his weapons. The guard was diverted from his usual vigilance by this offer and its watch relaxed for a moment. The Moro seized his barong and in a flash beheaded one of the guards. Two more guardsmen received fatal injuries and the fourth was crippled for life in that mad moment before the Sergeant shot the Moro's head completely from his body.

The orders to sentries at Jolo were to hail once and then shoot. In one occasion a sentry shot a drunken Spanish officer who refused to respond to the hail. The unfortunate soldier was court-martialed but the matter came to the attention of Arolas and the guard was swiftly pardoned and promoted for carrying out his orders.

On one occasion Arolas called the Datu Cotobato into his presence after the warriors of the chieftain had killed a number of Spaniards. The Datu disclaimed responsibility, saying, "I was unable to control my men. They are juramentados."

The presence of a man like Arolas, while it commanded respect from the Moros, was unfortunate in that such a worthy antagonist spurred the juramentados to greater efforts. It was considered a great coup among the Moros for single individuals to penetrate the walls and slay a few Spaniards right under the nose of the redoubtable Arolas. This oft-repeated occurrence was a source of terror to the Spanish garrison and resulted in the posting of four men to a guard post.

This reign of terror persisted in Jolo without respite until the town was finally evacuated to the American forces in 1899.

Turning to the island of Mindanao, we find conditions equally as bad. The Spaniards had attempted to lay down a railroad from the fort at Iligan to the

Lake Lanao region. The effort was abandoned, for as fast as the rails were laid the Moros took them up for use in the manufacture of kris.

During the year 1886 troops under Terrero embarked for Cotobato to put down a serious rebellion among the Lake Moros. The Moros in Cotobato has openly defied the Spanish and had refused to honor the Spanish flag. Forces under Brigadier Serina, divided into two corps under Majors Mattos and Villa-Abrile, were bitterly opposed by detachments of Datu Utto, who had sworn to leave no Spaniard alive in Cotobato.

In 1891, General Weyler, the butcher of Cuba, was sent to Mindanao to take personal charge of the Cotobato campaigns, but no progress was made toward a permanent occupation of the Lake country. Weyler had ambitions to acquire the rank of Marshal, and his campaigns against the Moros were directed with that end in view. All available forces were concentrated and marched against the Moros. The expeditions was a complete failure, eighty percent of the Spanish force becoming casualties to kris and fever. When the expedition returned to Zamboanga the services of all priests in the district were required to shrive the soldiers, who died faster than the last rites could be performed. Weyler directed his campaign from the safety of a gunboat. Three hundred and seventy Moros under the Datu Ali attacked the town of Lepanto near the Spanish fort of Bugcaon, killing fourteen and looting the place, as the campaign ended.

As late as 1890, the district of Caldera Bay, within fifteen miles of Zamboanga, was untenable to the Spaniards. Professor Worcester, visiting that district on a tour devoted to the collection of zoological specimens, declared that the Moros never wearied of pantomiming how they would cut his throat if he were only a Spaniard. The lawlessness of Caldera, situated within a few miles of the great fortress of Nuestra Senora del Pilar, is indicative of the Spanish helplessness in Mindanao.

In 1895 General Blanco took the field against the Lanao Moros. Steam launches were used in conjunction with a determined land attack on the cottas made by Brigadier General Parraedo. The three months' campaign resulted in the destruction of several Moro cottas, which were rebuilt immediately upon the Spanish withdrawal.

In February, 1898, the last punitive expedition of Spain was undertaken against the Moros. General Buille took the field in Cotobato and the fighting lasted a few days only. Although neither antagonists knew it, this engagement sheathed forever the Toledo blades of Spain.

Spain left half of the Philippine Archipelago to be conquered. Opposing the Spanish in Mindanao in the year 1898 was a force of 19,000 armed Moros. During the last year of Spanish occupation more than \$625,000 was spent in waging the campaign in Mindanao, and the appropriation for the Spanish army and navy was \$10,000,000.

We have seen the Spaniards as late as 1877 solemnly executing, to the accompaniment of gales of laughter from the Moros, a decree exempting the Mohammedans from all tribute for a period of ten years. The decree, as ridiculous as it was, was as solemnly amended in 1887 to cover a new period extending down to the Spanish-American war.

If the Spaniards were unable to collect the tribute from the Moros, it would seem that the Moros were more fortunate in their financial dealings with the Dons. These Mohammedans of Mindanao and Sulu broke another historical precedent when they forced the conquistadores to dig deeply into pockets enriched by the thievery in Mexico and Peru.

To the Sultan of Sulu the Spanish paid \$200 per month and they extended him the privilege of flying his own flag. To each of the three main advisers of the Sultan was paid a sum of \$75 per month. To each of the secondary advisers Spain gave \$60 per month. Just what commercial or social correspondence the savage Sultan conducted is not clear, but we find Spain contributing the sum of \$50 per month to defray the salary of the secretary of the Sultan.

The Moros were refreshing in the nonchalance with which they reversed history. Over in Mexico, we find Cortez appropriating the daughter of Montezuma to make her the mother of his illegitimate sons. The fairest women of the Aztecs are casually handed out as rewards of merit to the Spanish officers and men. In the Philippines, we see the puzzled Spaniards reaching deep into the conquistadorial gold supply to provide \$40 per month as salary of the Keeper of the Royal Harem of Sulu. To guarantee further against the despoiling of the Sulu beauties, the Spaniards dug deeper into the Papal pocket to provide a suitable emolument for the assistant Keeper of the Royal Harem of his Sultanic majesty.

The most subtle touch of this magnanimous gesture of Spain was that in the provision of harem guards for the Sultan, Spanish gold was aiding in the retention of Spanish beauties who added a certain fillip to the amatory excursions of the Sultan when he became bored between campaigns.

Another potent source of income for the Sultan was a convenient Spanish payment of \$2.00 for each captive "rescued" and returned to Manila by the Sultan. Spain also added to the self-satisfaction of the Sultan by a payment of \$3.00 for each pirate "captured" by the Sultan.

It was a simple matter to frown sultanically upon a slave expedition to the Spanish cities and to return the most ill-favored of the captives to the Spaniards at \$2.00 per head. The pirate clause in the Sultan's contract provided an extremely simple method of disposing of individuals who had lost the Royal favor, the Spaniards becoming their executioner upon payment of the customary \$3.00.

By draining the coffers of Spain a monthly total of \$680, plus the captive and pirate rebates, the Sultan proved himself to be a business man worthy of the best traditions of Spain!

While these delightful conditions were the order of the day in Jolo, the Christian subjects elsewhere were paying through the nose for the privilege of being conquered by Spanish arms. The Spanish conquest of the Philippines was not a labor of love. The conquistadores were out for gold, glory and converts - in that order of importance. While the Moros were conducting their casual and wholly successful warfare against Spain, the captive peoples of the north who had accepted the Spanish yoke, were living in peonage.

In the vicinity of Zamboanga (one of the few Spanish footholds in Mindanao) the systematic despoiling of the people was producing a very satisfactory revenue for the Crown of Spain. From this one city of Zamboanga there was sent to Spain each year, a surplus of more than \$1,000,000 in addition to great amounts of tobacco grown by the forced labor of "converted" inhabitants.

Father Crevas, the eminent historian of the Spanish occupation, indicts his own countrymen as follows:

"The immense resources which the government derived from Mindanao proceed from revenues on monopolies, stamped paper, salt, wine of cocoa, tobacco and customs; all of which produce a revenue so considerable that there is ordered sent to Spain ninety thousand pesos (\$45,000) each month as a surplus, with more than 700,000 pesos per year in tobacco."

It is a small wonder that the Moros would have no part with the Spaniards, and it is poetic justice that a great part of this surplus was devoted to fruitless campaigns against the Moros.

On May 23, 1899, all Spanish forces in Mindanao were massed in the fortress of Zamboanga. American troops arrived before the grand fortress of Nuestra Senora del Pilar and took over the city of Zamboanga on November sixteenth of the same year.

Thus came to an end one of the greatest feuds in history - the mighty struggle of kris against Toledo blade. Three hundred and seventy-seven years of bitter warfare left the Moro in command.

Well did Dean C. Worcester write of them:

"The Moros exemplify what may be considered the highest stage of civilization to which the Malays have ever attained unaided."

The Spanish guile which had so successfully and so quickly smothered the civilizations of the Incas and the Aztecs, failed to impress the Moros. In Peru and Mexico the incentive was untold wealth. In Mindanao the Spaniards had only the spur of military glory against a worthy foe.

The conquistadores met their masters.

Part Three: Kris versus Krag

17. Mindanao and Sulu in 1898

In April, 1898, General Basilio Augusti y Davila, head of the Spanish government in the Philippines, became aware of the approach of a hostile American squadron under Dewey and issued a proclamation which read in part:

"Spaniards:

"Between Spain and the United States of North America hostilities have broken out.

"The North American people, composed of all the social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and provoked war with their perfidious machinations, with their acts of treachery, with their outrages against the laws of nations and international treaties.

"The struggle will be short and decisive. Spain, which counts upon the sympathy of all nations, will emerge triumphantly from this new test., humiliating and blasting the adventurers from these States that, without cohesion and without a history, offer to humanity only infamous traditions... in which appear united insolence and defamation, cowardice and cynicism.

"A squadron manned by foreigners, possessing neither instruction nor discipline, is preparing to come to this Archipelago with the blackguard intention of robbing us of all that means life, honor and liberty. Pretending to be inspired by a courage of which they are incapable, the North American seamen undertake, as an enterprise of capable realization, the substitution of Protestantism for the Catholic religion you profess and to take possession of your riches.

"Vain designs! Ridiculous boastings!

"Your indomitable bravery will suffice to frustrate the attempts to carry out their plans... against the shouts of our enemies let us resist with Christian decision and the patriotic cry of 'Viva Espana.'

"Manila, 23rd of April, 1898.

"Your General,

"Basilio Augusti y Davila."

In spite of this bombast, well worthy of the best efforts of Figueroa 400 years earlier, the inferior Spanish fleet fell before the armament of Dewey and a cessation of hostilities followed, with a treaty of peace signed with Spain on December 10, 1898.

By the terms of this treaty, Spain ceded to the United States the territory of the Philippines, and a new opponent came to Mindanao to engage the Mohammedans.

The arrival of the Americans was not accompanied by an immediate occupation of Mindanao and Sulu. The Moros had a brief breather before lifting up the kris against the krag rifle.

The spring of 1899 saw 50,000 American soldiers engaged in the quelling of Filipino insurrections in the north. While these operations were in progress, the isolated and cut-off Spanish garrisons in Mindanao and Sulu suffered horribly. All of the southern posts lacked supplies and many of them were wiped out. The Spanish garrison at Tataan on Palawan Island was slaughtered to a man, and the posts of Bongao and Siasi were abandoned. All of the Spanish forces in the south were concentrated at Zamboanga and Jolo to wait relief by the American army.

Finally, on May 18, 1899, Captain Pratt with 185 men of the 23rd U. S. Infantry, arrived at Jolo to relieve the Spanish garrison.

In December of the same year, troops of the same regiment occupied Zamboanga and the Toledo blade became sheathed forever in Mindanao.

During the whole of the Spanish-American War, the Moro country was cut off from the world. There was little direct communication from Manila, and all the news from Spain was forwarded from Singapore, via Sandakan, Borneo. It was more than a month before Zamboanga knew of the beginning of the Spanish-American War. At one time, the Spanish Padres of Zamboanga received word that Boston had been captured by the troops of Spain.

The American forces arriving to garrison Mindanao and Sulu, found the Moros well in command of the territory fairly earned by more than 300 years of warfare. They found the Moros ill-disposed to give up the territory to the American forces.

The delicacy of the situation was reflected in the orders given to the American troops, who were instructed "to relieve the Spaniards, extend American jurisdiction with as little trouble as possible, and to expect no reinforcements."

Certainly the Moros were well within their rights in attempting to resist this new invader. Without their knowledge, Spain had sold their territory into American hands and there was still a great question as to the validity of the Spanish title to Moroland.

The American troops found Mindanao and Sulu in a terrible state of anarchy and banditry. Outlaw bands ravage the country and in no place was to be found safety from Moro attacks. The Moro country had quickly reverted to a condition of feudalism, with each individual Datu holding the power of life and death in a

small barangay. The swish of the kris was unrestrained, and bandits passed through the country slaughtering the last of the Spaniards.

Into such situation came the first law to Jolo in July, 1899. In August of that year Major-General Otis, Military Governor of the Philippines, sent Brigadier General J. C. Bates to Jolo to negotiate a treaty with the Moros. General Bates was appointed as the agent of the United States government to act as intermediary between the military authorities and the Sulu Moros.

The Sultan and the Moro Datus were at this time of the belief that the evacuation of the Spaniards had transferred their country back into their own hands. It was explained to them that the American government had taken over the affairs of Spain and the Sulu now had a new master. It was a very delicate situation.

After a great deal of preliminary negotiation, which was hampered by the alleged illness of the Sultan and various abortive attempts on the part of the Moros to frighten the American occupants, the Moros presented on August 9, 1899, the following document to the American government in which they stated their opinion of their rights.

Agreement Proposed by the Sultan

Article One - The Sultan can hoist the American flag in Sulu together with his own, but if the Sultan goes to foreign lands he can fly his own flag to show his rank as ruler of Sulu but his subjects need fly no flag so long as they have the written authority of the Sultan.

Article Two - The Americans shall pay to the Sultan \$200 per month, to the Datus \$100 per month and to the advisers \$50 per month.

Article Three - The Americans are not allowed to occupy any of the islands on the seashore of Sulu except by permission of the Sultan and his Datus; and they must pay a profit to the Sultan, whatever is arranged. If no arrangement is made the Americans cannot force an entry into Sulu.

Article Four - The Americans will respect the dignity of the Sultan and his Datus; above all, will respect the Mohammedan religion; they will not change or oppose execution of the same.

Article Five - The sultan and his Datus and advisers can keep arms for fighting.

Article Six - The Sultan can give written authority to people for sailing and trading in all of the islands; at the same time, these people have to go to Jolo to obtain permission of the American Governor and all other nations can trade in the islands by giving notice to the American Governor.

Article Seven - The Sultan can take duties from trading vessels of any nation coming to the islands. The Americans shall not oppose this for it is a gift of God to the people of the land.

Article Eight - In case of dispute between the American Governor and the Sultan, the Sultan may communicate direct with the Governor-General in Manila.

Article Nine - The Sultan shall prevent piracy and give orders that it shall not happen but if orders are not obeyed we will notify Governor of Jolo and together suppress it.

Article Ten - If any American goes about the country he shall notify the Sultan and receive an escort. If he goes without an escort and anything happens to him the Sultan shall not be responsible.

Article Eleven - If any American subjects ran away and come to us we will give them up to the Americans; the same shall be done with our followers who run away to the Americans.

Article Twelve - If the Sultan have (sic) trouble with European nations, the American government shall stand by him as a protector.

Article Thirteen - In case the Americans have trouble with the subjects of the Sultan, they shall not at once resort to arms, but examine the facts of the case.

Article Fourteen - The Americans shall not judge any Moro and shall not settle any dispute between Moros, and shall not judge any dispute of the Mohammedan religion.

Article Fifteen - If the Americans should not like to stay in Jolo they are not authorized to sell Jolo to any other nation without consulting the Sultan.

Article Sixteen - The Americans and the Sultan to hold to this agreement.

This agreement, signed by the Sultan and nineteen of his head men, was of course unacceptable to America. After a great deal of argument, another agreement was drawn up between General Bates, representing the United States, and his Highness, the Sultan of Sulu. This agreement, known as the Bates Treaty, was duly signed and approved by the President of the United States, in all its provisions except the one relating to slaves. President McKinley placed his approval on document on October 27, 1899, thus cementing the first negotiations with the Moros.

The Bates Treaty is given here in its entirety. *Article One* - The sovereignty of the United States over the whole Archipelago of Sulu and its

dependents is declared and acknowledged. *Article Two* - The United States flag will be used in the Archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies, on land and sea. *Article Three* - The rights and dignities of the Sultan and his Datus shall be respected; the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all of their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion. *Article Four* - While the United States may occupy and control such points in the Archipelago of Sulu as public interests may seem to demand, encroachment will not be made upon the lands immediately about the residence of the Sultan of Sulu, unless military necessity required such occupation in case of war with a foreign power; and where the property of individuals is taken, due compensation will be made in each case. *Article Five* - All trade in domestic products in the Archipelago of Sulu, when carried on by the Sultan and his people, with any part of the Philippine Islands, and when conducted under the American flag, shall be free, unlimited and undutiable. *Article Six* - The Sultan of Sulu shall be allowed to communicate direct with the Governor-General in Manila in making complaint against the commanding officer of Jolo or against any naval commander. *Article Seven* - The introduction of firearms and war material is forbidden, except under specific authority of the Governor-General of the Philippines Islands. *Article Eight* - Piracy must be suppressed, and the Sultan of Sulu and his Datus agree to heartily cooperate with the United States authorities to that end, and to make every possible effort to arrest and bring to justice all persons engaged in piracy. *Article Nine* - Where crimes and offenses are committed by Moros against Moros, the government of the Sultan will bring to trial and punishment the criminals and offenders, who will be delivered to the government of the Sultan by the United States authorities if in their possession. In all other cases, persons charged with crimes or offenses will be delivered to the United States authorities for trial and punishment. *Article Ten* - Any slave in the Archipelago of Sulu shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market price. *Article Eleven* - In cases of trouble with the subjects of the Sultan, the American authorities in the Islands will be instructed to make careful investigation before resorting to harsh measures, as in most cases serious trouble can be thus avoided. *Article Twelve* - At present, Americans or foreigners desiring to go into the country shall state their wishes to the Moro authorities and ask for an escort, but it is hoped that this will become unnecessary as we know each other better. *Article Thirteen* - The United States will give full protection to the Sultan and his subjects in case any foreign nation should attempt to impose upon them. *Article Fourteen* - The United States will not sell the Island of Jolo or any other island of the Sulu Archipelago to any foreign nation without the consent of the Sultan. *Article Fifteen* - The United States government will pay the following monthly salaries:

	Mexican Dollars
To the Sultan	250
Datu Rajah Muda	75
Datu Attik	60
Datu Calbi	75
Datu Joakanin	75
Datu Puyo	60
Datu Amir Hussein	60
Hadji Butu	60
Habib Mura	50
Sherif Saguir	15

Signed in triplicate in English and Sulu, at Jolo, this 29th day of August, A.D. 1899 (13 Arabuil, Abril 1517)

(Signed) - John C. Bates, Brigadier General, U.S. Army.

- Sultan of Sulu
- Datu Rajah Muda
- Datu Attik
- Datu Calbi
- Datu Joakanin

It should be pointed out that his treaty was only concerned with the Moros of Sulu. There remained all of the Moros incorporated under the Sultanate of Mindanao with whom no agreement was made.

The American forces were soon to encounter opposition from the Lanao Moros of Mindanao. After a centuries-old struggle with Spain, the Sultan saw no reason for permitting the new and untried American forces to enter Mindanao without a struggle. The krismen rallied for a new conflict.

In Mindanao, in the vicinity of Malabang, the Americans found thirteen Mohammedan settlements containing a fighting population of more than 3,600 warriors, each settlement possessing at least one fortified cotta or fortress. The troops first occupied the Malabang country in 1899, but it was not until 1902 that progress was made as far as Lake Lanao.

The sudden exit of the Spaniards from this territory was assumed by the Moros to be a final and decisive victory, and there was in their minds no thought of a possible new antagonist. Accordingly, when the American forces under General Chaffee issued a proclamation of friendship which was worded in an unfortunate manner, the Moros became surly and full of martial spirit.

The proclamation read:

To the Moros of Lake Lanao

Under the treaty of Paris between Spain and the United States, executed in the year 1899, the Philippine Islands, including the island of Mindanao, were ceded by Spain to the United States, together with all of the rights and responsibilities of complete sovereignty. Among the rights thus acquired by the United States is that of commerce and free communication throughout the islands by its civil and military agents and by all its citizens when engaged in lawful pursuits. The responsibility of the government to protect its citizens and agents under these and all other conditions, to insist upon the full recognition of its power to do so by the inhabitants of the Philippines, native and foreign, will not be disputed by any enlightened government or people."

When we consider the fact that the Moros not only had never heard of the Treaty of Paris but were in total ignorance that any such country as the United States existed, we can understand the prompt nature of their resistance. They were logically unable to understand how any nation who had never subdued them had the right to cede their territory over to another power.

After all the peaceful overtures failed, 1,200 American soldiers entered the Lake Lanao country of Mindanao. Moro depredations there had involved the murder of American planters and the theft of cavalry horses. An American force, under the command of Colonel Baldwin, engaged in a series of serious cotta fights.

The first engagement of magnitude was the terrific battle of Bayang which found the 27th Infantry and the 25th Mountain Battery engaged against the Moros in a struggle which cost the lives of many Americans. The American

victory, if it may be called such, was only a partial one, and a fresh expedition became necessary in 1903.

The Moros of this region constructed lakeside cottas of great strength in the vicinity of Bacolod and Calahui. These forts were adequately defended with brass lantakas and scores of fierce krismen. The American troops found the reduction of these forts to be no easy task.

American troops had not participated in such fighting since Revolutionary War days. The fighting was conducted in malarial swamps and darkened jungles, under conditions to try the soul of the bravest. In these first campaigns against the Moros, the Americans learned what Spain had been fighting against for more than 300 years.

Baldwin led the American forces into a country the like of which was foreign to the experiences of any American field officer. The fighting was mostly hand-to-hand work of a guerilla nature. Often the foe was unseen - until it was too late. Sometimes the deceptively silent jungle awoke suddenly and the troopers found themselves hemmed by a rush of frantic krismen. Baldwin's men learned in this campaign the horrors of a juramentado Moro. Secure in their swamps and forests, the Moros were as dangerous as a leopard. The Americans shot repeatedly at men who refused to fall. The troopers walked the jungle trails into Moro ambushes where the first terribly late warning was the gasp of a soldier skewered on a spear thrown from the bush.

Asleep in the jungle camps at night, the Americans' first warning would be the gurgle of an expiring sentry and then the cat-footed Moros would be upon them with flashing kris.

The force was constantly under attack from hostile Moros and the country was ridden with malaria, but the American troopers came through in good order and campaign culminated in the destruction of the cotta of the Sultan of Buhayen and the establishment of Camp Vicars in the Moro country.

These campaigns of these period established the military reputation of one of America's greatest soldiers. Captain John J. Pershing led a force of American troops through the center of Lanao country into a district barely penetrated by Spain. Waging a determined warfare far in the interior swamps of Mindanao, his small force required numerous reinforcements. As a result, detachments from the command of officers senior to Captain Pershing were sent to augment his small detail.

As the campaign was progressing exceedingly well under the able direction of Captain Pershing, the higher military authorities were unwilling to see him superseded in command. Therefore, as the commands of higher officers were sent to reinforce Pershing's force, these officers were detailed to Manila, minus commands. Captain Pershing soon found himself in central Mindanao at the head of an army.

Upon the recommendation of all general officers in the Philippine Department, Captain Pershing was raised from the rank he held to that of a Brigadier General, by order of President Roosevelt.

It is interesting to note that the meteoric career of Pershing received its original impetus at the hands of the Moros of Mindanao. The Mohammedans, soldiers themselves, were makers of soldiers.

The Americans soon found that the military occupation of Mindanao and Sulu was not a matter to be taken lightly. The Spaniard had left the country in much the same condition as they had found it. Little had been accomplished in the way of public works. The fortress at Zamboanga and the walled town at Jolo had small docks which would accommodate vessels of moderate draft. There was no road system, all transportation depending upon native trails.

Over the barangays in the hands of the Datus was the loosely organized control held by the religious and political Sultanates of Sulu and Mindanao. The public school system was practically non-existent. In all of the islands of the Philippine group there were but 120 miles of railroad and this was controlled by British capital.

On April 5, 1903, an American force consisting of Troops A, G and L of the 15th Cavalry; Companies C, F, G and M of the 27th Infantry; two Vickers-Maxim gun sections of the 25th Field Artillery and two Mortar Sections of the 17th Field Artillery set out at dawn from Camp Vicars to carry the war into Moro territory.

The column was almost under continual attack from the Moros. In camp the first night on the trail, one Moro crept within two yards of the sentry post, seriously wounding two soldiers. The advance was conducted under constant fire from Moro snipers and was accompanied by sudden rushes on the part of the krismen with bared weapons.

After a terrific shelling from the mountain guns, the infantry advanced on the cotta of Bacalad, which fell after three days of siege and continual shelling. Nine Moro Datus were killed and the Moro total loss was sixty-nine, most of them killed by the long range fire of the Vickers-Maxims which had opened at a range of 900 yards. American casualties were fifteen killed and wounded.

The troops then moved on to the remaining cotta in Calahui. This fort was bombarded by the artillery for twenty hours at a range of 1,500 yards, supported with Maxim fire into the port holes every half hour. The Moros evacuated in the face of the deadly long range fire and the fort was blown up with gun powder.

Additional reinforcements of American troops gradually spread over the islands, and American army posts grew up in Mindanao and Sulu to establish a thin layer of law and order over the archipelago. The first three years of

occupation were almost barren of results. The whole country was in arms against the new owners of the Philippines, and much of the military strength was expended against the Filipino insurrections in the north. The Moros took advantage of the lull to enter into open rebellion against America. In following this course, they were well within their rights.

After some four years of military government, it became apparent that a more stable form of rule was required. The military governors controlled their isolated districts in much the same manner as their Spanish predecessors and their sphere was limited to the country immediately surrounding their posts.

The American government early realized that the problem of the Moro of Mindanao and Sulu was far different from that existing among the Filipino tribes of the north. The Moros were segregated by differences of religion, customs and mannerisms, and the problem was intensified by the hatred these Mohammedans held for the Christian Filipinos of Luzon and the Visayas.

Realizing the necessity for a separate form of government for these Mohammedans, the Moro province was created on June 1, 1903, to provide a form of civil government supplemented by military aid.

18. The Formation of the Moro Province

A second great American soldier now came forward to assume the government of the Moro territory. General Leonard Wood, who had served so successfully as military governor of Cuba, now took up the reins in Mindanao and Sulu as the first civil governor of the Moro province.

An organic act of the Insular Government authorized the formation of the Moro Province and defined the geographical limits of the territory effected. Certain powers were laid down to the administrators as follows:

The Moro Province was designed as including all of the territory of the Philippines lying south of the eight parallel of latitude, excepting the island of Palawan and the eastern portion of the northwest peninsula of Mindanao.

The province to be governed by a Legislative Council composed of the Governor, the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Attorney of the Province.

The enactment of laws for the local government of the Moros and other non-Christian tribes, conforming as nearly as possible to the lawful customs of such tribes, and vesting in their local or tribal rulers as nearly practicable, the same authority over their people as had hitherto obtained.

To enact laws for the abolition of slavery and the suppression of all slave-hunting and slave-trading.

The division of the Province into five territorial districts.

The district authorities were empowered to regulate the use of firearms, ammunition and edged weapons; to prohibit the passage of one headman or his tribesmen from one tribal ward to another; and various other purely legislative powers relating to the preservation of order.

General Wood soon found himself facing an intolerable situation. The terms of the Bates Treaty were repeatedly violated by the Moros and slave-trading was openly carried on in defiance of the law. Although American payments totaling some \$6,750 annually were made to the Sultan and his retinue, conditions rapidly approached a breaking point.

The Moros cannot be censured too heavily for their failure to live up to their obligations. There was nothing in the whole history of the Moros' relations with foreigners to indicate to them that any foreigner can be trusted. Certainly their relations with the Spanish had been such that the Moros were filled with a profound distrust.

The Sultan, acting on the basis of the old negotiations with Spain, reached out for more authority. Before the year 1903 came to an end, the Bates Treaty

had been violated in all of its terms. General Wood recommended the abrogation of the treaty during that year. As armed resistance against America was breaking out on all sides. The passage of the Cedula Act of 1903, providing for the purchase of an annual registration card, or cedula, by all inhabitants, was a source of bitter resentment to the Moros. The cedula smacked of tribute and the Moros saw no reason why they should register for the privilege of occupying their own territory.¹

Cotta warfare flamed in Sulu where 10,000 Moro warriors prepared to resist to the death. Juramentado Moros again ran the streets of Jolo and the old reign of terror descended upon Sulu.

In November, 1903, an American survey party penetrated into interior Jolo, and their return to the city being past due, the Datu Hassan was called before the American governor to account for the party.

Hassan had evidently anticipated this summons for he arrived before the town of Jolo with a force of 4,000 well-armed krismen. It was apparent that an open rebellion was forming and that treachery was intended. After considerable parley outside the gates, Hassan was admitted within the walls with a force of forty guardsmen.

The American forces at Jolo were not sufficient to engage the Moros and Governor Scott therefore dispatched a hasty messenger to General Wood, who was engaged with the Moros in the Cotobato Valley. Upon receiving Scott's request for more troops for the defense of Jolo, Wood abandoned his Mindanao campaign and hastened in person to Jolo.

With the arrival of the troops under Wood, a demand was sent to Hassan to surrender. Hassan, encamped outside the walls, sent a reply to the effect that he had no intention of submitting to American rule and "that if the Americans wanted him, they could come out and get him." With that message, he withdrew his troops into the jungle.

General Wood then led his troops down to Lake Seit where Hassan had retired, and a battle was fought which resulted in the death of sixty of the Moros. Hassan retreated, fighting a rear-guard action which developed into a campaign covering more than fifty miles.

The American troops assaulted cotta after cotta and the engagement came to an end eventually with the killing of more than 500 of the Moros and the capture of Hassan himself on November 14, 1903.

With Hassan under close guard of files of American infantrymen, the troops took up the march back to the Sulu capital. As the city gates were swinging open to receive the returning Americans, a detachment of krismen burst from the concealment of a nipa house and in a moment they were upon the force bearing Hassan a captive. With ear-shattering yells, the wedge of krismen

drove through the American column to their captured leader. Screams and shots mingled with the thud of the kris. In a moment Hassan was free, and vanished into the jungle. Major Scott, who commanded the American force, was so badly cut in the hand that it was necessary to amputate several of his fingers.

Hassan was such a serious threat to the peace of the archipelago that troops under Scott took the field again in March, 1904, to run the outlaw to earth. Scott led the men in spite of the wounds which made it impossible for him to hold a weapon.

The Moros returned the offensive and sent charge after charge against the American troops during a pursuit which lasted several weeks. As a result of losses sustained in these terrific attacks, Hassan's force decreased in number and he was forced to seek refuge in a strong cotta. In the Moro fortress of Pang-Pang, he came to bay with eighty men, being opposed by an immensely superior American force.

Breaches were made in the cotta walls by artillery fire and most of the Moro garrison was killed by shrapnel. Hassan, with only two followers, escaped to the crater of an extinct volcano, where he made a last brave stand. His two men were quickly picked off by expert riflemen, and Hassan himself, badly wounded, at last pitched down the slope. He was riddled with bullets during a vain attempt to get into hand-to-hand fighting with the American troops.

Coincident with these campaigns against Hassan, the 28th Infantry commenced operations in the vicinity of Taraca in Mindanao. Guerilla conditions prevailed. The troops established a fortified camp close to the disturbance area and sent out an outpost composed of Sergeant Stevens and Privates Bowser, Burke and Kiethley.

The men of the outpost cleared a small area in the dense jungle and settled down to an heroic and terrible sentry duty. In the early morning hours, the rush came. Twenty krismen leaped from the jungle. In the first savage attack, all of the men except Private Kiethley were hacked to death on the kris. Kiethley received a terrible wound.

This young American soldier performed an almost impossible feat of valor. Gathering the rifles of his dead mates, he fell back slowly, pouring a steady and accurate fire to keep the Moros at bay. For three-quarters of a mile, he fought off the rushes of the krismen, reaching the post with the four rifles, to fall at last before the awful slashes of the kris.

Young Kiethley's experience was duplicated by hundreds of American soldiers during the course of the Moro campaigns. The Taraca campaigns were ones of close and desperate work against a bush that was alive and slew suddenly, without warning. These early campaigns accomplished nothing, for the destruction of one Moro band was followed by the springing of another across

the mountain range. The fighting was terrific and deadly, for it was veiled by a screen of almost impenetrable jungle. The silence of the night was disturbed by the scream of the juramentado and the cutting of tent ropes. The dawn showed a camp of fallen tents with the canvas stained red by the slashes of the kris.

The winning of Mindanao marked an epoch of terror and blood!

It was not until eight years after the death of Kiethley that forces of the 6th Infantry penetrated the jungle to capture Sultan Cauayan and others of his band who led the attack on the outpost at Taraca.

With the coming of actual warfare, the Bates Treaty was abrogated during the opening months of 1904 and the payment to the Sultan were discontinued. America picked up the discarded sword of Spain in earnest and troops poured into Mindanao.

General Wood himself wrote of this period:

"The fact was generally recognized that the Sultan of Sulu had, before the year was up, broken the treaty in a dozen different ways. He and other Datus had signed to keep order, yet the Sulus, when I arrived, were in a decidedly outlaw state. Murder and raids were of frequent occurrence and terrible conditions in general prevailed. There was no law and order."

Cotta warfare of increasing intensity developed during the succeeding months and it was soon decided to restore the payments to the Sultan of Sulu. With the Moro ruler definitely antagonistic to the United States, the difficulties of the campaign were multiplied enormously. Fighting with the sanction of the Sultan, the Moros were far more dangerous than when led by guerilla leaders.

On November 12, 1904, the Philippine Commission passed an act providing for payments of \$3,000 annually to the Sultan, \$900 annually to Hadji Butu and \$450 annually to each of the Hadjis, Tahib, Mohammed and Abdulla; to Panglima Bandahala and to Datus Jolkarnin and Kalbi.

To the credit of the Sultan of Sulu, it must be said that following this arrangement he never again took part in the armed rebellion against the United States. The fighting which took place during the next thirteen years was not directed by the Sultan, but was in the hands of minor Datus who refused to submit to American authority.

America was discovering, as Spain had discovered, that the Moros would have to be reduced with hand-to-hand fighting in each barrio. The power of the Sultan was not sufficiently inclusive to insure peace in the Moro Province.

America had one great advantage over Spain. Her relations with the Moros were not marred by interference in religious customs. There were certain disagreements over the question of slavery but there were no fanatical priests

working hand-in-hand with the American soldiers as had been the case with Spain. The Moros were assured from the first day of American occupation that there would be no interference with their religion. When the Moros found this to be true and the Americans had proven themselves worthy of trust, the peace of Mindanao and Sulu became assured. Bullets could not, and did not, conquer the Moros. They would have fought against the United States to the last man if religious questions had been involved. Tolerance and fair treatment brought the Moros into subjection where the arquebuses of Spain had failed.

Shortly after the American occupation of Jolo, it was decided to occupy the southern points of Bongao and Siasi in order to discourage piracy, which showed evidence of breaking out anew. These old Spanish stations were occupied with a force composed of one infantry company. Bongao was on the Island of Tawi Tawi, in a dense, fever-ridden jungle country, avoided by all except a few Moro pirates. The Spaniards had maintained two posts on Tawi Tawi, one at Tataan and the other at Bongao, but America contented herself with only the small post at Bongao. The small concrete block house of the Spaniards was located on a rocky peninsula extending some hundreds of yards into the sea. Here the Spaniards had lived, confined within the walls of the fort.

The American forces under the command of Captain S. A. Cloman, made no such mistake. The concrete block house was converted into a storeroom and the troops soon convinced the Moros that they had no intention of being confined to the stone walls of a fortress. Expeditions were conducted to all of the small islands of the southern group and American law made itself felt in districts never penetrated by Spain. Many islands were found where Moro children had never before seen a white man.

One of the first duties of the American forces was to round up a notorious pirate named Selungun who was operating on Simunul Island in cooperation with the Maharajah Tawassil. The capture of Selungun was accomplished without bloodshed, and he was turned over to guardsmen of the Sultan of Sulu to be transported to Maybun to answer charges of murdering some of the henchmen of the Sultan. Tawassil died in prison while awaiting trial for piracy and opium smuggling.

En route to Maybun, Selungun escaped and made his way to Celebes, where he became a potent figure in the pirate activities of the East Indian coast. The English and the Americans had expeditions in the fields against him. One American party of several hundred soldiers pursued him for weeks on the coast of Mindanao but he escaped, to pass unpunished into a pirate's grave.

Cloman's party had several brushes with the Moros, including one terrible ambush of the American soldiers which cost several lives.

A detachment of soldiers was sent into Tawi Tawi on a wild boar hunt to replenish the food supply. The hunting party, composed of Sergeant De Wolf

and Privates Mygatt, Greathouse, Gibbons and Carter, encamped on a hill top in interior Tawi Tawi.

A small crowd of natives accompanied them and a tent was pitched as a permanent hunting camp. When darkness fell, the American soldiers settled down to camp routine, four of the party sitting at the camp fire, while Mygatt strolled to the beach to take a bath.

A moment later there were screams from the camp, and Mygatt, diving into the water, heard the natives running on the beach in search for him. After a long night of terror alone on the beach, the soldier returned to the camp early in the morning. He found De Wolf sprawled across the ashes of the camp fire, dead from a kris wound in the neck. Gibbons had a severed left hand and was critically wounded by a gash in the head, in addition to forty-four other wounds. Carter and Greathouse were lying in a pool of blood, alive but terribly slashed with kris wounds.

Mygatt sailed the boat back to the post at Bongao, arriving in a state of collapse with two dead men and two seriously wounded mates who eventually succumbed.

A party of forty-five men took up the pursuit of the murderers and they were eventually apprehended at Bilimbing. The reports of this expedition indicate that the American government was saved the expense of a trial. The murderers, ten in all, were tied to stakes when the troops went into camp. The next morning, when the prisoners were released to begin the journey back to Bongao, there occurred a desperate break for liberty but the ten Moros failed to run the gauntlet of fire to the jungle edge. One wonders if the attempted escape was not welcomed and possibly aided by the American troops. At any rate, the punishment of the murderers was just, and there appears to have been little trouble thereafter in Tawi Tawi.

While these campaigns in Sulu were in progress, American forces in Mindanao were penetrating the hitherto inaccessible Lake Lanao region. Captain McCoy conducted an expedition against Datu Ali, the "will-o-the-wisp" of Cotobato. Ali was the most formidable of the early Moro insurgents.

The forces of Captain McCoy, working with the aid of trusted Moro guides, succeeded in penetrating the very cotta of Ali before the Moros were aware of the presence of the American troops. Ali made a brave stand but he was shot down, together with several hundred of his men, in the bloodiest battle of the early occupation. There was some criticism directed at this engagement due to the numbers of women and children killed by the artillery and rifle fire of the American troops.

A previous expedition against the redoubtable Ali had failed. Troops under Captain White had gone out months earlier after the elusive Moro, to toil through the jungle all the way from Port Lebak to the Cotobato Valley. White's

men had followed closely in the historic path cut by Corcuera, but they had been forced to return through inability to secure trustworthy guides.

During the expedition of McCoy which had resulted in the extermination of Ali, another sore sport in Cotobato was removed. Datu Matabaloo, who had threatened to kill any Moro paying the cedula tax, was surrounded in his cotta and killed after a bloody charge with fixed bayonets.

In examining the American occupation of Mindanao and Sulu from the viewpoint of the Moros, one must question the legality of our claim on this country. The transfer of money from America to Spain meant selling out the Moro's own country from underneath them. The transfer was effected without their knowledge or their consent. The Moros had no part in the welter of politics and sugar disputes that provoked the Spanish-American war. The title of the seller of Mindanao and Sulu was impaired, for Spain had failed to conquer this country. She had held sovereignty by proclamation -- not by force of arms.

That the Moro was a barbarian. Is admitted. But he was an invaded barbarian, fighting on his own soil for the defense of that soil. Spain crossed the ocean to enter the territory of the Moros. America crossed the ocean to force the jungle trails of Mindanao and Sulu.

The Moro had the right to resistance. As in the campaigns against Spain, the Moro was entitled to the choice of weapons in his conflict with America. It was a war not of his choosing; America brought the war to Mindanao. If the Moro chose to fight his way, from the shelter of his jungle bush, it remained for the invader of that soil to take his own chances.

Maudlin sympathy, however, would be wasted upon the Moros. They do not need condolences. They are among the hardiest of all the races of man. But the fact remains that this little group of unorganized Malays went against the Gatling guns and artillery of the most powerful nation in the world. They died on their own soil before the superior weapons and armament of an invading army. They pitted a kris against a krag rifle. They raised a barong against the fire of mountain artillery. If they cut and slashed in the night and ambushed from beside a jungle trail, they were well within their rights.

For these reasons, the severity of some of the campaigns against the Moros are to be condemned rather than condoned. The American was equally as culpable as the Spaniard. The Spaniard brought religion at the point of an arquebus. The American brought law to an inferior and minor people at the point of a krag.

Our claim on Mindanao and Sulu was weak indeed.

But the subjugation of Moroland went ahead. Governor Scott took the field against Datu Usap. Usap's cotta at Laksamana was destroyed by artillery fire from the mountain guns. Usap had refused to allow American forces to pass

through his territory, notwithstanding Scott's announcement that the mission of the troopers was one of peace for the purpose of surveying the country. The troops entered in spite of Usap's protests and were fired upon from an entrenched cotta.

In the hand-to-hand conflict which resulted in the destruction of the cotta of Laksamana, Lieutenant Jewell was killed as he scaled the cotta walls at the head of his men. Usap and one hundred Moros were left dead on the field after the passage of the American troops.

The mountain guns and quick-firing Gatlings of the American troops, supplemented by the krag riflemen, made the struggles almost no contest. There was some criticism in the United States at the slaughter of the Moros, as it was believed that a great deal of conflict could have been averted by using diplomatic measures. Certain it is that at times the United States piled up an unnecessarily large casualty list with the superior weapons at their command. The Moros were never expert in the use of firearms. They relied upon the kris, and in the best hands an edged weapon is poor defense against a Gatling gun.

The disparity in weapons resulted in the breaking up of the Moro resistance into the worst form of guerilla warfare. Bands of krismen penetrated the American lines, satisfied to die if they could take an American or two with them to Paradise.

A great deal of the trouble was stirred up by the Mohammedan priests, who did a profitable business in anting-antings and other charms calculated to inspire disdain of the American weapons. Usap himself, now lying stiff in death on the walls of the cotta of Laksamana, had purchased from the Hadji Habib Muhamad Masdali a charm warranted to make him invulnerable to the bullets of the Americans.

The Moros were quite willing to die and the history of this whole period is filled with cases of krismen rushing out, blade in hand, to fall riddled with bullets long before they came into contact with American soldiers. Among the warriors of Usap, taken at the storming of Laksamana, was one individual, shot four times, who was carried to the hospital at Zamboanga for treatment. While on the operating table, this terrible warrior regained consciousness for a moment, hurled his betel-nut box at the American surgeon attending him, cursed him violently in the name of Allah and turned on his side to die.

In the middle of 1905, conditions in Sulu had reached such a state that actual warfare in force became necessary. The Moros fortified themselves upon the crests of Mount Talipao and Bud Dajo, where assaults of magnitude were conducted by American troops. Several hundred Moros were killed and severe casualties were inflicted upon the attacking Americans.

The aggressive attacking policy of the Americans was gradually gaining the respect of the Moros. The old days when the Moros could surround a fort and

hurl insults to a miserable garrison were gone. The American troops refused to be confined to stone walls as the Spaniards had been, and the continuous field excursions were building American prestige among the fierce Mohammedans.

The American soldiers themselves were incomprehensible to the Moros, who had been accustomed to the religious solemnity of the Spaniards. The Moros found the Americans an antagonist who also made a game of war.

Morga's "Official History of the Philippines" contains an account of the perplexity of the Moros over these Americans who slew them on week days and played like children on Sunday:

"when the 23rd Regiment went to Jolo, the Catholic cathedral was taken as barracks, under the strain of military necessity. This was startling to the Moros and a blow to intended juramentados. The Moros asked themselves whether a people who slept with their boots on, and who marched with guns to a house that had been sacred to the Spaniards, could themselves be Christians.

"Moreover, on the first day of the week, when the Spaniards had marched in long processions to the holy place and their priests had chanted and waved little lamps of brass, these Americans were wont to come out to the meadow outside the city wall and throw a ball at each other and hit it with a heavy stick and knock it a great distance, and then shout so that the echo therefrom could be heard half-way to Maybun.

"What could it profit a man if he shaved his head and his eyebrows and slew these people?"

1 Incidentally, thirty years of American occupation of Sulu has failed to ensure Moro respect for the Cedula law. Only a small percentage of the Moros purchase a registration card. The writer knows many cases of Moros of middle age who have never owned such a card.

19. The Battle of Bud Dajo

During the governorship of General Wood, American sovereignty was extended into isolated districts of Mindanao and Sulu that had never before felt the hand of the white man. Some of the problems encountered by the American administrators were extremely difficult in settlement, as they involved Moro tribal rights which had been in existence for centuries.

Although the Americans were ill-prepared by experience to govern these wild people, the pursuance of a middle course helped to enforce the law without treading too heavily upon traditional Moro rights. As mentioned previously, some facts rebounded not to the credit of America; there was too much bloodshed at times when a more careful diplomacy might have avoided the necessity of military operations.

The Moros, a proud, fierce people, had been almost wholly without law under the Spaniards. The abrupt transition from lawlessness to a condition of law and order was more than could be expected of these savage Mohammedans. The institutions of piracy and slave-trading were ingrained as a part of the Moro character. These institutions were a logical and, to them, perfectly reasonable part of their society.

So also, was the seeming disregard for human life held by the Moros. In the past, the red swish of the *kris* had sufficed to settle all arguments. For generations the Datus had preserved the privilege of putting inconvenient people out of the way with little formality and no accounting for their acts. The thought of subjecting themselves to an American criminal law which they did not understand was intolerable, as was the payment of the head tax as required by the *cedula* law.

The hot-heads broke away, in defiance of the law, and Mindanao and Sulu became the hunting ground of small intertribal units who operated in open rebellion against America.

In the latter part of 1905, Pala, one of the Moro malcontents, decreed a Holy War against the authority of America and called upon the Sulu Moros to aid him in rebellion.

While the American campaign against Pala was in the field, two Moro leaders named Sariol and Abdulla conceived a plot to murder the commanding officer of the American post at Siasi and seize the rifles for use in the defense of Pala.

A small force of Moros closed in upon the isolated station. In the jungle edge near the fort, the Moros drew lots with pieces of *bejuco* vine to determine who should have the honor of killing the American officer.

The privilege fell to Sariol.

Stripping himself to a breech-cloth, the Moro stealthily passed through the sentries and entered the quarters of Captain Hayson in the darkness of the night.

Noiselessly the Moro crossed the room to the mosquito-netted cot of the sleeping victim. One bloody flick of the *kris* without warning and another American officer had died in the conquest of Sulu.

The next morning, the unsuspecting sentry found his commanding officer tangled in his reddened mosquito netting and the company swiftly took the trail after the murderer.

The plot to seize the rifles went astray, for the Moro members of the dead captain's company remained loyal to the service. Sariol and Abdulla were run to earth at the edge of a swamp and captured and brought to justice by their own countrymen.

Sariol was hanged at Siasi and dawn on November, 20, 1905, and Abdulla died in prison while waiting execution. On the scaffold, Sariol warned others of the Moros not to follow in his footsteps.

"The punishment is just," he said as the noose was adjusted about his neck. "I have violated the Koran by killing without warning in the middle of the night and I am ready to die."

Early in the year 1906, Moro outlaws in the inaccessible mountains of Butig fortified themselves in hill-top strongholds under the leadership of Sultan Mamantun of Maciu. Under Mamantun, a great force of outlaws became established at *rancherias* and were responsible for terrible depredations throughout the district.

Government launches operating at the mouth of the Malaig river were frequently fired upon, with the result that a camp of men from the 15th Infantry was established at the river.

The Moros were invited in for parleys and many of them came in and abandoned the outlaw life to return peacefully to their homes.

A number of the Moros, however, chose to ignore the American request for conciliation, and after a party commanded by Lieutenant Furlong was fired upon, an American offensive was undertaken. Sultan Mamantun was killed and his men turned to Uti, a fanatical Mohammedan priest, for guidance.

Uti forwarded a note to the American authorities:

"Do not come in the night, pigs. If you do, I will crush you. Come in the daytime so that the Moros can see the dead Americans. All of you that come I

will give as *Sungud* (marriage portion) to the virgin. the *kris* that cuts fast is ready."

The priest was mightier with the pen than with the *kris*, for when the expedition swooped down to be "crushed" he speedily took to the hills. Lieutenant Furlong led several attacks on *cottas* in the district, killing a great many Moros and losing a few men in the process.

Colonel J. F. Hutton took the field at the head of three columns of troops in the Butig Mountains. The soldiers were fired upon from the *cottas* but after eight serious engagements all of the outlaws in the district were annihilated.

Upon completion of these operations in Mindanao, a short period of peace ensued, to be broken by rumblings in Jolo.

A large band of Moros fortified Bud Dajo and defied the authorities to subject them to any law. The American garrison at Jolo was reinforced by the addition of two battalions of infantry and preparations were made for a decisive assault on the Moros.

In Zamboanga it was realized that the capture of Bud Dajo would entail serious fighting. At seven o'clock of the evening of March 2, 1906, Colonel J. W. Duncan received a note from General Wood:

"Dear Colonel: I wish you would get two of your companies together and go to Jolo at once. Nothing but blanket rolls, field mess outfit, 200 rounds per man, seven days field rations, in haste. Regular orders will reach you later.

Yours truly,

Leonard Wood."

American officers attending the weekly dance at the Overseas Club in Zamboanga found their party interrupted as couriers passed through the crowd, ordering them to withdraw to the fort and prepare for field service.

The next morning Colonel Duncan received his orders to command the party and Companies K and M of the 6th Infantry departed for Jolo on the transport *Wright*.

the causes contributing to the battle of Bud Dajo were resentment over the curtailing of slave-trading, cattle raiding and women-stealing privileges of the Moros of Sulu.

The mountain top fortified by the Moros was a strong position. Bud Dajo, a lava cone of an extinct volcano, has an altitude of 2,100 feet. The crater at the summit is 1,800 yards in circumference and is flanked with rocky promontories

which made the approach of troops difficult. One thousand Moros took their stand on the top of this mountain, six miles from Jolo.

Before preparation for the actual battle began, Governor Scott called to him Panglima Bandahala and the Datus Kalbi and Jolkanin and asked them to ascend the mountain and induce the Moros to disband and turn in their weapons.

The three loyal Moros undertook the mission and spent two days on the mountain top orating to their countrymen. On the third day they came into Scott's office to make their report.

"They say that they will never submit to America," said Datu Kalbi, spokesman for the trio. "They say that they will fight until they can no longer raise aloft the *kris*."

Peace overtures having failed, Governor Scott ordered the mountain to be taken by assault.

The American assault preparations were very complete. Colonel Duncan commanded the attack, supported by Majors Bundy, Wilcox and Ewing. Detachments were commanded by Captains Atkinson, Rivers, Koehler, Chitty, Farmer, Bolles and Ryther. Thirty-one under-officers from all branches of the service led the enlisted men.

The assault units at Bud Dajo were composed of 272 men of the 6th Infantry, 211 men of the 4th Cavalry, 68 men of the 28th Artillery Battery, 51 Sulu Constabulary, 110 men of the 19th Infantry and 6 sailors from the gunboat *Pampanga*. A total number of 790 men and officers was engaged.

The battle began on March 5. Mountain guns were hauled into position and forty rounds of shrapnel were fired into the crater to warn the Moros to remove their women and children.

At daylight on the morning of March 6, American troops formed into three columns and began the march up the mountainside. The crest was approachable by three narrow trails and the advance began from three sides with detachments under the command of Major Bundy, Captain Rivers and Captain Lawton.

The movement up the mountainside was very slow and it was not until seven o'clock in the morning that the forces of Major Bundy encountered the first important Moro barricade. Bundy found the trail blocked at a point 500 feet beneath the summit by a strong wall of bamboo supported *belatics*.

The sharpshooters took positions behind rocks and picked off the Moros showing their heads above the barricade. The position was shelled thoroughly with rifle grenades and then taken by assault with bayonets. The Moros staged a terrific resistance.

Finding themselves in danger of being captured, they left the shelter of the barricade and sallied into the open with *kris* and spear. The fighting did not cease until the last Moro fell. Two hundred Mohammedans died here before the quick-firing guns and rifles of the attackers. The 6th Infantry suffered heavily, all of the casualties occurring in the last terrible rush of the krismen. Captain White was severely wounded in the knee and in the right shoulder while leading the charge that cleared the walls of the last of the Moros.

On the other side of the mountain, Captain Rivers encountered a similar obstruction, and after several hours of hard fighting he crumbled the walls by storm. Rivers was also seriously wounded by the last rush of a desperate *amuk* Moro.

The third column of attackers, under Captain Lawton, had meanwhile advanced along a bad trail, continually harassed by the Moros, who hurled huge stones down upon the troops. The hill was so steep that in many places the attackers were forced to crawl on their hands and knees. At regular intervals, they were rushed by krismen.

Lawton's column eventually succeeded in reaching the summit, where they took the trenches on the edge of the crater by assault. The Moros retreated into the crater and continued the resistance until night brought the fighting to a close.

During the night, the artillery was shifted to command the crater. The soldiers worked most of the night hauling the heavy guns up the mountainside. A few hours before dawn, the weary soldiers dropped into their blankets under a triple guard, and went to sleep to the accompaniment of the shouts of the maddened Moros in the crater.

At daylight the assault was resumed. The American troops held their position while the artillery poured a murderous barrage into the crater. The Mohammedans, armed principally with spear and *kris*, had no answer to this long range bombardment, but they held their position stubbornly and refused to surrender.

In the face of that terrific fire, the Moros had not a chance for life. A few of the more desperate scrambled over the crater edge, *kris* in hand, to charge the American trenches. They fell, riddled with bullets, before they covered half of the distance.

After the heavy bombardment had accomplished its purpose, the American troops charged the crater with fixed bayonets. The few Moros left alive made hand grenades from sea shells filled with black powder and fought desperately to stem the charge. But the straggling krismen were no match for the tide of bayonets that overwhelmed them and hardly a man survived that last bloody assault.

After the engagement the crater was a shambles. Moros were piled five deep in the trenches where they had been mowed down by the artillery and rifle fire. The American attack had been supported by two quick-firing guns from the gunboat *Pampanga* and examination of the dead showed that many of the Moros had as many as fifty wounds. Of the 1,000 Moros who opened the battle two days previously, only six men escaped the carnage.

Looking back twenty-eight years to the battle Bud Dajo, an impartial historical observer is struck by the fact that America did not cover herself with glory in this encounter. Perhaps it would be sufficient to remark that severe criticism was directed from the United States upon the military authorities ordering this slaughter.

By no stretch of the imagination could Bud Dajo be termed a "battle." Certainly the engaging of 1,000 Moros armed with *krises*, spears and a few rifles by a force of 800 Americans armed with every modern weapon was not a matter for publicity. The American troops stormed a high mountain peak crowned by fortifications to kill 1,000 Moros with a loss to themselves of twenty-one killed and seventy-five wounded! the casualty lists reflect the unequal nature of the battle.

The Moros had broken the law and some punishment was necessary if America was to maintain her prestige in the East, but opinion is overwhelming in the belief that there was unnecessary bloodshed at Bud Dajo.

There appears to be no justification for the intensity of the bombardment at Bud Dajo, and many Americans who witnessed the battle concur in this belief.

In fairness to the American forces it must be said, however, that the situation was such that no compromise short of battle was possible. Had the Americans not forced this engagement, the Moro resistance would have been intolerably prolonged and probably a greater loss of life would have been the result in the end.

Certain it is that the Moros were not to be bluffed. War at its best is a grim business, and the strong opposition the United States encountered possibly justifies the horrible loss in human life that was concurrent with the taking of Bud Dajo.

20. An Era of Banditry

Following the battle of Bud Dajo, a change of government came to Sulu with the relief of General Wood by General Tasker H. Bliss on April 16, 1906.

The administration of General Bliss, extending up to November 28, 1909, has been termed the "peace era" in Sulu. General Bliss placed particular emphasis upon the industrial and agricultural training of the Moros, and the term "peace era" signifies that there were no battles of magnitude during his administration. Throughout his governorship there was the usual trouble with Moro bandits but matters did not come to a head until much later during the administration of General Pershing.

A period of quiet settled upon Jolo and the Americans turned their attention to Mindanao, where a particularly revolting murder took place.

In the southern part of Cotobato Province, matters were in a condition of great unrest due to activities of a Moro priest named Simbanon who moved through the country stirring up the population against the United States. Governor Bolton of Cotobato knew that Simbanon was at the bottom of all of the trouble and he accordingly set out with an American planter named Christian to see if he could effect the capture of the recalcitrant priest.

Bolton and Christian proceeded to Malita, near Sarangani Bay, where the governor was joined by a Moro headman called Mangalayan and the Moro's two brothers. Mangalayan had been faithful to the Americans and Bolton depended upon him to aid in the capture of Simbanon.

The party, consisting of Bolton, Christian, and the three Moros, set out in a vinta as far as a hemp plantation near Tubulan, where they disembarked.

Here Bolton, in the presence of the hemp farmer, called Mangalayan to him and gave him instructions as to the capture.

Bolton told the Moro:

"You will go into the hills and look for Simbanon, taking with you my revolver with which to make the arrest."

Bolton unstrapped his pistol and gave it to the Moro, who immediately started into the mountains on his errand. The Governor and Christian waited at the plantation for Mangalayan's return. Christian remonstrated with the governor at this expression of confidence in the Moro, but Bolton had laughed off his fears, stating that Mangalayan had worked faithfully for him among the hillmen for several years.

Mangalayan soon found the worthy Simbanon, who was under cover in a Moro village high in the hills.

The wily priest took Mangalayan into a small house on the edge of the jungle and there demonstrated a magical power which soon convinced the gullible Moro, and the latter was quickly persuaded to turn against the Americans.

In the presence of the awed Mangalayan, Simbanon built a small fire and threw thereon a powdered substance which produced a terrific smoke. Standing in the smoke, Simbanon orated:

"As this smoke penetrates my pores, it has the power to make me invulnerable to the American bullets. Now is the time to join me and begin killing all of the white men who seek our island."

Mangalayan returned to the hemp plantation where Bolton and Christian waited and informed the Governor that Simbanon was not to be found, suggesting that they proceed overland as it was growing late.

Bolton's revolver was replaced inside his blanket roll and the party started along a narrow jungle trail. After walking for a few miles, they came to a place where the trail went across a rocky spur and here they paused to rest.

Christian had not shared the Governor's confidence in the three Moro's and he sat on the alert with his carbine across his knees. Bolton threw himself upon the sand at full length.

Upon pretense of being hungry, Mangalayan told Calibay, one of the brothers, to open a coconut. Calibay did so, using a long *campilane* for the purpose. He passed half of the coconut to Mangalayan, who was standing between Bolton and Christian. Mangalayan at once drew his *campilane* and began to gouge the meat from the shell. Sumunsung, the other brother, was leaning idly upon his spear.

Apparently they were simply eating, and Christian, who had been watching them closely, had his attention diverted by a remark of Bolton's. As Christian turned his head to answer the Governor, Mangalayan came down with a vicious sweep of the *campilane* which drove the blade through the helmet and into Christian's skull. Christian died instantly without making a sound.

Governor Bolton was attacked by the two brothers as he lay on the sand. Sumunsung ran his spear into the Governor's side and Calibay attacked with the *campilane*. The Governor staggered to his feet and, grasping the spear shaft, pulled the weapon through his body in an effort to reach the spearman.

Bolton had drawn a short knife from his belt and was apparently holding his own with the two Moros. Mangalayan, now finished with Christian, rushed in

behind the governor and dealt a blow which severed the leaders of Bolton's knees. As he collapsed to the ground, the assassins made short work of him.

The vitality of the Governor was amazing. He turned in midair as he fell and inflicted a severe wound upon Mangalayan.

The American community at Zamboanga was shocked by the news of these murders and troops were immediately sent into the country to apprehend the murderers. The Moros talked too much and the whole story was soon laid bare. Mangalayan was killed by Sergeant Casey, and shortly afterwards the two brothers encountered a Constabulary patrol under Inspector de Goicouria and were eliminated.

The extermination of these scattered bands of outlaws was an undertaking presenting every difficulty. All of Mindanao and Sulu became infested with small bandit gangs who struck and vanished into the thick jungle. Organized troopers were helpless in the field against the robber bands. The American forces split into small detachments and were thus able to follow the raiders far into their mountain retreats.

American army files are filled with instances of individual attacks of Moros upon American soldiers during this grim period. The Moros operated in deadly detachments of two or three to twenty men and guerilla warfare of the worst order swept the islands.

Two Moros killed Sergeant William Nehrer as he hiked the Malabang-Camp Vicars road. Privates George Cott and Floyd Borst were attacked on the same road a few months later. General Bliss and his staff were fired upon as they inspected lake garrisons. John Burns, a packer employed at Malabang, was murdered by Datu Sampurna. Private Balaine, acting in the capacity of deputy-governor at Tucuran, was seriously wounded by a krisman.

The American post at Parang awoke one morning to find their guard tent a shambles, following a raid conducted by the Sultan of Djimbarra (a Moro named Matanug) and two companions.

Shortly before dawn, the three Moros had silently penetrated the guard posts and entered a large squad tent containing several soldiers.

So quiet were the Moros that one soldier, awake in the tent, heard no sound until Private Wickham received the first wound and shouted, "I am stabbed."

The soldier who lay sleepless in the tent called to him: "No, you are not; you have a nightmare."

At that moment, Private James McDonald received a mortal wound from a spear thrust and cried out in agony. the soldiers in the tent leaped to their feet and called for help. The camp became a scene of wild confusion.

The sentry in front of the tent fired several shots at the Moros as they fled into the jungle; but Matanug and his two companions made good their escape, leaving a dead man and several wounded soldiers behind them in the squad tent.

After a search of more than a year Matanug was captured by a party under the command of Captain A. B. Foster. Foster took a detachment of the 19th Infantry into the Buldung country in search of the murderer of McDonald. The troops were fired upon shortly after entering the Butig Mountains, and while in camp near Buldung the sentries got their first intimation of the whereabouts of the outlaw.

A fifteen-year old boy was arrested in the act of stealing cartridges from the American camp. The boy told the soldiers that he was a slave of Matanug and that he had been ordered into the camp to steal ammunition.

Under the guidance of the slave boy, the troops took up the march at daylight, eventually surprising Matanug and bringing him in for trial.

Matanug was condemned to death on May 24, 1907. A month later, American forces captured the Moro Lauang, who confessed to the assault on Cott and Borst on the Malabang road. This Moro died in prison while awaiting trial.

In reading a history of the Moro wars, one is struck with the regularity with which the Moros died in prison while serving sentence or awaiting trial. Confinement of a few months was equivalent to a death sentence for a Moro. Many observers have noted that under conditions of captivity, a Moro in perfect health would lie down on a cot, signify his intention of dying, and there wait patiently for the death that speedily came.

After a period of comparative quiet, terror now broke out anew in Jolo. *Juramentados* again ran the streets of the Sulu capital.

On the morning of December 14, 1906, an American sentry, McLaughlin by name, took his post at the outer guard gate at Jolo. A crazed Moro selected McLaughlin as the object of his attack and with one swing of the *kris* almost severed the arm of the soldier. McLaughlin leaped upon a mule and started for the main guardhouse, holding his dangling arm while the Moro followed in hot pursuit.

Warned by the shrill cries of the Moro and by the shrieks of the badly wounded American soldier, the main guard post poured a volley of the five krag bullets into the advancing Moro. The krisman came on, apparently untouched.

The sixth shot from the guard post broke the *kris* blade at the hilt, but the *juramentado*, weaponless now, closed rapidly and sought to get at the Americans with his bare hands.

At a distance of five feet, a well-directed shot from a .45 caliber pistol burst the Moro's heart and he dropped in his tracks to spray the guard post with a froth of blood. Examination disclosed that every bullet had found its mark, for there were seven bullet holes in the dead Moro's chest.

To add to the chaos, the pirates of Pilas Island now resumed activity. These Samals, only temporarily scotched by American forces the year before, now laid siege to the sea lanes of Sulu. A very profitable trade in pearl shell had developed between Zamboanga and Jolo and the pirates were quick to seize upon this opportunity to waylay the pearlers.

Internal confusion among the Moros again came to the fore and the pirates aided in their own elimination. A most interesting David and Uriah incident occurred on Pilas Island.

Maharajah Turabin, the ruler of Pilas Island, cast covetous eyes upon the attractive wife of one pirate Jimauang. Being a direct actionist, Turabin sent his chief lieutenant, a Moro named Ejan, to remove Jimauang from competition. This task Ejan performed with a neatness which won for him the approbation of the Maharajah.

The Maharajah then dispatched a menial to the house of the disconsolate widow inviting her to accept the hospitality of his harem. Great was the shock to find that the lady had decamped to Basilan Island and there sought the aid of the American authorities. The Maharajah eventually found solitude in the confines of an American jail and Ejan's head, carefully wrapped in gunny sacking, found its way to the office of Governor Findley.

Cotta warfare raged all through the years 1906 and 1907. American troops were in the field continuously. Captain William Green, with a force of sixty men, stormed the *cotta* of Apunagous and Nural Hakim, capturing seven rifles and killing nineteen Moros. Lieutenant Fort, working in the Davao country, ran a band under Badudao to earth and killed the eighteen outlaws. Lieutenant James L. Wood entered the Lanao country with a force of twenty-four men and had an engagement with the Moros near Bacalad which resulted in the death of thirteen Moros and three Americans.

Lieutenant J. M. Merrill led a force of forty soldiers against the strong *cotta* of the Sultan Ulama. the Moros were one hundred strong and were entrenched at the head of a steep ravine. After several hours' fighting, the American troops charged the *cotta*, killing fifty Moros. The Moros opposing the Americans in this case were better armed than was usual. Merrill found many of the tribesmen armed with modern Krags and Mausers. The Moros opened up on the Americans from behind walls and bushes and the climax came when the double *cotta* of

Magning was stormed with the American leader engaging in hand-to-hand battle with the Moro Sultan on the *cotta* walls. The Sultan was killed and Lieutenant Merrill was badly wounded.

A few of these *cotta* fights have been indicated to show the nature of the struggle. There were hundreds of these bush engagements going on during the period of 1906 and 1907. They were undertaken not without serious loss to the Americans. Lieutenant Jewell of the the 4th Calvary was killed in the assault of the *cotta* of Usap. Lieutenants Hall and Woodruff died in the fight against Datu Ali at Duluan. Every isolated *cotta* was razed only after a loss of several American lives.

Juramentados still terrorized the army posts. There could be no defense against a *juramentado*. A company street might be quiet and peaceful, with a sentry on vigilant guard. Suddenly a *juramentado* appeared in the street, bringing death and seeking death. Guard posts or sentries had no terrors for the *juramentado*; rather he sought them out as the most available victims. A few minutes of wild scramble and a desperate shooting and slashing and then everything would be quiet again, with only the dead *juramentado* and his victims to show that a horror had walked the company street.

On April 6, 1907, one of these wild men ran the streets of Jolo and succeeded in dropping three soldiers of the 4th Calvary before the bullets of the guard sent him to Paradise. The Moro ran directly into the fire of three soldiers on guard duty at the city walls and he was struck by eleven rifle bullets, any one of which would have been immediately fatal to a white man. But it was not until he had been struck over the head with a revolver butt that the Moro gave up the struggle.

The region of Basilan Island, long the hang-out of an incorrigible element, now became the scene of severe fighting. In September, 1907, Basilan outlaws under the leadership of Datu Tahil, instituted a reign of terror within twenty miles of the town of Zamboanga. Tahil, who had twenty rifles, frequented the islands of Basilan and Tapiantana.

Lieutenant Furlong, one of the ablest of all of the American field officers, was sent to Basilan to mop up the island. Tahil came to bay at Mangal, on the south coast, and there Furlong landed at three o'clock on the morning of September 26, 1907. A terrible fight in the heavy forest resulted in the death of eleven of the outlaws. Tahil escaped to cause more trouble, but was eventually captured to serve a long prison sentence. Furlong found the Moros killed a Mangal all had shaved heads, indicating a desire to run *juramentado*.

Lieutenant Furlong was also responsible for the rounding up of eighteen Moros who were actively carrying on a slave trading depot in defiance of the law.

Beyond doubt, the most romantic figure of the entire American-Moro conflict, was this same Furlong. His career as a fighting man was so remarkable that to this day the Moros of Cotobato bow their heads when his name is mentioned. Furlong has become an undying tradition to these fierce Moros who respected, more than anything else, the terrific valor displayed by this man.

Furlong had a strange and tragic history, the details of which were supplied to the writer by men who knew him well and who fought beside him in Mindanao. After an unfortunate love affair which made life futile to him, he came to Mindanao to seek death on the *kris*es of the Moros. He was in the thick of the Moro fighting for several years and it was said by his associates that no odds were too great and no charge too forlorn for this soldier seeking death. His reckless disregard for his own life often took him alone across open country to the very walls of *cottas* swarming with hostile Moros. It is said that it was his habit to enter the *cottas*, far in advance of his men, and that the Moros gave way before him, denying him the death he sought.

Furlong seemed to lead a charmed life. To the Moros he was supernatural, and he came through the campaigns without a scratch. When the period of *cotta* warfare came to an end Furlong resigned his commission and sailed for Manila.

There in the capital city, he took his own life, accomplishing that which the Moros had been unable or unwilling to do.

21. Jikiri

The middle of the year 1907 brought into the conflict the entry of the most famous of all of the bandits of Sulu. Jikiri, a Samal pirate, began operations which brought him to the attention of the American army during a bloody career which lasted for about two years.

Jikiri was born on the small island of Pata, south of Jolo, the son of Tantari, a Samal fisherman, and Layhia, a Moro woman of blue blood. Layhia's breeding reflected in the outlaw's appearance, for he has been described as being tall, broad-shouldered and having a hooked nose, denoting Arabian blood. It was a physical defect, however, that turned Jikiri to a life of banditry. In spite of an otherwise striking appearance, the Samal was marred by the possession of mismatched eyes. One eye was considerably larger than the other and the constant ridicule he received as a youth caused Jikiri to seek fame with the *kris*.

As he told Jammang, one of his trusted lieutenants of the later pirate days, "The strength of my *kris* arm will comfort the women who now shun me."

Jikiri began his career as a betel-nut bearer for the Sultan. The rough krismen of the Royal Guard soon made his disfigurement a matter for banter, and Jikiri sought the solitude of the jungle. There he gathered about him the original seven men who formed the nucleus of what was to be the most formidable pirate gang of Sulu. With these seven men, Jammang, Bara, Sariol, Damang, Pintasan, Elali and Wadji, Jikiri launched into a campaign of banditry and murder.

On the night of November 1, 1907, a Chinese trader named Tao Tila left Jolo in a *vinta* with a cargo of merchandise and two Moro companions. Off the coast of Lumapid, a swift sailing *vinta* overhauled them in the darkness and one of the Moros in the Chinese boat heard the strangers say in the Sulu tongue, "Kill them."

This Moro leaped into the sea and swam ashore to be the only witness to the attack. The moment he had left the boat the pirate *vinta* came alongside the trader, and the remaining occupants of the Chinese boat were stricken with a *kris* before they could rise from their seats.

Jikiri now took his band to Sibago Island where the outlaws decked themselves in the loot taken from the Chinese boat and laid plans for a raid on Basilan Island.

The pirate chief attempted to enlist other Moros for the raid on the logging camp at Kopuga, telling the Sibago islanders that it would be easy to catch the Americans off guard and loot the camp of much booty. The Moros of Sibago

remaining unimpressed, Jikiri set sail with his seven men for the camp at Kopuga.

Arriving at the camp at two o'clock in the afternoon on Christmas Eve, 1907, Jikiri sent two of his men to reconnoiter. The two Moros went down into the camp and found the place deserted of laborers; the woodcutters had been paid off and had gone to the village to celebrate. In the camp, the Moros found a native foreman, a Moro woman, the two loggers, Case and Verment, and Mrs. Case and her mother-in-law.

The two Moros from Jikiri's party approached Case and asked to buy one of his *vintas*. Case refusing to sell any of his boats the Moros immediately left the camp, while the logger turned back into his house.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, the raid began. Mrs. Case was called into the company store by a Moro asking for cigarettes. As she turned to the shelves to reach for the purchase she heard Verment scream. Looking through the window, she saw the logger go down under the blows of two Moros.

At the same moment, the Moro in the store leaped for her. The high counter was in the way and before the Moro could cut the woman down, she managed to escape through the window and make her way to the shelter of a Yakan village a few miles away.

While Verment was being struck down near the store, two other Moros attacked Case as he walked in the back yard. His head was severed at a stroke and rolled under a corner of the house, from which place it was later recovered by the Constabulary. The wife of the dead Verment received a ghastly cut which ripped her back from the shoulder to the hip.

The bandits looted the camp before they left. The victims of this brutal attack were carried to Zamboanga in a sailing *vinta* by seven Yakan sailors. The wind failed and the trip required twelve terrible hours before Mrs. Verment reached the hospital at Zamboanga where she soon succumbed. General Bliss sent Constabulary soldiers under Lieutenant Shutan to Kopuga, but they returned with no other information than that the attack had been conducted by an outlaw gang.

Jikiri now returned with his blood-thirsty crew to Sibago, where he talked freely and became a village hero. With a part of the proceeds of the raid on Kopuga, he purchased a Remington rifle from the widow of an old pirate. Then, with considerable sagacity, he dispersed his gang to await developments. A rendezvous was established for Patian Island and here the crew met fate in January to lay plans for the future, Jikiri's position on Patian becoming known to the authorities, Captain Newbold was detailed with a force of 200 men to capture the pirate.

But Jikiri went into hiding near Lumapid and evaded the search of the American troops. For three months he skulked in the swamps near Jolo, occasionally venturing forth for a minor raid.

At last he came to grips with troops of the 6th Cavalry. In this skirmish, Jikiri used his new Remington rifle to advantage, wounding Trooper Ferguson in the left thigh and making good his escape.

Private Albeit L. Burleigh, detailed as a school teacher at Maybun, was the third white man to fall a victim to Jikiri. Emerging from the swamp on a new campaign of terror, Jikiri waylaid Burleigh on the lonely trail between Maybun and Jolo and cut the American to pieces with a *kris*.

By August, 1908, the unpunished depredations of Jikiri had grown so severe that the Mindanao Herald of Zamboanga was impeded to publish the following statement:

"Jikiri has evaded the authorities so long that the Moros are beginning to entertain a great respect for his prowess, and unless he is accounted for soon, he will be the cause of serious disorder."

The Moro leaders now entered into the affair in an attempt to aid the American forces. Hadji Butu, the Prime Minister of the Sultan, made every effort to round up the outlaw with krismen from the Sultan's own guard.

Jikiri's force had now grown to formidable proportions, and he was credited with at least forty murders. With a well-armed force of more than one hundred men, the outlaw now entered into an ambitious career of piracy on the high seas.

At eleven o'clock at night on August 22, a Japanese diver in charge of a pearling lugger at anchor off Tonquil Island, heard the approach of *vintas* and came on deck to investigate.

As he came from the hold of the lugger, a rifle shot from the darkness dropped him dead in his tracks. Almost instantly, the pirates swarmed over the sides of the pearler. Four more of the crew were put to the *kris* while the cook and one other badly wounded sailor escaped by swimming ashore.

Loot consisting of a half-ton of pearl shell and provisions of all description was loaded into the four pirate praos and the buccaneers sailed off into the night, leaving five dead men on the deck of the abandoned lugger.

The American government now rose up, thoroughly in arms. Rewards totalling 4000 pesos were offered for the capture, dead or alive, of Jikiri.

The bandit replied by sending word that he would run juramentado in the streets of Jolo on September first. "But not before 1 have cut down the hundred men I have sworn to kill."

Triple guards were placed in the army post at Jolo in anticipation of this threat, but Jikiri apparently failed to attain his quota for the appearance was not made on schedule.

A Moro boy delivered another mocking letter from Jikiri in which he warned the garrison to maintain their triple guards as he would strike without warning.

The Mindanao Herald commented: "It seems incredible that this man could run a course of murder for a year, killing right and left, with no way found to catch him. Jikiri, in one year, has won more glory of the sort such men seek, than most Moros look for in a long lifetime."

The Sultan of Sulu now detailed all of his headmen to hunt for Jikiri as the Moros themselves believed that the pirate would be safer dead.

The American government assigned Captain DC Witt to the permanent detail of running down the outlaw. De Witt operated with a small force with the hope of catching Jikiri off guard. This American officer spoke the Joloano dialect fluently, and he was an excellent "under cover" man to carry on the type of campaign necessary to round up the elusive criminal.

Jikiri, finding the pearling luggers so demoralized that they remained in port, now apparently turned his attention to Borneo. Captain De Witt, locating a portion of Jikiri's band near Parang in Jolo, called upon them to surrender and was answered by a volley of rifle fire. The ensuing battle resulted in the death of four of the pirates, but it was learned that Jikiri himself had gone to Borneo.

Subsequent reports from Borneo confirmed this belief. The British government reported that Joloano Moros were terrorizing the inhabitants of North Borneo, looting small towns and killing the people.

A field force of the British Constabulary captured three of the bandits and placed them under the guard of three soldiers in a *vinta* which was taken in tow by a steam launch. The Captain of the launch heard a cry aft in the *vinta* and hastened to the stern of the launch in time to see one of the Moros seize a *kris* and lop off the head of a guard. Instantly, the two remaining guards and the two prisoners leaped over the side of the *vinta* into the water.

The Moro with the *kris* made no attempt to escape after killing the guard. Instead, he seized the tow rope and began pulling the *vinta* alongside the steam launch. The Captain fired three shots into the Moro, who fell across the stern of the launch but rose immediately to pursue the officer across the deck. Then the Captain fired three more shots into the Moro, again dropping him to the deck, but he again came to his feet and continued the pursuit.

After absorbing six shots from a heavy caliber British army pistol, the Moro was still full of fight and the terrified Captain was stalked on the deck of his own vessel.

The British officer, having emptied his pistol, now turned to run for a rifle but the Moro caught him, to deliver a terrible blow on the side of the head which knocked the Captain senseless into the engine room.

The pirate then moved forward to decapitate the helpless officer when his attention was attracted to the Chinese engineer. While he was hacking the engineer into small pieces, the Captain recovered consciousness and fired five rifle bullets into the Moro, finally dropping him dead on the deck.

The other outlaws escaped into the bush and eventually made their way back to Jolo to rejoin Jikiri's band.

In January, 1909, Jikiri began what was to be his last year of life with an attack upon four pearling luggers near Jolo.

Seeing the approach of the pirate vessels, two of the luggers managed to get up sail and escape. The other two, the *Ida* and the *Nancy*, were attacked at long range by rifle fire from the four pirate praos. The pearlers put up a good resistance but eventually the *Ida* ran out of ammunition, after which the crew jumped overboard and swam ashore where they watched the looting of the vessel.

The *Nancy*, in the meantime, had maintained a destructive fire upon the pirates, causing the death of several of Jikiri's men. A simultaneous assault upon the *Nancy* soon silenced the defender's fire and four of the crew of the pearler went down in the last savage, shouting rush.

The next day, Captain De Wilt and Lieutenant Byram arrived at the scene of the piracy on the launch *Atlanta*, and found the *Nancy* gutted by fire. The pirates were still at work removing articles of value from the hull but they escaped after a fruitless chase on the part of the *Atlanta*.

The *Nancy* was fired by the Constabulary and towed to sea, where it sank off Lagason.

Jikiri now launched another attack on white men. At three o'clock in the morning of January 12, the bandit attacked the Constabulary barracks at Siasi in an attempt to secure ammunition. Twenty-two soldiers were on duty at the post when the barracks was suddenly fired upon by men concealed in the jungle.

Jikiri himself did not land, remaining some yards from land in a boat from which he directed the operations. The outlaw stood erect in his boat with his face shielded with a white cloth.

More than 600 shots were fired into the fort before the pirates gave up the attempt and withdrew. After the engagement, an American planter, M. H. Holmes, was found dead with six bullet wounds. The pirates left four dead on the beach to testify to the accuracy of the soldier's fire.

Following this unsuccessful engagement, Jikiri sailed eighty-five miles down the coast and three days later he attacked the town of Tubig-Indangan on Simunul Island. This town was famous as the original landing place in 1380 of Makdum, the first Mohammedan missionary.

The day following this attack, Tubig-Indangan was visited by a patrol under Lieutenant Hasemyer, who found the bodies of two white traders.

Cornell, one of the victims, was found dead in his bed. His partner, an Englishman named Wolf, was found on the beach. Cornell had been mutilated and Wolf was found cut into thirty-two pieces.

Jikiri by now had established himself as the most terrible menace in the Sulu Islands. He was hunted alike by Moros and Americans. Krismen of the Sultan diligently scoured the jungle, working in complete harmony with the American forces in an effort to eliminate this outlaw who violated all tenets of the Mohammedan fighting code.

Shortly after the murders of Cornell and Wolf, Lieutenant Peake had a spirited encounter with the pirates. In company with Hadji Usman, Peake's command of Constabulary soldiers encountered a strange *sapit*, which was boarded for investigation.

Believing the crew to be members of Jikiri's band, Peake decided to take them to Bongao for identification. The nine suspects in the *sapit* made no resistance until the boat drew near the shore in the shallow water near Bongao. Then, with a terrible cry, they made a break for liberty.

The boat became overturned in the melee and one of the pirates, seizing a pistol, shot Peake in the leg. Floundering in the shallow water with the pirates swarming over them, Hadji Usman and Lieutenant Peake gave the freebooters a lesson in pistol practice. Usman killed two of the pirates and Lieutenant Peake coolly dropped the remaining seven.

Jikiri's losses were now becoming serious. More than thirty of his men had been destroyed in a period of a few weeks. Friendly Moros trailed the bandits through the jungle, picking off a man now and then from the screen of thick bush. The outlaw himself continued to bear a charmed life.

In April, 1909, the British government in Borneo, weary at the activity of the pirate in their waters, sent a large band of Borneo Moros after Jikiri.

This band of Moros, entering American territory on the Island of Jolo, met a group of men, whom they stopped to demand if they had any news of Jikiri.

The leader of the men accosted conversed politely with the Borneo Moros, stating that he had not seen Jikiri. Suddenly, he raised his hand as a signal to his men. The Borneo Moros were fallen upon and overwhelmed in a moment.

Jikiri, for it was he, then ordered the Borneo Moros to be bound securely with *bejuco* fibre. The fettered Moros were then lined up and Jikiri addressed them: "Borneo brethren, you see before you, he whom you would secure for the reward the Americans have offered. You shall be returned to the British who sent you as a warning that Jikiri is not to be taken."

The pirates then drew knives and severed the ears and fingers of the unfortunate Borneo Moros, who were then given liberty and ordered to proceed to their homes.

Jikiri next gave the Americans a bad moment by sending word that he would attack the Asturias barracks at Jolo with a large force. "The fighting shall not cease until every member of the garrison is dead or until all of my men fall, unable to longer bear a *kris*."

This attack also failed to materialize, for we next hear of Jikiri bobbing up near Lake Seit, where he fought a bitter engagement with forces under Captain Rhodes. Five outlaws were killed but Jikiri again escaped to reappear on Pata Island against Captain Byram. Captain Signor and his gunboats collaborated with Byram in this battle with the result that five more of the outlaw band were eliminated.

But Jikiri's day of reckoning was approaching rapidly. On June 30, 1909, he was discovered to be at Maybun, and thither hastened Captain Byram with a force of two troops of cavalry. Jikiri learned of the approach of the squadron and retired to the small island of Patian, ten miles from Jolo.

Without doubt Jikiri could have escaped the troops again, as he had done so many times in the past, but he appears to have grown tired of life and to have decided upon a last, spectacular stand.

With eight men he took refuge in a large cave within a volcanic crater. To reach this cave it was necessary to climb the mountain and hike along the rim of the crater to its highest point and then down a steep slope.

American troops, consisting of cavalry, infantry, mountain guns and quick-firers, closed in for the kill. In the cave with Jikiri were several women and to them the American forces gave the opportunity to leave. All but two of the women took advantage of the offer. Jikiri's wife and one other woman said they would stay and die with the pirates.

For two days and nights, the mountain guns and riflemen poured a volley into the cave.

On the morning of July 4, it was decided that nothing could have lived in the face of that terrible fire. Through the smote and dust, the American troops began the advance on the mouth of the cave. The mountain guns held their fire to support the bayonets of the soldiers.

Closer and closer the troops advanced to the mouth of the cave.

When they had reached within fifty yards of the entrance, there was a horrible yell and out from the smoke came the nine Moros, Jikiri at their head. In a moment the pirates were upon the soldiers, cutting a crimson trail with their terrible, upraised *kris*es.

Jikiri caught Lieutenant Wilson of the 6th Cavalry by the hair and was about to decapitate him when Lieutenant Bear rushed in and blew off the top of the outlaw's head with a charge of buck-shot. The *kris* blow was deflected and Wilson's head was saved, but he received a terrible wound.

Eyes were gouged out, men were severed in twain and heads rolled in the rock crevices in that terrible moment before the pirates were annihilated. Bear himself killed four of the Moros with the deadly charges of the sawed-off shot gun.

A few grim moments, and the battle was over. Nine Moros with *kris*es had crossed in the face of that terrible fire to kill three soldiers and seriously wound nineteen. Jikiri was dead, but at what a price!

22. The Mindanao Campaign

Coincident with the campaigns against Jikiri, American forces were carrying on operations against the Moros of Lanao. Ampaunagous, a Lanao Moro, had long evaded the authorities and was terrorizing the country with a force of forty well-armed followers.

A cholera epidemic appeared in Larao and Ampaunagous played upon the superstitious natures of the people. "Will you die, *kris* in hand, like your fathers, or like old women in your houses of the cholera the Americans have sent?"

Under his leadership, the Moros attacked an American military wagon train on the Camp Kiethley road, after which a force under Lieutenant Wood took the field against him. Wood encountered the Moros on the shores of Lake Lanao and fought a pitched battle, which resulted in the death of eleven of the Mohammedans.

In retaliation, the Moros attacked the Constabulary barracks at Dansalan but were beaten off after wounding four of the soldiers.

A few days later, the Moros attacked the home of Road-master Smith, on the Malabang road, murdering the American and looting the house.

Ampaunagous then fortified himself in a strong position on the lake, where he remained a serious bar to peace for several years.

In March, 1908, Governor Allen Gard of Lanao received information that the murderers of Smith were in hiding near Camp Vicars. With six mounted soldiers of the 6th Cavalry, Governor Gard proceeded to the hide-out, which was held by Marmur, a lieutenant of Ampaunagous.

The Governor began to parley with Marmur, who during the interview slipped from the house by a back entrance and entered a field of sugar cane. From the protection of the cane, Marmur opened fire on the Governor with an old Tower musket. Slugs from the musket wounded the Governor in three places, breaking his right arm and left leg and severely lacerating his right leg. The troopers returned the fire but Marmur escaped into the jungle.

A week later, a Constabulary force surprised Marmur and killed him in an assault on his *cotta* led by Lieutenant Tarbell.

Lieutenant Wood encountered Ampaunagous near the headquarters of the Remain River where the outlaw had constructed a strong *cotta*. An effort was made to surround the place, but the outlaws escaped after a running fight

which resulted in the death of five of the outlaws and two of the Constabulary force.

Ampaunagous himself remained at liberty until 1914, when Captain Allan S. Fletcher persuaded him to come in and accept amnesty.

In July, 1908, Lieutenant Burr was leading forty men through the Agus River country of Mindanao. Near Nyaan the party came to a *cotta*, well fortified and surrounded with a moat filled with brush. Resistance being encountered, the soldiers cut through the brush with their bayonets and assaulted the fort.

The first soldier to reach the *cotta* walls was attacked from the rear by a Moro with a *kris*. Hearing the cry of the soldier, Lieutenant Burr hurried to his assistance, killing the Moro with a pistol. Another Moro sprang from the shelter of the bush and struck Burr before he could turn to defend himself, dealing the American officer a terrible blow on the head with a *campilane*.

Burr died a few days later in the hospital at Camp Kiethley.

During the years 1908 and 1909, and for a number of years afterwards, the Butig Mountain range and the Lake Lanao and Buldung sections of Mindanao were infested with outlaw bands ranging in size from a few men to several hundred.

To combat them, it was decided to organize a Moro company, officered by Americans. Authority for the formation of this company, to be known as the 52nd Company of Philippine Scouts, was received from Washington on December 30, 1908. Officers assigned to the company were Captain Edward Dvorak, Lieutenant Allan S. Fletcher and Lieutenant Andrew J. Conroy.

The organization of a company of Moro soldiers presented certain difficulties, as it was known that a service rifle and belt of ammunition could be sold for as much as 1000 pesos in the interior of Mindanao. The fact that a Moro has to pay a heavy dowry when he marries might furnish a good reason for many Moros wishing, to enlist, with the possibility of deserting with a rifle to be sold to secure funds for marrying the chosen girl.

In spite of these unfavorable considerations, however, twenty recruits were sworn in on February 24, 1909. In addition to the regular oath of enlistment, the men were sworn on the Koran by a Moro *Pandita*. By the end of October, the organization of the company was complete.

Previous to the completion of the enlisted personnel, it had been desired to obtain a few recruits from the Buldung country, the center of the trouble. Lieutenant Fletcher had been detailed for that purpose. The official army records indicate that the recruiting effort was not successful in Buldung. The report states; "Upon arriving in Buldung, it was learned that the, entire country was up in arms. On March 7, 1909, while the small force was eating their noon meal, thirteen *juramentados* rushed the detail with *kris*es, *campilanes*, spears

and daggers and in the melee which followed, the *juramentados* were exterminated and one soldier was killed with six wounded. Then and there, the idea of getting recruits from Buldung was abandoned."

When the company of Philippine Scouts finally took the field, it became famous for its activity in quelling the Moro guerilla warfare. In the main, the men proved loyal to their oaths. The company lost eighteen men, thirteen rifles and 1050 cartridges through desertion. All of the rifles were recovered and all of the deserters were apprehended or killed. The heads of two of the deserters, Uru and Rumaub, were brought in a sack to the American headquarters.

Up to the year 1909, there was a stretch of country of about 2000 square miles in the region of Lake Lanao and Lake Nunungan which was unexplored and which was inhabited by some of the fiercest tribes of the Moro province. It was a region of high mountain ranges and dense jungles and there were few trails to permit the passage of troops.

As early as 1904, Lieutenant Howland of the 23rd Infantry had attempted to penetrate this district with a force of picked men, and he did succeed in reaching the shores of Lake Nunungan. His report indicated that he had been repeatedly attacked by the Moros while on the trail and in camp and that he had remained at Lake Nunungan for one night, after which he had retired to Malabang.

Another officer of the 25th Infantry had also attempted to reach the Lake Nunungan country but had gone too far to the west, to become lost in the region of Panguile Bay. For several days the troops subsisted upon what could be found in the jungle. Many of the soldiers died and the remainder finally struggled through the forest to come out at Misamis.

These two attempts represented the total of American activity in this territory, and it was desired to explore and pacify the region as soon as possible. Therefore, on April 20, 1909, a detachment of sixty men under Lieutenant Fletcher departed from Malabang on a visit of exploration.

Fifteen hundred pounds of extra rations were carried by the party, with each enlisted man, in addition to his pack, extra ammunition and rifle, carrying a sack containing twenty pounds of food. The troops passed over a mountain range 4000 feet high and worked their way into a dense jungle swarming with hostile Moros..

Owing to the small size of the force, it was considered impracticable to put out an advance or a rear guard, and it was an impossibility to use flanking

patrols as the jungle was so dense that nothing could be seen forty feet from the trail..

The column marched in a single file, well closed up and under the following marching orders:.

"No one to leave the column while it was in motion or at halt, without permission of an officer..

"Any man, while relieving himself, to put his ammunition belt over his shoulder, as a bandoleer is carried, his rifle in his hands and another soldier on guard behind him..

"No man to separate himself from his rifle for a single moment, night or day. If working, making camp, cutting trail, cooking or other camp work, he must sling his rifle or carry it in one hand; in camp, when lying down, the men to fasten their rifle to their arms by the sling and sleep with it under one leg."

Before coming in contact with any Moros, the men were informed that any soldier caught in the act of raping, or attempting to rape any woman of the country would be shot; that nothing belonging to a friendly Moro was to be touched; that food was to be paid for; that there was to be no looting except when organized under officers.

Nightly camps, rectangular in shape and about forty yards by twenty, were made by dealing off everything except large trees and using the brush for an obstacle to prevent Moros from crawling into the camp. This was piled up on all sides, but not high enough to prevent the troops from firing over it or the sentries from seeing over it. An entrance was left in the center of each short side and the underbrush was cleared away for a distance of fifty yards from the camp..

On April 22, the troops had crossed the divide and came in sight of the Moro settlement of Catabuan. A halt was made and several friendly Datus were sent ahead to inform the inhabitants that the American forces were on a friendly scouting and mapping expedition and desired peace. The Datus returned to Fletcher and informed him that the whole country was under arms and that the Moros intended to prevent the troops from passing through their country..

Fletcher accordingly took to the jungle and re-entered the Moro clearing at a point where the Moros least expected the troops. Half way across the clearing, they were fired upon from the front and the left at a range of 500 yards. The Scouts took to the cover of the rocks and with volleys of well-directed fire emptied the *cotta*. The Moros retreated, leaving their dead and wounded on the field, and the Scouts moved into the abandoned *cotta*.

When the noon meal was finished, the troops began preparations for reconnoitering the country, but before they could evacuate the Moro fort the war cries of a large band of Moros were heard to the northwest of the camp.

The Moros could be plainly seen, standing on a knoll 1000 yards away, waving *krises* and spears and bright colored flags. .

The combat report of the 52nd Company continues: .

"Upon investigating this matter with field glasses, a strong cotta was seen to their left and about 300 yards farther away. It was suspected, and correctly, that when the troops advanced toward the Moros, they would retire to the fort. Thirty men were left outside the camp in plain sight of the hostiles, and the others, with both officers, crawled through the grass and were able to get into the woods without being observed by the outlaws..

"By making a detour of about 2000 yards we were able to get nearly between the Moros and their cotta, from which point we opened fire on them from the left flank at close range..

"Owing to the roughness of the ground, covered with stumps, logs and boulders, the Moros were able to partly change their front and face the troops. They would probably have put up a stiff fight but for the loss of their leader..

"This Moro, a big, powerful fellow, rushed towards the troops and Lieutenant Fletcher shot him in the left temple, the bullet coming out the right side of his head, messing up the parietal bone. This deflected him and he ran like a deer to die right flank rear. Although terribly wounded, he had gone about one hundred yards when Lieutenant Moylan, who was to the left of the Scouts' line, shot him with a dum-dum Krag bullet through the side of the left shoulder, the bullet coming out between the shoulder blades. This shot knocked the Moro down but when the troops passed by two hours later on the way to camp, he was still alive.

"With their leader down, the Moros immediately scattered to the woods, leaving their dead and wounded, although one Moro was shot while trying to drag his wounded leader into the bush."

After this engagement, the troops marched in the general direction of Lake Nunungan, mapping the country en route.

On the slopes of Kukuk Mountain the fires of the Moros were seen in their camp at Masibay. To get into the camp at Masibay, the troops crawled a zig-zag course across the valley, hidden from sight by the tall grass.

At the edge of the valley the trail leading up to the Moro camp was blocked with fallen trees and entanglements of pointed stakes. As no noise was permitted, the Scouts could not cut a trail and were forced to crawl 500 yards through a thicket of thorn bushes.

They came out within fifty yards of a Moro sentinel, who stood on a low platform at the edge of the camp. When the men had rested a moment, the whistle was blown and the troops dropped into the *cotta*, completely surprising the Moros. A short battle cleared the *cotta*, as the Moros were completely disorganized. Mamintong, the Moro leader, was wounded by Fletcher as he escaped into the brush. One Moro, leaping upon a rock to hurl a last defiance at the Americans, was dropped in his tracks by a volley of rifle fire.

Proceeding on into the interior, the troops encountered forces of Datu Amai Makasimpan, who was thoroughly hostile to the Americans. Messengers to this Datu returned with the word that not only would there be no parley but that "unless the Americans left the country, their heads would be cut off and thrown into Lake Dapulak."

Regardless of this threat, the American forces moved against the *cotta* and destroyed it, putting the surviving Moros to flight in the jungle.

The Scouts reached Lake Nunungan on April 25 after several more brushes with the Moros. Here the troops went into camp, and were disturbed a great deal at night by the Moros firing into the barricade. Night patrols were located on the camp's edges, and after a successful ambush of the nocturnal marksmen the annoyance ceased.

Some of the Moros on the eastern shores of Lake Nunungan were disposed to be friendly, for early on the morning of May 2, the "Datu Demaampao, with one man, came into camp and stated that all of his followers were on the shore of the lake and wished a conference with the Americans. Lieutenant Fletcher, with an interpreter, accompanied the Datu across the lake to the place where the Moros were assembled. There were about forty men, all armed, and fifty women and children."

"As the lieutenant stepped ashore, the women screamed and covered their heads. They had never before seen a white man. They gradually calmed down and small presents were distributed among them, such as small mirrors, needles, thread, talcum powder, red wax for the lips and cigarettes."

Friendly relations were soon established and the next day the troops moved on deeper into the Moro country.

One of the main objectives of the American expedition was the capture of a notorious outlaw named Carabao, who had deserted from the Constabulary, carrying with him a Springfield rifle.

The day following the departure from Lake Nunungan, the troops came definitely into the territory of Carabao. At eight o'clock in the morning, as the troops were crossing a field, they were fired upon from the dense jungle 200 yards away. The report of a Springfield rifle was plainly heard and with the first shot one member of the American force fell, shot through the heart.

The combat report again takes up the story: '

"The patrol now deployed and advanced into the woods to find that the Moros had retreated along a well-used trail. The Scouts moved carefully down this trail, which, was very steep, dropping at an angle of 45 degrees.

"About two thousand feet down the trail, the Scouts, with Lieutenant Fletcher at their head, stepped into a cleared area. A rifle blazed almost in their faces, the bullet carrying away part of Lieutenant Fletcher's mustache and burning his lip.

"Carabao, who had fired the shot, was protected by the large trees from the volley fired by the Scouts.

"When the soldiers returned to their starting position, it was found that the Moros had been there during their pursuit of Carabao. The soldier who had been killed as the action commenced was found cut into four pieces. He was lying on his back and a Moro had struck him two blows with a *campilane*. The first blow had severed the body at the fourth rib and the second had completely severed both thighs from the crotch. The body was further mutilated by spear wounds in either eye."

The Americans closed this campaign after several weeks of exploration and guerilla warfare in the heart of the lake country. Lieutenant Fletcher brought his tired men safely back to Malabang. A wide circuit had been made through previously unknown country and the army became possessed of maps of the region to guide future expeditions.

The outlaw Carabao escaped the American troops, and it was not until 1914 that he eventually brought in his rifle and surrendered.

A word must be said for Lieutenant Allan S. Fletcher, who led this party into the hostile Lanao country. Fletcher was a jungle campaigner of the finest order and was, without doubt, one of the ablest field officers in the American army. He was a man without fear and he possessed qualities which endeared him to the Moros and earned their utmost respect.

Fletcher rose to the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel, in that capacity commanding Pettit Barracks in Zamboanga from 1921 until shortly before his death on December 16, 1929. He lies buried today in Arlington.

He was a grand soldier, and was known affectionately and familiarly as "Papa" by thousands of old-timers and new-comers in Mindanao.

23. Juramentados and Piracy

The Moro resistance in the Sulu Islands, deprived of the sanction of the Sultan, now developed into a terrible period of activity on the part of *juramentados*. The Americans were face to face with the same situation which had faced the Spaniards in the Sulu capital. With deadly regularity, *juramentados* swept the streets of Jolo with a *kris*.

A particularly revolting act of *juramentado* violence occurred in Jolo on April 16, 1911. Lieutenant Rodney of the 2nd Cavalry was attacked and killed while he was walking unarmed on the Jolo-Asturias road on a Sunday afternoon. As Lieutenant Rodney neared a cock-pit he met a Moro going in the opposite direction. As they passed each other the Moro whirled suddenly and struck the Lieutenant with a *barong*, killing him almost instantly. With the Lieutenant was his four-year-old daughter, who was unharmed. The Moro, Jamdain by name, was killed by the guard.

Three days later, Sergeant James Ferguson, in charge of the guard at Asturias blockhouse was attacked and killed by two Moros from Para Island who were in turn killed by the guard post. During this same period Lineman Wallace of the Signal Corps was killed at Malabang in Mindanao.

The death of these soldiers caused General Pershing to issue an order requiring all officers to carry arms at all times, and providing that soldiers were to travel constantly in groups of three.

During the year 1911 great numbers of *juramentados* appeared in all of the southern islands. Sergeant Michales of the 21st Infantry went down before the *kris* of a maddened Moro at Malabang. At Iligan, John W. Oyler and Bernard Vexecbose, who had a plantation near Camp Overton, were killed in the yard of their estate. In September of that year, on Basilan Islands, Ensign C. E. Hovey of the gunboat *Pampangas* was rushed during the course of a severe fight which cost the lives of five Americans. Ensign Hovey was carried to Zamboanga, dead from nineteen severe *kris* wounds.

The ferocity of these *juramentado* Moros was almost beyond belief, as was their capacity for destruction. On October 17, 1911, one Moro armed with a *barong* and a spear succeeded in passing the sentries of the 2nd Cavalry while they were in camp at Lake Seit Jolo. The camp became a scene of wild confusion as the Moro hurtled through the troop street slashing and stabbing with his weapons. Sergeant Oswald Homilius received a spear wound through the chest and died in fifteen minutes and four soldiers were severely wounded before the crazed Moro was shot down by Lieutenant Coppock.

The havoc wrought by the *juramentados* became such that it was decided to disarm the Moros. On September 8, 1911, Executive Order Number 24 became

effective. The order provided for a complete disarmament of the Moros, as follows:

"The provisions of the act are hereby made applicable to all districts within the Moro Province. It is therefore declared to be unlawful for any person within the Moro Province to acquire, possess or have the custody of a rifle, musket, carbine, shot-gun, revolver, pistol or any other deadly weapon from which a bullet may be discharged, etc., or to carry, concealed or otherwise on his person, any bowie knife, dirk, dagger, *kris*, *campilane*, *barong*, spear or any other deadly cutting or thrusting weapon except tools used exclusively for working purposes and having a blade less than fifteen inches in length, without permission from the Governor of the Province."

The attempted enforcement of this act brought a resumption of *cotta* warfare. In December, 1911, some 1500 Moros assembled again at Bud Dajo and fortified the mountain top. General Peshing, with fine diplomacy, induced many of the Moros to return to their homes. The remainder, led by a chieftain called Jailani, were killed or captured in a second battle of Bud Dajo, which lasted for five days.

Shortly after this battle, another serious *cotta* fight took place at Taglibi, where Captain McNally lost his life and Lieutenants Whitney and Cochran were seriously wounded.

In the region of Lake Seit, Jolo, a renegade Moro succeeded in penetrating the American camp of Captain John Watson on December 21. Sentinels had been posted but no wire protected the camp. At ten-thirty in the evening the Moro crept through the grass, killing Captain Watson and wounding Lieutenant Edmonds before he was shot by a soldier.

During the terrible period of recurring *juramentado* attacks from 1909 to 1913, the troops operated in small detachments in the interiors of all of the southern islands. The worst of the outlaws were rounded up in a series of bitter *cotta* fights against entrenched Moros, Lieutenants Tiffany, Tarbell and Preuss carried troops into Mindanao in the region of Cotobato. Lieutenants Gunn and Gilmore ventured into the Sarangani region against the Manobos. Lieutenant Youngblood carried the fight against the Moros near Lake Buluan.

Allan S. Fletcher, now a Captain, fought the outlaw band headed by Alamadas near Lanao. In a series of bush fights with Alamadas, Lieutenant Root was seriously wounded and Captain Fletcher received a gunshot wound in the arm. Captain Fort dropped the outlaw Kapal from the walls of a *cotta* on Lake Lanao.

All of the American fighting was in the open. Small parties penetrated into the very heart of the Moro country, carrying the war to the outlaws.

Not the least discouraging of the efforts against *juramentados* was carried on by Colonel Alexander Rodgers, Governor of Jolo. All Moros who ran *juramentado* were killed and laid out in the market place with slaughtered pigs placed above them. The Mohammedan abhors all contact with pork and the resulting contact of the dead *juramentado* with the pig neutralized the beneficial effects of the rite itself. Colonel Rodgers became known to the Moros as "The Pig," and *juramentados* took themselves hurriedly to other districts.

The *juramentados* on land were aided by the pirates who again took to the sea. By 1908, piracy had again assumed formidable proportions in Sulu. The Americans had supposed piracy to be a thing of the past and had withdrawn the gunboat patrols. The Samals soon took advantage of the lack of a patrol system in Sulu waters and there was a revival of lawlessness in the sea lanes of Jolo.

General Bliss summarized the situation in his annual report: "The Spanish government made no progress in the suppression of piracy but they did build and maintain a small fleet of gunboats for patrol purposes. These were maintained by the American government for a while but no serious outbreak occurred for two years and rise was given to the belief that the Moro had changed his nature."

The Joloano Moros were pirates and warriors by profession, and the spirit which had led them on past raids to the Visayan Islands remained unchanged. The Moro did not regard piracy as resistance to the government but considered it a legitimate source of income.

The view of General Bliss that piracy could be stopped by the return of the gunboats was supported by the government, and in February, 1909, the vessels *Arrayat* and *Paraguay* were returned to Sulu waters to resume their patrol service. The trouble with freebooters was soon eliminated and the troops were relieved to allow a continuance of the land campaigns without further interruptions from pirate raids.

By 1913 the Moro dissatisfaction had grown to such proportions that it became evident that a major battle was soon to be fought to establish definite American authority over Sulu. General Pershing had succeeded General Bliss as Governor of the Moro Province on November 28, 1909, and affairs rapidly came to a head in Jolo.

On February 28, 1913, General Pershing wrote to the Governor-General as follows:

"The nature of the Joloano Moro is such that he is not at all overawed or impressed by an overwhelming force. If he takes a notion to fight, it is regardless of the number of men he thinks are to be brought against him. You cannot bluff him. There are already enough troops on the island of Jolo to smother the defiant element, but the conditions are such that if we attempt

such a thing the loss of life among the innocent women and children would be very great. It is estimated that there are only about 300 arms altogether on the island of Jolo and that these are assembled on the top of Mount Bagsak in fortified *cottas*. It is a common thing among these people to have women and children follow them into these *cottas*.... While I do not believe now, nor have I ever believed at any time, that the Moros who are now opposing us will yield without fight yet I am not prepared to rush in and attack them while they are surrounded by their women and children. I think that most of the women and children can be induced to return to their homes. The situation, as I stated at the beginning, is a difficult one... I fully appreciate your confidence in my ability to handle the situation and you may rest assured that my best efforts are being put forth to carry out the purpose of our undertaking—disarmament with as little disturbance and as little loss of life as possible."

In spite of the best efforts of this very splendid officer, no conciliation was possible and it became necessary to storm Bud Bagsak.

24. The Battle of Bud Bagsak

The battle of Bagsak had its beginnings several months before the actual assault of the crater. The mountain peak had been for some time the rendezvous of the outlaw element of all of the southern islands, and the big problem the Americans faced was that of getting the women and children off the hill before the final clean-up was made.

So long as the Moros saw that the American troops were inactive and in barracks many of the women and children would be sent down to work in the fields, but at the first suggestion of an American expedition all of the non-combatants would be recalled to the mountain. As General Pershing had stated, when the Moro makes his last stand, he wishes his women and children with him. The Moros kept a very close check on General Pershing, for every visit of the General to Jolo was the signal for a stampede to Bagsak. Pershing soon discovered that the taking of Bagsak without the slaughter of women and children would have to be an undertaking planned with the greatest secrecy. In planning the campaign, Pershing exercised rare judgment.

To begin with, he kept his plans absolutely to himself, not even confiding in his closest officers. On June 5 he sent a telegram to the commanding officer at Jolo calling off all field operations and ordering the troops into barracks. Four days later he announced publicly that he would visit his family at Camp Kiethley in Mindanao and with that apparent plan in mind he sailed from Zamboanga on the evening of June 9. When the transport *Wright* was well out of sight of Zamboanga the course was changed and the ship picked up the 51st Company of Scouts at Basilan, proceeding on to Siasi to load the 52nd Scout Company.

With lights out and the smokestack muffled, the *Wright* then crept into Jolo harbor late on the night of June 10. The maneuver was wholly unexpected and the General found the American soldiers at a moving picture show. The call to arms was sounded and in an incredibly short time the troops were en route to Bagsak.

All of the forces were concentrated at Bun Bun on the beach and by five o'clock in the morning the advance on Bagsak had begun.

The mountain crest was defended by formidable *cottas* crowned by the stone fortress of Bagsak at the summit. Supporting the main *cotta* were five subsidiary forts admirably located for defensive purposes. These five *cottas*, namely, Pujacabao, Bunga, Matunkup, Languasan and Pujagan, were grouped about the huge stone fort of Bagsak in such a manner that a simultaneous assault of all of the *cottas* was necessary in order to prevent a great loss of life on the part of the attackers.

The American force was divided into two wings and very explicit attacking directions were issued. The right wing, consisting of the 8th Infantry and the 40th Company of mountain guns, was under the command of Major Shaw, and its objective was the *cottas* of Languasan and Matunkup. The left wing, composed of the 51st and 52nd Companies of Scouts and a mountain gun detachment, was under command of Van Natta, and were ordered to attack the *cottas* of Pujacabao and Bunga. Pujagan and Bagsak were to be taken after these assaults had been successfully executed.

After a heavy preliminary shelling by the mountain guns, the columns moved to attack. While the attack was in progress, Captain Moylan was ordered with the 24th and 31st Companies of Scouts, to take a position on the south slope of Bagsak to cut off the retreat of the Moros, Captain Nicholls led his company against Matunkup, which fell at noon of the first day's fighting. In taking Matunkup, the attacking force was compelled to climb a sheer cliff one hundred feet high, pulling themselves up the precipice by clinging to vines, while in the face of a heavy fire. There were eight casualties in the American force before the summit was finally gained. Captain Nicholls then led his company on to the *cotta* of Pujacabao, the men opening up on the Moros at close range and then dropping within the *cotta* walls to battle hand to hand.

The terrific shelling Pujacabao had received from the mountain battery had eliminated many of the Moro defenders. Amil, the Moro leader, was severely wounded by a shell fragment, whereupon he retreated to Pujagan, where he was killed the following day.

The *cotta* of Languasan was captured without difficulty with a loss of one man, but the American forces had eight casualties during the period of Moro counter-attacks made in an effort to recover the fortress.

With three of the *cottas* in American hands, the surviving Moros retreated to Bagsak, Pujagan and Bunga and the first day's operations came to an end.

On Thursday, June 12, the American forces poured a continuous fire from rifles and mountain artillery upon the *cottas* of Bunga and Pujagan, and there was a great deal of skirmishing. The Moros began a series of rushes upon the American troops holding Languasan. The Mohammedans would rush out in groups of ten to twenty, charging madly across 300 yards of open country in an effort to come hand to hand with the Americans. Amil, his son, and the Data Jami led three of the attacks; in each instance, the charging Moros were accounted for long before they reached the American trenches. It was during one of these charges that Captain Nicholls was killed by a bullet through the heart from a high-powered rifle.

The American forces holding Languasan were subjected all day long to a merciless fire from the *cotta* of Bunga. Notwithstanding the aid of the mountain artillery, the American forces were unable to capture any of the Moro positions during the fighting of the second day.

On the morning of the third day Captain Moylan was ordered to take the *cotta* of Bunga. The capture of this fortress was absolutely necessary in order to secure a position from which the tremendous stone *cotta* of Bagsak could be shelled. Captain Moylan took Bunga after a five-hour attack, which was supported by sharpshooters and artillery. Among his casualties was one man who was cut in two by a *barong*. The balance of the third day was devoted to hauling the heavy guns up the steep slope of Bunga.

On Saturday morning, the fourth day of the battle, Captain Charleton and Lieutenant Collins were sent with 51st and 52nd Companies and a detachment of cavalry to reconnoiter the rim of the crater and to find a position from which the infantry could launch a final assault on Bagsak *cotta*. The rest of the day was devoted to digging the troops in, in a position about 600 yards from the Moro fort, while the mountain guns fired constantly into the *cotta*.

Sunday morning brought preparations for the final assault. The mountain guns opened up for a two-hour barrage into the Moro fort, and at nine o'clock in the morning the troops moved up the ridge for the attack. The heavy American artillery shelled the Moros out of the outer trenches supporting the *cotta* of Bagsak and the sharpshooters picked them off as they retreated to the fortress. After an hour's hard fighting, the advance reached the top of the hill protected by the fire of the mountain guns, to a point within seventy-five yards of the *cotta*. To cover that last seventy-five yards required seven hours of terrific fighting. The Moros assaulted the American trenches time after time only to be mowed down by the entrenched attackers.

General Pershing came in person to the firing line early in the attack, exposing himself to the full fire of the *cotta*. At 4:45 in the afternoon, the American forces were within twenty-five feet of the *cotta*. The Moros realized that their time on earth was short. They stood upright on the walls and hurled their *barongs* and *kris*es at the troops beneath them, wounding four of the attacking force.

At five o'clock General Pershing gave the order for the final assault, and standing within twenty-five feet of the walls he watched Captain Charleton take his men over the walls and the battle of Bud Bagsak was won. Thirteen men were lost in the final assault.

About 500 Moros occupied the *cottas* at the beginning of the battle of Bagsak and with few exceptions they fought to the death.

With this battle, the organized resistance of the Moros was broken and the episode of "Kris versus Krag" came virtually to an end. There were a few more minor battles, but never again did the Moros place a formidable force in the field against the Americans. The Mohammedans fought a grand fight at Bagsak against superior weapons. They showed the Americans, as they had showed the Spaniards, that they were not afraid to die.

25. The Moro Disarmed

To General Pershing must go the credit for the final disarming of the Moros. He not only broke down the organized resistance of the Mohammedans, but he collected some 7000 firearms from outlaw elements.

But though the massed resistance of the Moros was broken, there still remained considerable policing to be accomplished in Mindanao and Sulu.

A Moro outlaw named Japal occupied briefly the center of the stage. Captain Apperman led an American force against him. Apperman found Japal at bay in a strong *cotta* protected by immense boulders. The Moros fought like fiends, rushing from the safety of the *cotta* walls to assault the soldiers with bared *kris*. Twenty-five Moros were killed in the action and the *cotta* was leveled to the ground.

The troops then passed on to attack the joint *cottas* of Jahanal and Tahil, located in a ravine one hundred yards apart and less than five miles from the city of Jolo.

Captain King took the 16th and 24th Companies of Scouts against the *cottas* at daylight on the morning of July 5, 1913. Supporting the Scouts was a mountain gun detachment under Lieutenant Dillman.

The American troops found the *cottas* strongly built of bamboo with barricades of earth. The barricades were pierced with bamboo tubes through which the Moros directed their fire. The inner walls of the fort had covered trenches and subterranean rooms.

The Scouts advanced upon the *cottas* in the grey dawn and were promptly fired upon by Moros in the *cotta* of Jahanal. The mountain guns were set up across the ravine and a steady fire was poured into the Moro fortress while infantry under Lieutenant Conroy engaged the smaller *cotta* of Tahil. Demolition squads under Lieutenant Walker supported the advance of Conroy, doing most excellent work with rifle grenades which were dropped within the walls of the *cotta*.

When Conroy's men were almost to the walls, the demolition squad hurled dynamite bombs into the fort which was then taken with a hand-to-hand rush. Tahil himself escaped to surrender a few days later. All of his men died in the last assault on the *cotta*.

Meanwhile, the heavy fire of the mountain artillery was having no effect upon the strong *cotta* of Jahanal. While sharpshooters picked off all Moros showing their heads at the walls, a breach was made with axes and the Scouts

rushed the fort. The Moros retired to the inner walls of the fort and picked off the Scouts by firing through the bamboo tubes.

Lieutenant Walker then brought up one of the mountain guns and fired it point blank, at a range of twenty feet, directly into the inner rooms of the fort. The terrific explosion of the shrapnel in the closed room, packed with Moros, wiped out the Mohammedans and the fort was soon silent. Fifty Moros were killed in the action and the Scouts suffered eighteen casualties.

In August, 1913, the Moros in the vicinity of Mount Talipao refused to pay the road taxes and fortified themselves on the mountain peak. They were routed by Major Shaw in a battle costing the lives of more than one hundred Moros. But they returned again in October to refortify the position and there occurred the last battle of the Moro wars. Captain McElderly was killed in the storming of the *cotta* of Talipao.

Juramentados and isolated cases of murder still persisted for more than a decade, but the resistance of organized bands had come to an end.

Two months after the battle of Talipao, Lieutenant Ernest Johnson took a squad to Basilan Island to investigate Moro disturbances in the interior. The party moved along a narrow jungle trail with Lieutenant Johnson leading the way. The soldiers walked squarely into an ambush laid down by the Moro leader Atal.

The first warning of danger was the hiss of a spear thrown from the bush, and Johnson went down, pinned through the shoulder with both lungs punctured. The soldiers fought their way out of the ambush, killing the Moro Atal. Lieutenant Johnson was carried to Zamboanga where he waged a courageous battle for life, but he eventually succumbed to the terrible wound four months after admission to the hospital.

The interior of all of the islands was still unsafe for travel or agriculture. In April, 1914, an American planter named Beeler was killed and his wife seriously wounded. A month later, Private Don Chambers was killed by an *amuk* at Tampanan near Lanao. This killing was followed in a few months by the death of Charles Schuck in Jolo at the hands of a Moro named Galbon.

The American forces were occupied during all of the year 1914 in the pursuit of Moros Saipul, Punglu and Salihudin. The last of these outlaws was killed late in that year. Two years later, in 1916, the last of the known outlaws were exterminated and peace came to Mindanao and Sulu.

Until 1917, however, ten strong posts were maintained in Mindanao, Late in that year American troops accomplished the reduction of the last Moro *cotta* in an engagement at Bayan *cotta*, the last remaining fort on the south shores of Lake Lanao. Fifteen hundred Moros participated, to be routed with terrific slaughter by the machine guns and mortars of the Americans.

America dropped the Moro campaigns to enter the World War.

In the course of the long struggle with America, the Sultan had taken no active part in the campaigns, which were waged without his authority or consent. In spite of this inactivity of the Sultan in the field, he still remained in the minds of the Moros, as the real ruler of Sulu.

It was decided, therefore, to terminate, once and for all, any pretensions of the Sultan to sovereignty. A formal agreement was entered into on March 22, 1915.

By this agreement, the Sultan recognized without reservation the sovereignty of the United States in Sulu and over the Moro people. The government, for its part, recognised the Sultan as the spiritual head of the Mohammedan church and assured to Mohammedans the security of absolute religious freedom.

Meanwhile, the government of the Moros had undergone modifications. By act of July 24, 1913, the old Moro Province had been dissolved and the Mohammedans came under the jurisdiction of a newly created Department of Mindanao and Sulu. Frank W. Carpenter relieved General Pershing on December 16, 1913, to become the first civil governor of the new department. The Moros made great strides during the governorship of this capable man.

Another governmental change came to Sulu with the Filipinization of the islands. The Department of Mindanao and Sulu gave way, February 5, 1920, to the present form of government under a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.

The Moros bowed to the Gatling guns and mountain artillery of America in the field. If their fourteen-year armed resistance of America failed in battle, they at least secured the safety of the cause for which they fought, Their religion and customs remain intact. It was by a careful policy of noninterference with the Mohammedan religion that America was able to accomplish that which Spain had failed to do.

With the birth of confidence and tolerance the epoch of Kris versus Krag came to an end.

Part Four: America's Mohammedan Wards

26. The Moro Today

These Mohammedan wards of America have had a glorious history. As is so often the case with a free, wild people, they have degenerated under the stultifying inhibitions of civilization, but they still remain a mighty, militant minority in the Philippines.

In the proud bearing of the Moros is reflected the confidence gained by centuries of warfare. With the Moro, courage is a fetish and when pitched to the heights of religious fanaticism by his *Imams* and *Panditas*, there exists no more dangerous fighter on the face of the globe.

The Moro loves the cold steel, and with his *kris*, *barong* and *campilane* he carved an empire in the Philippines which lasted for years. His capacity to carry lead in the heat of battle, stamps him as a truly great fighting man. In his military history are found many references to this almost unbelievable ability to remain on his feet, even when riddled with bullets.

The Moro was responsible for the change in regulations of the United States army, providing for the substitution of a .45 caliber pistol for the .38 caliber weapon formerly carried as a sidearm. Experience in action against the Moro proved that the .38 caliber bullet was incapable of stopping the fanatic in time to save the soldier who had fired the shot. There were many cases in the stirring era of kris versus Krag when American soldiers were cut down by *barongs* in the hands of literally dead Moros.

In 1893 the army decided in favor of a small bore side arm and an ordnance board called for revolvers of .38 caliber to be tested for service use. The Smith and Wesson Company entered a hammerless revolver and Colt offered a side-swing Model .38. The Colt was accepted by the government in 1894.

Smith and Wesson then developed a .38 Smith and Wesson Special which was also adopted by the United States government.

These two guns were sent to the Philippines and to Cuba. In Cuba they proved effective, but for Moro use they proved absolutely ineffectual. The War Department therefore recalled the .38 caliber weapons and resumed the Colt .45.

The Moros were never a potent force numerically in the Philippines. They are represented at present by some 500,000 people widely scattered throughout the southern islands, and they make a negligible part of the 12,000,000 inhabitants of the Philippines.

The governing of the Mohammedans of Mindanao and Sulu has presented many puzzling problems to the American administration. The customs of the Moros are in direct contradiction to all of the ideals of the American form of

democratic government. Certain institutions of the Moros have been jealously guarded, notwithstanding the thirty years of American occupation of the Philippines.

Among these cherished customs of the Moros is the Oriental practice of polygamy. Datu Utto had sixty wives. The Sultan of Sulu has thirteen members in his harem, while the Sultan of Mindanao is content with but twelve wives.

The Mohammedans are permitted by the Koran to possess four official wives and any number of concubines. The size of the Moro harem is dictated by the income of the man. Marriages are not made for love in Sulu and Mindanao. To the Moros, a wife is a bearer of children and a servant.

Official wives are ordinarily secured by purchase from their parents, and the usual marriageable age for a girl is about fifteen. Husbands are allowed the privilege of beating unruly wives, but they must use a rod not thicker than the forefinger and not longer than the forearm.

Women are still bought and sold in Mindanao and Sulu, regardless of the protests of politicians to the contrary. The owners of female slaves have the right of cohabitation with them. The offspring are born into slavery as the property of the man who owns the woman, regardless of who the father may be.

This question of slavery was one of the most perplexing problems encountered by the American authorities. Slave prices ranged from \$3 to \$500, but the government fixed a treaty price of \$20. We thus had the unique experience of establishing the price of slaves within the territorial limits of the United States.

The treaty signed with the Sultan provided:

"Every person held in bondage or ownership under grant of the Sultan, or by individual purchase, shall be entitled to his liberty upon payment of \$20 to the crown."

As the "crown" became our own government when the Sultan acknowledged sovereignty of the United States, strict interpretation of the treaty would have implied the payment by slaves of \$20 to the United States government as the price of their freedom.

Slave trading in the Philippines has not been stamped out of existence. The writer has seen instances of abject slavery within ninety miles of the city of Zamboanga as late as 1934, and in Cotabato Province has personally witnessed the placing of women on the block for sale to the highest bidder.

In the interior of Mindanao, the abduction of women while at work in the fields is sufficiently common to attract little attention, Moro Datus openly

display choice acquisitions to their harems, recruited from among the hill people by means of force.

Slavery, concubinage and the purchase of wives are all prerogatives the Moros stand firmly upon, and the best efforts of the American government have been insufficient to prevent this relegation of women to a chattel state.

Women are not necessarily treated with cruelty; rather, they are looked down upon as inferiors. The religion of Islam delegates women to a position of minor importance. Notwithstanding this, there are many instances in the history of the Moros of women rising to positions of respect and power.

The Moro woman has one advantage over all of her Eastern sisters. She is not immured to the extent that other Mohammedan and Eastern women find themselves.

The Moro maid is confined closely to her father's house, under the watchful eye of the family. But after marriage, she acquires a great deal of freedom. The Moros do not veil their women nor do they cloister them after marriage.

When Dampier visited Mindanao in 1680, he related that "from the highest to the lowest, the women are allowed liberty to converse with strangers." Dampier added that upon the occasion of a visit to the house of a high native dignitary, he and his party were received by the women of the household and that the ladies danced for the entertainment of the party.

When Admiral Wilkes of the United States navy visited Sulu in 1838, he noted in his commentaries:

"The females of Sooloo are as capable of government as their husbands, and in many cases more so, as they associate with the slaves, from whom they obtain some knowledge of Christendom, and of the habits and customs of other nations, which they study and imitate in every way."

As a warrior, the Moro woman was no mean antagonist. There are many records of women warriors in action against the Spaniards and the Americans. One instance of this sort occurred in April, 1877, during the course of a Moro attack upon the city of Jolo. Among the 104 dead Moros found at the door of a Spanish blockhouse, were the bodies of five women, who, armed with axes and hammers, had attempted to force the door of the fortification.

Senor Don Infante, a Spanish resident of the Philippines for more than thirty years, makes the following statement in regard to the Moro amazons:

"Joloano women prepare for combat in the same manner as their husbands and brothers and are more desperate and determined than the men. With her child suspended to her breast or slung across her back, the Moro woman enters the fight with the ferocity of a panther."

Under American rule, the Moro has been given a great of freedom. His tribal customs have been respected and there has been no interference with his religion. The winning of the confidence of the Mohammedans has been a difficult matter and it has been accomplished with great credit to the government of the United States.

27. Moro Laws

Although the Moros are nominally under the laws of the United States, their mode of life is directed in great part, by the tenets of the Lawarn Code of Mohammedan law. Through the efforts of Dr. J. M. Saleeby, this code has been translated from the Arabic and the material for this chapter has been secured indirectly as a result of his work.

There are variations between the laws of the Sulu Moros and the Maguindanaos due to differences in opinion expressed by the local tribal authorities of each district.

In general, the decisions of the judges are based literally upon the eighty-five articles comprising the Code and there appears to be no appeal from the judgments they render.

The Lawarn Code has been widely distributed to branches of the army intelligence service as an aid in the adjustment of compromises effected between it and the laws of the United States.

Specific interpretations of the Lawarn Code vary in different localities, as mentioned above. For instance, in Sulu murder was punished by a fine of 105 pesos. Robbery carried a penalty of seventy-five pesos. For either of these crimes, a second offense was punishable by death, with the offender tied to a tree and hacked to pieces with a *barong*. The fine for theft was seventy pesos, with amputation of the right hand as punishment for a second offense. In the case of incest, the man and woman were placed in a basket loaded with stones and sunk into the sea.

In Mindanao, a man who laid hands upon a strange woman was fined nine pesos. If the woman was married, the fine was 105 pesos. If the woman allowed the attack to go unreported over night, she was forced to pay half of the fine .

The punishment for adultery varied in the two districts. In Sulu, an adulterer, or an adulteress had one half of the scalp shaved after which the guilty one was whipped with one hundred lashes. In Mindanao, the punishment for adultery was much more severe. A husband had the right to slay a wife if she proved untrue.

The eighty-five sections of the Lawarn Code, given here in detail, were secured from army sources and due acknowledgment is made, both to the army Intelligence Division and to Dr. Saleeby, the translator.

In the name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful, Praise be to God, who led us to the faith and religion of Islam. May God's blessing be with our Master Mohammed and with all of his people and followers.

The following articles are taken from the Minhaj and Fathu-l-qarreb and Taqareeb-l-Intifa and Mirqatu-t-Tullah and have been translated from Arabic into Malay dialect of Mindanao, the land of peace.

ARTICLE ONE--If two people disagree as to the ownership of a certain piece of property, the actual possessor has the right to the property if he swears to that effect. In case both of them are in actual possession of the property, both ought to swear. If both of them swear to that effect, the property shall be divided between them equally. If only one swears, the property shall be given to him alone.

ARTICLE TWO--If a person borrows an article and loses it, he shall replace it or pay the value. The same rule shall apply if the article be stolen, there shall also be paid a reasonable additional compensation for the lost article.

ARTICLE THREE--if a person borrows an axe or a button, and the axe be broken or the button be lost while being used for the purpose for which it was loaned and not on account of carelessness, the lost article should be replaced. But if the axe be used at a place overhanging the water, or is used to cut a stock of bamboo without being well tied or fastened and be lost, it shall then necessarily be replaced.

ARTICLE FOUR--If two persons disagree as to whether or not a certain debt has been paid, and have no witnesses to the fact, the plaintiff's claim shall be maintained, in case he confirm it by oath. In case he refuses to take an oath, the defendant's claim shall be sustained.

ARTICLE FIVE--If a person entrusts another with his property and later calls for it and it is denied him on the plea that it has been taken back, or that it is lost, and no witnesses can be obtained, the trustee's plea shall be sustained, if he confirms it by oath.

ARTICLE SIX--If a person enters a claim to his lost property which has been found and kept by another person and the finder refuses to deliver the property on the plea that it is his own property and that it has been in his possession for a long time, and there shall be no witnesses to testify that the property is a find, and not an old possession of the finder, the finder shall return the property found and pay a

compensation of one spittoon or two.

ARTICLE SEVEN--The seller of another's property shall return the seized property and pay an additional amount proportional to the interest derived from the property.

ARTICLE EIGHT--If a person enter the house of another at night, without the consent of the owner thereof, and the said owner complain of the offense, the person entering shall be fined four spittoons.

ARTICLE NINE--If a man enter the house of another with the intention of holding private intercourse with a woman therein, with whom it is unlawful for him to associate privately, and the woman objects, he shall be fined four spittoons or shall suffer from 20 to 39 lashes, or shall be slapped on his face, at the discretion of the Judge.

ARTICLE TEN--If a woman came into the house of a man with the intention of marrying him and living with him, and the man refuse to marry her and she is later taken away by her people, the man shall not be liable to fine or punishment.

ARTICLE ELEVEN--If a man divorce his wife after the conclusion of the marriage act or ceremony, and before any sexual intercourse has taken place, the woman shall have half of the dowry only. If the divorce occurs after sexual intercourse has taken place, the woman shall have all of the dowry. SECTION 2--If a man refuse to marry a woman after having been engaged to her, the dowry shall be returned to him, excepting the expense incurred by the father of the woman for the feast attending the occasion.

ARTICLE TWELVE--If a person curse or abuse another person without cause, he shall be fined not more than three spittoons.

ARTICLE THIRTEEN--If a person falsely claim another person as his slave, he shall be fined the value of one slave. SECTION 2--If a person defames another by calling him Bal Bal or poisoner, he shall be fined one slave or the value of one slave.

ARTICLE FOURTEEN--If both giver and receiver understand that a certain piece of property should be rewarded, and the receiver refuses to render a reward, the giver shall take back the gift.

ARTICLE FIFTEEN--Any gift given with the expectation of reward cannot be recovered after the receiver has taken possession of it, but if the

giver change his mind before the receiver take possession of the gift, the owner resumes the ownership of the given property.

ARTICLE SIXTEEN--In the discretion of the Judge and the Datu, a thief of property amounting to one *malong* or more, shall have his hand cut off and shall return the stolen property. If the stolen property does not amount to the value of one *malong* or more, the thief shall suffer thirty-nine lashes or pay a fine of four spitoons.

ARTICLE SEVENTEEN--Property, the gift of parents to their child, shall be recoverable if it has not been expended or destroyed.

ARTICLE EIGHTEEN--If there is any doubt of the truth of the evidence, or the truthfulness of the witness, they shall be confirmed by oath.

ARTICLE NINETEEN--Testimony of a slave, which is detrimental to himself, shall be accepted.

ARTICLE TWENTY--The testimony of children, of the insane, or of an imbecile, shall be held invalid.

ARTICLE TWENTY-ONE--If a person enter a house without permission, and in the absence of the owner, he shall be held responsible for, and shall restore or pay for, any articles that may be found missing from the house. A person who enters the field of another shall likewise be held responsible for, and shall restore or pay for any article found missing from the field.

ARTICLE TWENTY-TWO--If a person loan or sell to a slave without the knowledge or consent of the owner of the slave, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and the master of the slave shall not be held accountable for the actions or transactions of his slave.

ARTICLE TWENTY-THREE--In all differences that arise in the course of an agreement for the sale of property respecting the price or the amount of the sold property, where no witnesses can be obtained, the seller shall be maintained if he confirm his statement by oath, otherwise, the buyer's statement shall be sustained.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FOUR--If the buyer and seller differ as to whether a certain defect in the purchased property occurred prior to or later than the date of purchase, the seller's statement shall be sustained if he confirm it by oath, otherwise the buyer's statement shall be sustained.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIVE--If, after the purchase of the property, the buyer discovers a defect in the property which occurred or existed prior to the sale or purchase, he may return, the property to the seller and pay him a reasonable compensation, proportional to the decrease occasioned in the value of the property through the detection of the defects, and he shall then recover the purchase price of the property.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SIX--No purchased property shall be returned to the seller on account of the defect therein which occurred after the sale.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SEVEN--If a person buy a slave and discover a defect in him and return him to the seller, but the seller denies the slave's identity, the statements of the buyer shall be sustained. Similar cases pertaining to other kinds of property shall be judged similarly.

ARTICLE TWENTY-EIGHT--It is lawful to return purchased property which is defective. The return shall be delayed not longer than prayer time or meal time, or one night in the event of the purchase having been made in the evening.

ARTICLE TWENTY-NINE--If a creditor die and his heirs sue a debtor, but the debtor denies the debt on the plea that the deceased creditor gave him as a gift, or in charity, or that he has been paid, that for which he is sued, and there are no witnesses, the heir must swear. Failure to swear on the part of the heir shall render the debtor immune from payment of the debt.

ARTICLE THIRTY--If a person buys property or a slave, and another person recognizes the slave or the property as his own, and lays claim thereto, and is able to produce a witness to that effect, the buyer shall return the purchased property or the slave to the seller, but shall receive whatever he has paid.

ARTICLE THIRTY-ONE--If a person finds his property in the possession of another and it is convenient for him to retake the same, he shall be justified in so doing. But in the event of an objection being raised to the recovery, or it be inconvenient to recover the property, he shall present the same to the Datu or the Judge, after which it shall be justifiable for him to take his property even though it may be necessary for him to break a door, or to break through walls to do so. Under any circumstances he shall have the right to recover his property or its equivalent in kind, or any substitute not in excess of the value of the property.

ARTICLE THIRTY-TWO--If, while a person is spying on the house of another and the occupants throw a stone or otyher things out of the house and thereby cause the death of the spy, no guilt shall be attached to their action.

ARTICLE THIRTY-THREE--If the provisions, or fowl, or food supply of a person he eaten by the cats or cattle, and the owner thereof be notified by The injured party to secure their animal or animals, and the warning or notice is disregarded, whereby the provisions, or the food or food supplies are eaten up, the owner of the cats or cattle shall be responsible for the loss.

ARTICLE THIRTY-FOUR--If a person seduce or cohabitate with a female slave held by him as security for a debt, with the knowledge or consent of the truster, he shall not be guilty but shall give her a dower. SECTION 2--If the seduction or cohabitation occur without the consent of the truster, the creditor shall be liable to a fine, or shall give the woman a dower to he paid to the debtor. SECTION 3--If the creditor begets a child of the slave held as security in the preceding section, he shall buy the child from the debtor. Otherwise, the child shall become the property of the debtor.

ARTICLE THIRTY-FIVE--If the creditor and debtor differ as to the security or its amount, the debtor's statement shall be sustained if confirmed by oath, otherwise the statement of the creditor shall be sustained.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SIX--If the security be lost and no blame be attached to the creditor he shall not he held liable for the loss, and the debtor shall not be relieved from his debt.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SEVEN--If the principal and his agent differ, and the agent claims that he has acted in accordance with the orders of his principal, and the claim be denied by the principal, the state-ment of the latter shall be sustained if confirmed by oath.

ARTICLE THIRTY-EIGHT--If a married woman commit adultery, both adulterer and adulteress shall suffer eighty lashes, If the lashes are changed or reduced to a fine, half of the number of the woman's lashes shall be added to the man's fine.

ARTICLE THIRTY-NINE--If a person charge another with the payment of his debt, and the creditor sues the proxy for the unpaid debt, but the proxy claims to have paid the same, the creditor's statement shall be

sustained if confirmed by oath.

ARTICLE FORTY--If a man seduce a maiden, both shall suffer one hundred lashes and the man shall marry the woman and live with her, even though he be married.

ARTICLE FORTY-ONE--The statements of the plaintiff shall be sustained or confirmed by witness. If there be no witness, the defendant shall take an oath.

ARTICLE FORTY-TWO--If slaves commit adultery, both man and woman shall suffer fifty lashes.

ARTICLE FORTY-THREE--If a married man commit adultery with a free woman, both shall be stoned to death. The punishment of the man may be reduced to imprisonment. The woman shall be buried up to the chest and stoned with small stones,

ARTICLE FORTY-FOUR--If a free man seduce a maiden slave, and she become pregnant and die during childbirth, the seducer shall pay the value of the slave, to the owner.

ARTICLE FORTY-FIVE--If a bachelor or a widower commit adultery and be killed by a non-Mohammedan, the non-Mohammedan shall be put to death, but a Mohammedan who may kill such an adulterer shall not be put to death.

ARTICLE FORTY-SIX--If a man recognizes his cattle or his trees in another's charge and notifies him of the fact, and has witness to confirm his statement that the cattle or trees are his, he shall be entitled to the produce of the cattle or of the trees, even though they remain in the charge of the other. Likewise, if a slave who has been lost, be recognized by his master, in charge of another person, and the owner of the slave notifies that person of the fact that the slave is his, and has witness to confirm the statement, he shall likewise be entitled to whatever his slave may produce even if the slave remain in charge of the person aforesaid.

ARTICLE FORTY-SEVEN--If a man rents a field from another with the intention of cultivating it, but fails to do so, and returns it to the owner thereof, he shall be liable for the rent and shall pay the same at harvesting time, the same as if he had cultivated the land and reaped the produce. Likewise, if a boat be hired, the hirer thereof, shall pay the owner whether or not it has been used for the intended travel.

ARTICLE FORTY-EIGHT-- If a slave run away and enter the house of a certain person, or if a person finds a runaway slave, the owner of which is known to him, but fails to give notice of the fact, and the slave again runs away, the finder shall be responsible for the slave to the owner thereof.

ARTICLE FORTY-NINE -- If a married man leave his home on a long journey and nothing is heard of him, his wife shall not have the right to marry another, even if she learns the fact that he has died, or has divorced her. She shall then wait four years, after which she shall observe the customary mourning for his death, she may thereafter marry again. The Judge shall be careful not to change this decree in order that his power and influence shall not suffer.

ARTICLE FIFTY-- If a boat is in danger of sinking, it shall be right and proper to throw its cargo overboard. But if a man does throw away property without the knowledge of the owner thereof, and the boat does not sink, he shall then replace the missing property. If a person tell another to throw his property overboard, promising to replace it, and the property be thrown overboard, but the boat does not sink, he shall replace the property; but where there has been no promise to replace the property, he shall not be held liable.

ARTICLE FIFTY-ONE -- If a debtor die, his debts shall be payable from his estate, his estate being regarded in the nature of security. SECTION 2-- If a debtor die and leave no estate, his heirs shall not be liable for his debts. By heirs is meant parents, children, brothers, sisters, grandparents and grandchildren. SECTION 3 -- If a debtor die and leave his estate to his heirs, the heirs shall pay his debts, and shall use their inheritance in the payment thereof whether it is sufficient or not. SECTION 4 -- If the heirs divide their inheritance before they know of the existence of a claim or debt against the estate, they shall return their share to pay the debt, whether the inheritance is sufficient or not; if they have used their inheritance prior to the knowledge of the debt, they shall pay out of their own property an equal thereto in payment of the debt.

ARTICLE FIFTY-TWO--If a man order another man to shoot a deer, believing he is ordering him to shoot a deer, and the person shoots, believing also that he is shooting at a deer, but hits a man, neither the shooter nor the man who ordered him to shoot shall be liable to punishment but shall pay only a slight fine in blood money. Likewise if a man order another to shoot at a tree but hits a man, neither the shooter

nor the man who ordered him to shoot shall be liable to punishment but shall pay only a slight fine in blood money.

ARTICLE FIFTY-THREE--In case a person order another person to climb up a tree and the climber falls from the tree, there shall be no liability to punishment, whether the climber dies or not. A medium fine only shall be paid as blood money.

ARTICLE FIFTY-FOUR--If a female slave in possession of a certain person has a child which is recognized by another person as his own child and born of the slave during her stay in his possession, and the claims are denied by her present owner, and there shall be witness to the truth of the claim, the plaintiff shall confirm his testimony by oath. Failure to confirm this testimony by oath and the lack of conclusive evidence that the child is a free child begotten by the plaintiff of the slave, shall render the claim void.

ARTICLE FIFTY-FIVE--If a man recognize a slave whom he has liberated in the possession of another man, who denies the claim, and there be a witness who bears not the claim of the plaintiff, the plaintiff shall confirm his statement by oath, may recover his slave and reliberate him. But if his statement is nort confirmed by oath it shall not be sustained.

ARTICLE FIFTY-SIX--If two persons enter into a partnership and later on one of them asks the other to sell the property or stock and divide the proceeds, and the property be sold and the amount received, but the seller claims the whole as his, to which the other partner objects on the ground that it belongs to the partnership; and the other partner claims that it is his own, the statement of the person in the possession of the property or its price, shall be sustained if confirmed by oath; but otherwise it shall be rejected. SECTION 2--If, in the preceding case, the seller divide the proceeds and give his partner part thereof, and holds the remainder for himself, claiming that the amount of the proceeds has been divided, but the other partner refuses to accept his division on the grounds that it has not occurred, the claim of the complaining partner against the division shall be sustained if confirmed by oath. SECTION 3-- If one of the two partners in the preceding case buy and take possession of the property of the partnership and then deny that it is the form of property, claiming that it was bought. by someone else, to which the other partner objects as a false claim, the statement of the latter shall be sustained if confirmed by oath, otherwise the buyer's statement shall be sustained.

ARTICLE FIFTY-SEVEN--If a free man kill another free man or a free woman, or a slave kill another slave, they shall be punished. SECTION 2-- If a free man kill a slave, the free man shall not be put to death. SECTION 3--If a slave or other servant kill a free person, he shall be put to death.

ARTICLE FIFTY-EIGHT--If the blood money for life of a woman or hermaphrodite shall be half that of a man; so also shall the fine for wounding a woman be rated as half that for a man.

ARTICLE FIFTY-NINE--If a free man divorce his wife three times, or a slave divorce his wife twice, it shall not be lawful for any of them to marry the same wife again before the divorced woman is married to another person,

ARTICLE SIXTY--If the husband of a pregnant woman die, or a free woman be divorced, she shall mourn for four months and ten days. SECTION 2--If a slave be divorced, she shall mourn two months and ten days.

ARTICLE SIXTY-ONE--If a person throw the sweepings of the house or the parings of fruit on the road and a person carrying certain articles and passing on the road, steps on them and thereby dips and falls and loses his property, the person who threw the sweepings or fruit parings in the road shall pay for the lost property. He shall also be responsible for any injury resulting from the fall.

ARTICLE SIXTY-TWO--If a person give an imbecile, of an insane person or a child, poison to eat, and the said child, insane person, or imbecile dies as a result thereof, he shall be punished.

ARTICLE SIXTY-THREE--If a person gets drunk and fights or kills another, he shall be liable for punishment.

ARTICLE SIXTY-FOUR--If a child, or an imbecile, or an insane person, kill another person, they shall not be liable to punishment .but shall pay blood money.

ARTICLE SIXTY-FIVE--If a child under age be in a high place and be frightened by some person and as a result, falls and dies, the person who frightened him shall pay blood money.

ARTICLE SIXTY-SIX--If a person who is shooting or hunting, startle a child who happens to be in a high place, and the child falls and dies as a result thereof, he shall pay a small fine as blood money.

ARTICLE SIXTY-SEVEN--If a slave be wounded, the fine in corn-pensation for his injury shall be the price of the slave in case of his death, or an amount equal to the decrease in value of the slave if he does not die.

ARTICLE SIXTY-EIGHT--If a slave be guilty of cutting another, he shall be liable to the fine thereby incurred. If his master does not pay the fine, he may sell the guilty slave and pay the fine from the amount received therefrom. SECTION 2--If the master of the guilty slave refuse to sell him he shall compensate for the decreased value of the slave who has been cut.

ARTICLE SIXTY-NINE--If a plaintiff produce a witness, his statement shall be sustained. SECTION 2--If the plaintiff has not a witness, the defendant shall take an oath, but if the defendant refuse to take an oath, the plaintiff shall swear and his statement shall be sustained.

ARTICLE SEVENTY--If the owner of a slave die and his heirs claim the slave, and the slave objects on the ground that he has been liberated by his deceased master, the slave shall take an oath to that effect, which oath shall confirm his statement; but if an oath is not taken by the slave, the claim of the heirs shall be sustained.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-ONE--All property loans shall be paid back in kind. If that be impracticable, the value thereof shall be expected,

ARTICLE SEVENTY-TWO--The will of a free person shall be legitimate, whether he be non-Mohammedan, or a person of bad character; but the will of an insane person, a child, a slave, and imbecile shall not be legitimate.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-THREE--If the legatee die before the testator the will shall be held invalid; but if the legatee die after the death of the testator, the heirs of the legatee shall be entitled to the share under the will.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-FOUR--If a person will his estate to one of his heirs, the will shall be sustained if the other heirs consent to it; but if they do not consent, the will shall be not sustained.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-FIVE--If a person recognize his property in the possession of another, which property he has neither sold nor given away in charity or otherwise, it shall be lawful for him to take or recover his property, unless he is afraid that he may be killed. In case he is afraid, he shall present the matter to the Datu or Judge.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-SIX--The action of a guardian or an agent shall be binding on the ward or principal respectively. The insane, imbeciles, or children shall never be guardians or agents.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-SEVEN--If two persons collide unintentionally or accidentally and one person be injured, the liability of the guilty person for the fine or compensation shall extend to his heirs. The fine shall be small.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-EIGHT-- If, in the preceding case, the collision be intentional, the liability shall be the same, but the fines shall be equal to half of the limit.

ARTICLE SEVENTY-NINE--If children, or imbeciles, or insane. persons collide, the same shall govern as in the case of sui juris persons.

ARTICLE EIGHTY--A son, or the only child, shall inherit all of the estate of his father and mother. SECTION 2--A daughter, the only child, shall inherit half the estate of her father and mother. SECTION 3--Two or more sons, the only children, shall inherit and share the estate of their father and mother equally. SECTION 4--In case one son and one daughter are the only children, the estate of the father and mother shall be divided into three parts, of which the son, shall receive two parts, and the daughter one part. SECTION 5--Two or more daughters, the only children, shall inherit two-thirds of the estate of their parents. SECTION 6--In case of multiplicity of sons and daughters, the estate shall be divided as to give each daughter one half the share of one son.

ARTICLE EIGHTY-ONE--A husband shall inherit the estate of his wife in the event of her death and when she has neither child nor grandchild,

ARTICLE EIGHTY-TWO--In the event of the death of a wife who has children or grandchildren, her husband shall inherit one quarter of her estate, and the other heirs shall inherit three-quarters.

ARTICLE EIGHTY-THREE.--In the event of the death of a man who has no children or grandchildren, his wife shall inherit one quarter of his estate only.

ARTICLE EIGHTY-FOUR--In the event of the death at a man who has children or grandchildren, his wife shall inherit one-eighth of his estate only.

ARTICLE EIGHTY-FIVE--A. father, or a son, or a wife, or a husband,

cannot be disinherited by other heirs. SECTION 2--A son disinherits full brothers and sisters and all other heirs. SECTION 3--A full brother and sister disinherits further heirs. SECTION 4--A grandfather, a father and a grandson, disinherits a brother or a sister from the mother alone, or other heirs. SECTION 5--A grandfather, brother, son, uncle or aunt on the father's side, disinherits a full nephew or niece or further heirs. SECTION 6--A full nephew disinherits another nephew who is not a full brother or sister. SECTION 7--A nephew on the father's side disinherits a full cousin or further heirs. SECTION 8--A full uncle or aunt disinherits an uncle or aunt on the father's side. SECTION 9--A full cousin disinherits a cousin on the father's side.

GOD'S KNOWLEDGE SURPASSES OUR KNOWLEDGE.

The original of the copy was made at noon on the twentieth day of Jamadu laawal, in the year of the war between Bwayan and the Infidels. To amplify some of the Articles of the Lawarn Code, a few of the standard fines for various offenses are noted herewith:.

Slander not justified is punished with a fine of fifteen pesos. A slight wound costs the aggressor five pesos while a serious wound carries a penalty of fifteen pesos and the forfeiture of the weapon performing the act. Under the strict interpretation of the Code, a well-to-do murderer could usually escape the death penalty by the payment of six slaves. In case adultery was not punished by death, the fine was usually sixty pesos and two slaves.

Insulting a Datu was a serious offense calling for an indeterminate fine of large proportions. In addition, the culprit became enslaved for life. Failure to accept these terms indicated a death sentence.

The values of slaves varied greatly according to their age, state of health and general appearance. Usually, the value of a slave was judged at twenty to thirty pesos.

28. Moro Customs and Traditions

Superstitions

All of the tribes of the Philippines share beliefs equivalent to the were-wolf superstitions of Europe. Among the Moros, this spirit is known as *Bal-Bal*, a creature with the body of a man and the wings of a bird. *Bal-Bal* is credited with the habit of eating out the livers of unburied bodies.

Another tradition of the Moros tells us of the monster *Kurits* who has the form of a crocodile and whose skin is so tough that no kris can penetrate it. *Kurits*, like the Phoenix, has the power of rising from the residue of its own destruction, the Mindanao version providing for the rebirth of *Kurits* from the pool of its own death-blood.

The *anting-anting*, or charm against bullets or calamities, has been mentioned elsewhere in the book. The *anting-anting* might consist of anything. It could be a bit of polished coconut shell, or a white rock from the stomach of a crocodile. Often it was in the form of a magic shirt. The *anting-anting* is credited with the power to make crops grow, to protect against the bite of poisonous reptiles, to give immunity for the wearer against bullets or *kris* wounds, and even to act as a charm to guarantee the affection of a desired loved one.

Legends of Origin

Interesting among the legends of the Moros is that of the mythical Paradise of Bumbaran which the folk songs say was an island paradise that sank beneath the sea. The legends of all of the people of the East seem to substantiate the theories of a lost Atlantis, or a mother Mu.

The legends of the Moros are divided into three periods. The first tells of the coming of Ikander Jokanin, bringing the first Moros to the Philippines. The second period deals of the three tribes which sprang from the original people conducted by Jokanin and of the coining of the fourth tribe of Samals. The third period deals with events occurring after the landing of Abu Bakr, the first Sultan of Sulu.

The legendary history of these three periods was prepared by Captain Charles B. Hagadorn for the Military Information Bureau of the United States army.

First Period

"After the waters which God had caused to destroy the earth had subsided, Noah's Ark, which contained the people whom God saved, landed on Mount Ararat. Among these people was one Ikander Jokanin. Sometime after the landing of the Ark on Ararat, Jokanin had a dream in which he saw many beautiful and uninhabited islands separated by broad expanses of water. He wanted to go to these islands but was puzzled as he had no boat. He was told in his dream that if he would blow hard he could create a wind which would carry him to the islands. Upon awakening, he blew as directed in the dream and was carried by a self-created breeze to the island of Java. From there he was borne in the same manner to Celebes and Jolo. He returned from Jolo to Ararat and taking a man and a woman, one in each hand, he carried them through the air to Java. Celebes and Jolo were peopled in the same manner. The two people placed on the island of Jolo took the names Jokanin and were the ancestors of the three tribes of the second period."

Second Period

"The first tribe that lived in Jolo were the Maimbunghanuns; the names of the chief men were Datu Sipad and Datu Narawangsa, two brothers. The second was the tribe of Tagimahanun Tagidaina. The third was the tribe of Baklaynun Tagidaina.

"The Maimbunghanuns lived at Maimbung (Maybun in the text) and in the vicinity. The Baklaynuns to the north of Pugut Point and near Lake Seit. The Tagimahanuns lived in Pansol and the vicinity. About this time there lived a man named Twan Masaaik who was very skillful and was believed to have sprung from the stem of a *kayawan* (bamboo) tree. The knowledge of the early Moros was not that of the Koran. The Samals came from the island of Johar. They were driven to Jolo by a great storm and the Moros took them in and cared for them and gave them the name of Tagidiana. A short while after this appeared a man called Kareenul Mahdoom. He came to Jolo in an iron tub and was received by the Moros who renamed him Twan Shareep Awalia. Awalia built a church for praying. Ten years after Awalia came the Rajah Baguinda from a place called Mana-Manangkabow to Zamboanga, past the island of Basilan and thence to Jolo. All of the chiefs tried to sink the boat of Rajah Baguinda. When they tried this, Baguinda stood up and said, 'Why do you people want to sink our boat? We are not storm-driven men, we want to visit your land.' After a conference, the priests took in the Rajah Baguinda and churches were built. Then Abu Bakr came about four hundred years ago from Palembang, Sumatra, to Borneo and thence to Jolo. He said to the people who met him, 'Where do you live and where is your place of prayer?' The people answered, 'In Buansah,' and there Abu Bakr came ashore."

Third Period

"At sunset, said Abu Bakr, attired in a long white robe, began to say his prayers. The Moros, thinking him crazy, were frightened and wanted him to go to another place. But he said that he had come to Jolo to tell the people that there was a God and to teach them how to pray to him.

"Abu made great progress with the children and soon the old people became interested. A mosque was built at Buansah and Abu taught the people the Arabic alphabet, by means of which he said they would be able to talk to each other on paper. Soon he sent to his country for Korans and he taught the people how to read the Koran and the laws. The shore people were soon converted to Mohammedanism.

"The hill people remained unconverted. The coast people said, let us fight the hill people and convert them to Islam.' But Abu would not allow it, and instead, told the people to pound rice and make cakes and clothing. Then the coast people marched inland to a place called Payahan. Abu sent word to the head man that he was an Arabian who could be talked with on paper. The head man answered that he did not wish to change the customs of his ancestors. But Abu approached and threw cakes into the houses of the Moros. The children ate the cakes but the older people thought them poison and threw them to the dogs. The dogs did not die and the children went to the camp of Abu where they were well received. The two tribes came to an understanding. That night Abu slept in the house of the chief and the chief had a dream that he was living in a large house with beautiful decorations. Abu interpreted the dream saying that the house was the new religion and the decorations the benefits. The news spread and the people were converted after great difficulty. Abu named the place Payahan which means 'difficult to teach.' Some of the people near did not wish to give up eating pigs and Abu named that place Bodoh meaning 'stupid.' Both places are in existence today.

"The whole island was soon converted and the people were so pleased that they made Abu Sultan under the name of Saripbul Hassim. Saripbul Hassim then held a meeting of the people and ordered them to divide the land among the people. That is how the ancestors of the present Moros acquired the title to the land they held down from father to son. The island was divided into six districts and over five of the districts he placed a *Panglima*. The sixth district had no *Panglima* as the Moros claimed all of the people in the district as slaves.

"Hassim married the daughter of Baguinda and all of their descendants have been either Sultans or Datus. The eldest sons were the crown princes (*Rajamuda*) and the others were Datus.

"Buansah, now called Batu-Batu, is about five miles southwest of Jolo on the coast."

The folklore and tradition of the Maguindanao Moros varies from that of the Sulus. The Maguindanao traditions concerning the beginning of the tiibe state

that long ago, when only the present mountain of Mindanao was above the sea, there dwelt in the mountains, a numerous and happy people.

"The ground gave forth abundantly; in fact, nature left nothing undone for these favored children. But this earthly Paradise did not last.

"Four great monsters came to prey upon the island. "The first, called *Kurits*, was like a crocodile, only larger. His skin was so hard that no weapon could cut its fibre and he could move more swiftly on land and sea than a bird can fly. He dwelt at Mount Kalaban.

"The second monster was called *Tarabusan* and had the form of a man so large that when his feet were planted upon rocks the size of a man's head, they were ground to pieces. *Tarabusan* lived on Mount Bitu.

"The third was a great bird called *Pah*, so large that when he came between the sun and the earth, darkness fell upon the land for the distance of a day's journey. *Pah* also lived on Mount Bitu.

The last monster was a bird with seven heads who lived near the Mount of Gurayu. Upon the people of Mindanao, these monsters preyed. So terrible were they, and so destructive, that in a short while only a few people were left, hidden in the caves behind waterfalls.

"Now to the Rajah Indarapatra, in Arabia the Happy, was brought the tidings of the terrible state in Mindanao. He called his brother, the Rajah Suleyman, and sent him to Mindanao to kill the Hell-born monsters.

"The Rajah Suleyman, taking the magic sword of the Caliph Ali, departed for Mindanao. Before he took up his journey, the Rajah Indarapatra planted a flowering tree by the window, telling his brother that as long as he was successful, the tree would blossom, but should ill befall him, the tree would fade.

"When all preparations were made, the Rajah Suleyman willed himself to Mindanao. He first landed from his journey through the air at Mount Matutum where he saw the terrible havoc wrought by the first monster. There was never a man nor living thing to be seen.

"As he lamented, out of the ground sprang *Kurits* and rushed upon him. The Rajah Suleyman slew this monster easily with his sword for it had been blessed by the Prophet and tempered in the blood of many an Infidel.

"From thence, the Rajah went to the mountain and there killed *Tarabusan*. Then to Mount Bitu where he stood in the darkness that came over the land and watched *Pah* rushing from the sky. The Rajah smote the bird and cut off a

wing. As Pah felt the sword of Ali, it fell dead, but the severed wing, in its fall, crushed Suleyman beneath its weight.

"Far away in Arabia, the tree withered away as Suleyman died and the Rajah Indarapatra came to Mindanao to avenge the death of his brother. He followed the wanderings of his brother and came at last to the dead bird and the bones of Suleyman. His eyes blinded with tears and he could not see but when his sight returned, there before him was a crystal vessel filled with water. He knew it was a gift from Allah with which to sprinkle the bones of the dead brother. He did so; a white mist arose and overspread the ground and from the mist came Suleyman.

"With Suleyman away in Mount Montapuli, the Rajah Indarapatra proceeded to Mount Gurayu where he met and slew the bird of seven heads.

"After the deed he was exceedingly hungry and looking about, he found a pot of rice. Kindling a fire, he cooked the rice and while he was eating an old woman came from a tree trunk to marvel at him, He called to her and learned that all of the people of Mindanao were dead except a single Datu and a few of his people who remained in a nearby cave.

"Indarapatra went to the cave, where the Datu, in exchange for his deed in killing the seven-headed bird, gave him his beautiful daughter in marriage. Of this wife was born twins, a boy and a girl. The boy was named Rinamunyan and the girl, Ronayung. "From these two, sprang the ruling class of Mindanao."

Religion The Mohammedan religion of the Moros is sufficiently well known to require not more than a few general comments. They believe in one God whose Prophet is Mohammed and their Holy writing is the Koran. The Moros are not orthodox Mohammedans and appear to have adopted the principles of Mohammedanism with most appeal to them. The ban against alcoholic liquors and pork is generally respected.

The Mohammedan religion is based upon five pillars, namely: 1. Testimony to the unity of God and the apostleship of Mohammed. 2. Daily prayer at the five stated intervals. 3. Fasting during the Month of Ramadan. 4. Giving of the legal alms once a year. 5. Pilgrimage to Mecca once in a lifetime.

The five daily prayer intervals are before sunrise (*subo*), noon (*lojar*), before sunset (*asar*), after sunset (*magarip*), and before going to bed (*aisa*).

The legal alms is represented by one-fortieth of the wealth of the giver.

Rules for entering a mosque are very explicit. The worshiper must first be purified by washing in a tank outside the door in ceremonial manner, The hands are washed lest something unclean has been touched; lest something not his own has been taken; lest a deed unworthy of God and the Prophet has been

performed. The head is washed to drive out the temptations of Satan. The ears, lest foulness has been heard. The feet and legs, so that the path to Paradise may he trod with safety and strength. The lips are washed lest a lie has been uttered. The nose and eyes, lest something unclean has been smelled or seen.

Inside the mosque, the Moro places his hands upon his ears and praises the Lord. The head and trunk are bowed continually and the floor is kissed frequently. The preaching of the Priests finished, the worshipers hasten to kiss the hands of the preachers.

There are some 200,000,000 Mohammedans in the world.

Moro Funeral Rites

The head of the dying man is directed to the north with his face turned toward Mecca. Confession is made to a priest who reads prayers for the safety of the soul. "When death comes, the body is washed and powdered and placed in a sitting position in the center of a feast attended by all of the relatives.

The body is wrapped in a white cloth (white is the Sulu color of mourning), and is borne to the grave by a procession carrying white clothes fastened to sticks. The body is buried in a shallow grave with the face turned toward Mecca. The graves are adorned with white stones and are built up with a permanent wooden framework. A round carved piece of wood indicates the grave of a man. A flat board indicates that the occupant of the grave is a woman.

On the third, seventh, twentieth and one hundredth days after death, a gathering is held in honor of the dead. This formality is repeated thereafter annually. The fifteenth of the month of *Shabon* is the Mohammedan equivalent of Decoration Day, and at this time the graves are decorated with flowers and freshly painted white stones. The frangipanc is the funeral flower of the Moros and is planted at all graves whenever possible.

Elopement

The Moro maidens hold a ceremonial bath at nine o'clock in the evening during an annual ceremony dedicated to fertility. At this time a Moro custom known as *Magsaggow*, or elopement, is in effect. A young man, having selected the lady of his choice, is privileged to lie in wait near the swimming pool and to swoop down while the young girl is in the midst of her bath and carry her away to the house of the Datu. A successful accomplishment of this feat entitles the boy to marry the girl immediately, thus avoiding the preliminaries of a regular marriage ceremony. There is a standing fine of fifty pesos for the practice but the youth is able to save about seventy-five pesos and avoid a wait of four

months. A payment of 130 pesos to the father of the girl assures an immediate ceremony. The father of the girl has the privilege of killing the abductor if he arrives at the house of the Datu before the boy bears in the struggling bride-to-be.

Marriage Ceremony

The customary marriageable age is fifteen years for both men and women although often marriages occur at a much earlier age. The marriages are arranged through the parents of the intended couple, ordinarily the father of the prospective groom calling upon the father of the bride-to-be. The consent of the girl's father must be obtained. In the event that the father is dead, the next male relative in importance is vested with the decision.

After the marriage has been arranged, the groom gives to the father of the bride the sum of money or live stock agreed upon, usually an amount from twenty-five to five hundred pesos. In addition, the youth provides his bride with a suitable dowry.

When the day of the marriage ceremony arrives, the groom calls at the house of the bride and asks permission to enter. This permission being granted by the father, the male relatives of the girl simulate an attack upon the groom which he evades and enters the house.

In company with the priest, he finds the lady. The priest then places the hand of the man upon the forehead of the girl and leaves the room. The groom attempts to assure himself of the virginity of his bride who defends herself against his advances until her father comes to assure the groom that the maid is a virgin. The placing of the hand upon the girl's forehead is the completion of the actual ceremony of marriage.

The ceremony following is devoted to reading from the Koran and the placing of questions before the groom in which he signifies his intention of accepting the woman as his wife. A pretentious feast follows and after seven days, the groom is permitted to live with his wife.

The Moro bride shaves her eyebrows and paints her face thickly with a white powder resembling flour. She is gaudily dressed for the occasion, as is the groom.

Divorce among the Sulus is a simple matter of notification. The husband can repeat "I divorce you" three times and it is considered sufficient. There can be no appeal on the part of the wife. For the woman, divorce is less simple. She may not break her marital relations without excellent cause. If she is granted a divorce, she is forced to repay double the amount of her dowry to her husband and is not permitted to remarry for four months.

Baptism

A Moro baby is baptized at the end of the seventh day. The ceremony is the occasion for a great feast with all of the relatives and friends of the family present. A priest moistens the child's head and cuts a lock of hair as the name is repeated. The name of the infant is selected from one of seven names chosen beforehand by the parents. These names are inscribed on separate sheets of paper and a small child a year or two old selects one of the slips at random.

The Moros quite often change their names when they become adult. Often a Moro will have a different name each year.

Moro Music and Dancing

The Moros have no written music, but they have a well-developed sense of rhythm and they possess several forms of musical instruments which they play by ear. Among these are the *Biola*, violin; the *Daop-Daop*, cymbals; the *Pulawta*, flute; the *Soling*, another form of flute; the *Kulaying*, a Jew's harp; the *Gabang*, a piano, and the various gongs and drums called *Agongs*, *Kulingtangan* and *Gadangs*.

The violin is almost identical to the one Americans are familiar with. The string of the bow is of horsehair and those of the instrument are of hemp or goat intestines. The cymbals are made of brass and are similar to those used in any band. The bamboo flute called *Pulawta* is six-toned, and is played by blowing into the end. The other flute, *Soling*, is similar except that it is played by blowing from the side. The Jew's harp is made from bamboo. The Moro piano is made in two parts, one forming the soundboard and the other the keyboard. A perfect scale is formed by the bamboo keys.

The tom-toms, or gongs, are constructed of brass. The tone is made by striking a protuberance with a padded and rounded stick. The *Gadangs* are the most primitive of the Moro instruments, being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree in the manner of the bush tribes of Africa. The sound of the drums can be heard for a long distance and the Moros are prone to play them at night when the sound travels well.

The dances of the Moros are the *magsayaw* or spear dance, performed by two men completely armed in simulation of a combat to the death; the *magpanhaly tauty*, representing a man fishing from a rock with the juice of the *toobly* tree which stuns the fish when thrown into the water; the *magpanhaly* which is a posture dance performed by men and women; and the *magloonsy*, or the dance of Love. This dance is performed in the light of the full moon by

sixteen girls and sixteen men. As far as the writer has been able to discover, it has never been witnessed by a white man.

All of the Moro dances are characterized by the same strict attention to posture and the position of hands and arms as is so characteristic of the dances of Java.

General Notes

The Moros raise all of the domestic animals except hogs, The ruling classes do not work and always the Moros marry equals. The Moros have never practiced head-hunting. Fish and meat are never eaten raw. Old persons are looked after by their families; if they have no family, they are cared for by the Sultan or the Datu. The Sultan of Sulu is accessible at all times to the poorest of his subjects. The insane are cared for carefully and are only locked up if it is dangerous to allow them to run at large. The Moros do not practice inbreeding and, generally speaking, they are an extremely moral people, Unchastity in a woman relegates her to the lowest social levels, and Moro bachelors, as a rule, lead very celibate lives.

29. The Plaint of the Moro

No work on the Moros would be complete without a discussion of the grave internal problem which may confront the rulers of the new Philippine Republic.

With independence a reality, one of the first problems of the Filipino will be to put his house in order. At best, the undertaking will be difficult and it may be accomplished with bloodshed. The importance of the problem of Filipino-Moro relationships cannot be overstressed, as it will present a serious obstacle to the success of the infant Philippine Republic.

Opinion seems to be overwhelming that the Moro will fight. He has no intention of submitting to the rule of Filipinos and he can probably be added to the Philippine "nation" only after a prolonged and bitter struggle.

The Filipino hates and fears the Moro, and these Christians of the northern islands share with the Spaniards an intolerance in religious matters which will not improve Filipino-Moro relations.

The Moro, on the other hand, views the Filipino with contempt. His word *l*, meaning slave, is the name of one of the largest tribes of Filipinos. In the old days, these *l* of the middle islands were taken by thousands into the harems of the Moros.

The Moro has a legitimate complaint as he watches America's preparations for leaving the Philippines. He has been disarmed. His privilege of carrying even a *kris* has been greatly curtailed and, with rare exceptions, he is totally forbidden the use of firearms. The not too blameless past of the Moro himself has of course been responsible for the complete disarming. For centuries he harried the Filipinos of the north.

If the Moro is not trusted with arms, he is at least provided with great freedom in his relations with America; his institutions and customs are not interfered with by the American administration.

The Moro would be distrustful of a Filipino holding a position of power. He would fear for the preservation of the customs of Islam, for he knows that the Filipinos are as devout as the hated Spaniards and that they have not forgotten the old days when the Moro was king of the archipelago.

Given arms, the Moro fears no Filipino. Disarmed, he looks to America for the protection she assured him. In many respects, his claim is just.

The Filipino, on the other hand, carries in his mind a memory of the old days of the *juramentado* and piracy. He has no assurance that these practices will not be resumed when America leaves the islands.

In this writer's opinion, the Moros will never submit to Filipino rule. Some years ago I had 400 Moros in my employ. The usual independence scare arose in the newspapers, with Congress debating the measure which eventually was accepted. A delegation of old Moros wailed upon me.

"Is it true, Senor," one asked, "that the Americans are going to leave and turn Mindanao and Sulu over to the Filipinos?"

"I only know what I see in the papers, Asari," I said. "Maybe independence will be granted and America will go home."

"If that be so, Senor, we must sharpen our *kris*es. We love Americans and we trust them, but we cannot endure Filipino rule and we will die fighting."

A prominent Moro, who must remain nameless, recently made the following statement to me:

"I will never be able to hold my men in check under the rule of Filipinos. They will take to the hills and will never submit. The old days of jungle warfare I saw thirty years ago will return to Mindanao and Sulu."

In the event of armed resistance, the Moros would be greatly outnumbered by the Filipinos but they would have the advantage of fighting on their own soil and under conditions to their liking. Small bands of Moros, deep in the interior jungle, would be difficult to exterminate, and the cleaning up process, if successful at all, might well continue for many years.

The Moros have no arms except the *kris* and *barong*, but they make very creditable shot-guns from lengths of iron pipe, and ambushes of Filipino troops would soon provide them with modern weapons.

An American army officer, who must also necessarily remain anonymous, recently remarked to me:

"I would like to have a box seat here in Mindanao where I could watch the Filipinos try to subdue the Moros. I am sure that a box seat would be much preferable to a field assignment against the Mohammedans."

There have been no Americans killed by the Moros for almost two decades, but three Filipino officers of the Constabulary were ambushed and speared by the Moros during one year, 1933. The Moros have a respect for Americans which they do not extend to the Filipinos.

The Moros laid down their arms and surrendered to America, with the understanding that America would protect them from aggression. Data Mandi, one of the finest of the Moro leaders, indicated this plainly in a speech before Secretary of War Dickinson in 1910:

"I am here, El Rajah Mura Mandi, representing the Moros. Here they are, the whole crowd of them, come to honor the Secretary of War. As I look about, I see far more Moros than Filipinos, that is the reason it is called the Moro province.

"When America first came here, from the very beginning, whatever they asked me to do, I did. I was loyal to them ever--now I hear a rumor that we Moros are in the hands of the Filipinos.

"In the Spanish times, I was a Datu. Then I saw and found out that things did not go well. When a man had two measures of rice, one was taken away from him; when a man had two head of cattle, one was taken away from him.

"If the American government does not want the Moro province any more, they should give it back to us. It is a Moro province--it belongs to us."

During the same meeting, the Moro Sacaluran came forward to address Dickinson:

"I am an old man. I do not want any more trouble. But if it should come to that, that we are to be given over to the Filipinos, I still would fight."

Ulanakaya then arose and addressed the Secretary of War:

"I am not a civilized man but I have learned that slavery, killing and stealing is a bad thing. But if we are given over to another race, we had better all be hanged."

Thirteen years later, the Moro attitude had not changed. During the famous Rizal Day parade at Zamboanga in 1923, the Moros carried placards announcing:

"We Moros are not with the Christian Filipinos in their asking for Independence." "We are not ungrateful to the United States." "The voices of the Moros are not heard in Manila except by our friend General Wood." "Whether Independence be given the Filipinos or not, we wish our Moro country to be segregated from Luzon and the Visayan islands."

The Wood-Forbes Commission, sent out to study the situation, heard the same expression of desire to remain under American rule when Ami Binaning spoke for the Maguindanao Moros:

"We Moros wish the protection of America. We wish to stay under the American flag."

It seems not beyond the bounds of reason to assume that the withdrawal of America from the Philippines may result in serious percussions which may be felt throughout Asia. A return of piracy and lawlessness to Mindanao and a possibility of grave civil war could well be the results.

The Moros are outnumbered numerically in a ratio of twenty to one, but the possible contest might not be as uneven as population figures would seem to indicate. There is a great nomadic population of Moros scattered all through the islands of Borneo, Celebes, Java and other parts of the East Indies, and many of them would doubtless rush to the aid of their blood brothers in Mindanao and Sulu. A Moro can smell a fight for a long distance.

It should be borne in mind also that the women of the Moros are no mean antagonists. In the event of active resistance to the Filipinos, they could be depended upon to take their place in the field.

It is not the purpose of this book to engage in any controversy over island politics except incidentally in-so-far as the facts might affect the Moro. But the possibilities of Filipino-Moro conflict cannot be ignored. The inclusion of this possibility is a logical part of any history of the Moro people.

It is possible that any friction of more than a purely local nature can be avoided if both races arrive at a mutual understanding and peace. It is also likely that the Filipino will bend every effort to attempt a peaceful settlement of the problem. The religious differences remain, however, as do the cultural and language barriers. These factors, coupled with the traditional enmity of the two peoples, make the problem of future relations a matter for real concern. The Moros are outspoken in their opposition to Filipino rule and it seems unlikely that the relations between the warlike Moro and the hot-blooded Filipino can be otherwise than strained.

With independence in the offing, the Filipino must devote every energy to the acquisition of a dear understanding of the problems of Mindanao and Sulu in order to avoid a repetition of the jungle warfare of thirty years ago. The understanding must be based, not upon the superior numbers and armed forces of the Filipinos, but upon mutual confidence and trust.

It remains for the Filipino to inspire this confidence, so lacking at present, and he must take the initiative in any attempt to establish a cordial relationship.

The Moro is poised at a crossroad. He can accept the peace the Filipino offers or he can, with equal facility, pick up the bloody kris he dropped at the battle of Bud Bagsak.

Notes on the Moros

Chronology of the Assaults on Jolo

The Moro capital was assaulted by Spain on sixteen occasions, five of which resulted in the capture of the city. No permanent Spanish garrison was established until 1876, from which time the city was occupied continuously until the final evacuation of the American army in May, 1899.

Summary of the Assaults by Spain

- Attacked and burned by Figuroea during the De Sande expedition to Borneo. Evacuated a few days after the capture.
- Sever Spanish assault repulsed. The Moros inflicted heavy losses upon the attacking force.
- Juan Gallinato attacked Jolo with a force of 200 Spanish soldiers. The force was cut to pieces.
- A Spanish force retreated after three months' heavy fighting had failed to reduce the city.
- A Spanish attack failed to drive the Moro defenders from the walls.

- Spanish soldiers again repulsed by the kris men.
- Corcuera attacked Jolo with a force of eighty ships and 2000 men. The city was captured and burned and a small garrison was left which was annihilated by the Moros.
- Roxas was defeated by the Moros in a series of engagements before the city walls.
- Andreas Garcia failed in an attack on Jolo.
- General Ignacio Iriberry took a force of 1000 men to Jolo and captured the town after a lengthy siege. The Spaniards evacuated in a few days.
- In retaliation for terrible pirate raids, the Spaniards took a large expedition to Jolo but were defeated. This expedition consisted of 1900 men. The Moros were treacherously fired upon when they approached under a white flag to ask news of the imprisoned Sultan, Alimud Din I.
- Following a Moro raid on Zamboanga, Vargas took a punitive expedition to Jolo but was repulsed.

- Aguilar went against Jolo in a series of unsuccessful assaults.
- Spanish attack failed.
- Urbiztondo attacked Jolo, which was captured and burned. Spanish troops withdrew after removing many brass cannon.
- Malcampo led the final assault on Jolo, using a force of 9000 men. This resulted in the final capture of the town and its retention until the close of the Spanish-American war.

During the 321 years of struggle for the Moro capital, it was held by the Moros for 290 years and by a Spanish garrison for 31 years.

Spanish Governors of the Sulu Capital at Jolo

It is interesting to note that during the whole course of the Spanish occupation of the Philippine Islands, covering a period of 377 years, they were able to maintain a government in Jolo for only twenty-two years. In that length of time there were twelve military governors, as follows:

Captain P. Cervera 1876

Brigadier Jose Paulin 1876-1877

Col. Carlos Martinez 1877-1880

Col. Rafael de Rivera 1880-1881

Col. Isidro G. Soto 1881-1882

Col. Eduardo Bremon 1882

Col. Julian Parrado 1882-1884

Col. Francisco Castilla 1884-1886

Col. Juan Arolas 1886-1893

Col. Caesar Mattos 1893

Gen. Venancio Hernandez 1893-1896

Col. Luis Huerta 1869-1899

Important Dates in the Military History of the Moros

- Chinese mention of the Philippines
- Coming of the Mohammedan missionary, Rajah Baguinda.
- Coming of Abu Bakr, the first Sultan of Sulu.
- The appearance of Portuguese sailors, the first record of white men in Mindanao.
- Magellan "*discovers*" the Philippines.
- Death of Barbosa and thirty-five men in Mindanao. One of the first combats between white men and the Moros.
- Death of Rajah Soliman in the defense of the cotta of Lusong against Goiti. The battle broke the Mohammedan power in the northern islands of the Philippines.
- De Sande and Figueroa take the first official Spanish expedition to Mindanao and Sulu.
- Death of Figueroa in Mindanao.
- Great Moro raid on Ilo-Ilo, resulting in the death of the Spanish Governor and the looting of the town.
- Defeat of Tagal at Puenta Flecha.
- Corcuera defeats Correlat in Cotobato.
- Tremendous pirate raids in the northern islands.
- Imprisonment of the Sultan Alimud Din by the Spaniards.
- Massacre of the British trading post by the Moros under Datu Tating. This massacre resulted in the withdrawal of the British from the Moro country.
- The Moros engage the French on Basilan island.
- Balanguingue Island, the great Samal pirate stronghold, destroyed by steam warships under Claveria.
- Jolo permanently occupied by the Spanish army.
- Beginning of the wars with the United States.
- Cotta warfare against the American troops.
- Battle of Bud Dajo. One thousand Moros slain
- Death of Jikiri on Patian Island.
- Second battle of Bud Dajo.
- Battle of Bud Bagsak. End of the organized Moro resistance to the United States.
- the Moros disarmed and the last of the outlaws rounded up.

An Index of Moro Titles

Sultan - Highest religious and political authority.

Wazir - Prime minister.

Datu - Provincial adviser or tribal leader. War chief.

Panglima - Judge.

Maharajah - Various grades, equivalent to military ranks of Colonel, Major, etc.

Imam - Secondary priest.

Pandita -Head priest.

Salip - A title of respect.

Hadji - One who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Moro Forces in 1898

The total fighting force of the Moros at the close of the Spanish-American War appears to have been about 34,000 warriors. This total was made up of 19,000 in Mindanao, 10,000 in Sulu and about 5,000 on Basilan Island.

The total Moro population of the Philippines was about 380,000. Due to the absence of birth statistics among Mohammedans, any population figure can only be an estimate. A considerable percentage of the population of Sulu was transient, moving from Sulu to Borneo according to their desires.

Spanish Military Organization

As mentioned in the text, the number of troops in the Colony was originally established at 400 men-at-arms, divided into six companies with monthly pay as follows: Captain \$35; Sub-lieutenant \$20; Sergeant \$10; Corporal \$7; Rank and file \$6.

The first regular military organization occurred during the government of Arandia in 1754, when the *Regimiento del Rey*, composed of twenty companies, was formed. The Spanish company was made up as follows:

One Captain \$25.00 per month

One Lieutenant \$18.00 per month

One Sub-lieutenant \$14.00 per month

Four Sergeants \$ 4.00 per month

Two Drummers \$ 3.00 per month

Six First Corporals \$ 3.25 per month

Six Second Corporals \$ 3.00 per month

Eighty-eight Rank and File \$2.62 per month

In addition, the soldiers received an allowance of one and one-half pints of rice daily.

The pay of the higher officers was as follows:

Captain-General \$ 40,000 per annum

Lieutenant-General \$ 12,000 per annum

Brigadier-General \$ 4,500 per annum

Colonel \$ 3,450 per annum

Lieutenant-Colonel \$ 2,700 per annum

Major \$ 2,400 per annum

There were in the Philippines in 1888, 1 Captain-General, 1 Lieutenant-General, 9 Brigadier-Generals, 19 Colonels, 36 Lieutenant-Colonels, 73 Majors, 191 Captains, 262 Lieutenants, and 220 Sub-Lieutenants.

Spanish regulations provided for the payment of free passage to an officer to Spain after six years' service, if he was married. After nine year's service, he was obliged to return to Spain for three years before resuming tropic service.

Spanish Posts in the Moro Country

Mindanao

San Ramon Penitentiary garrisoned by an officer and 12 men.

Santa Maria Block House with 1 officer and 34 men.

Margo-sa Tubig 2 officers and 60 men.

Fort Weyler 15 officers and 640 men.

Iligan 1 officer and 30 men.

Almonte 3 officers and 90 men.

Alfonso XIII 1 officer and 20 men.

Balatacan 1 officer and 20 men.

Tucuran 1 officer and 50 men.

Infanta Isabela 1 officer and 50 men.

Maria Cristina 1 officer and 50 men.

Sundangan 1 officer and 35 men.

Parang-Parang 10 officers and 640 men.

Matabang 3 officers and 210 men.

Baras 3 officers and 210 men.

Glan 2 officers and 45 men.

Makar I officer and 30 men.

Balut 1 officer and 30 men.

Tumanao 1 officer and 15 men.

Cotobato 4 officers and 112 men.

Libungan 1 officer and 12 men.

Tamontaca 1 officer and 20 men.

Taviran 1 officer and 20 men.

Tumbao 1 officer and 30 men.

Kudaranga 1 officer and 60 men.

Reina Regente 3 officers and 100 men.

Pikit 1 officer and 135 men,

Pinto 1 officer and 66 men.

Pollok 1 officer and 11 men.

Panay 1 officer and 11 men.

Lebak 1 officer and 11 men.

Zamobanga 11 officers and about 200 men in the permanent garrison.
Staff headquarters for the south.

Basilan Island

Isabela 2 officers and 50 men.

Sulu Islands

Jolo The usual garrison was about 8 officers and 200 men.

Forces varied according to conditions in the country.

Parang 1 officer and 30 men.

Bongao 1 officer and 30 men.

Tataan 2 officers and 60 men.

Siasi 1 officer and 30 men.

The Spanish military organization changed from time to time, and for that reason various posts mentioned in the text are not included here as circumstances caused abandonment prior to the opening of the Spanish-

American War.

In 1757, there were 16 fortified posts in the Moro country, but this number was greatly increased later in the conflict.

In general, the Spaniards were confined closely to these posts, making no attempt to subjugate the inner country and having jurisdiction often over only the actual area encompassed by the stone walls of the fort.

Spanish Naval Divisions in the Moro Country

Palawan Island

Puerto Princesa - Gunboat station garrisoned by 30 marines in addition to ship's crews.

Balabac Island

Balabac - Gunboat station garrisoned by 22 marines in addition to ship's crews.

Basilan Island

Isabela - Naval headquarters for the south. Garrisoned by 30 marines 27 sailors in addition to ship's crews.

Mindanao

Rio-Hondo - A Small station was maintained in connection with the fortress of Nuestra Senora del Pilar.

Pollok - Spanish naval supply and repair station.

There were two brigades of marine infantry in the Philippines, composed of 375 men and 18 officers. Most of this force, including the 18 war vessels in Philippine waters, were used at one time or another, the suppression of Moro piracy. The naval expenditure in the later period of Spanish occupancy amounted to more than \$2,500,000 per year.

The Fortress of Nuestra Senora del Pilar at Zamboanga

This mighty for was the strongest post in the southern islands and was a

bulwark against the Moro raids. In all of its history, it was never taken by assault. The fortress was originally conceived in 1635, abandoned in 1663 and rebuilt in 1718. From that date it was continuously a Spanish post until December, 1899. Del Pilar was headquarters for the Spanish army in the south and in 1860 was garrisoned by eleven Companies of the regiments *Rey* and *Reina*. From this post, the detachments of Balabac, Isabela and Pollok were covered.

In the early days, Zamboanga was a concentration point for the sick of all stations, where they were treated at the hospital within the walls of the fort. Hospital records for the year 1856 show the entry during the year of 543 Sergeants, 14,756 soldiers and 3131 prisoners. In the year 1859, these figures increased to 862 Sergeants, 34,732 soldiers and 5535 prisoners. Many of these were second entries of the same patient.

The average actual garrison of the post was about 200 men. Native forces were used to patrol the streets at night, making their report to Spanish sentries on the walls of the fortress.

America took over the fort in 1899, changing the name of station to Petit Barracks. It is at present United States army headquarters for the south, and many of our greatest soldiers have commanded the post.

American commanding officer of Petit Barracks have been:

Major Petit 1900 - 1902

General Bliss 1902 - 1905

General Wood 1905 - 1910

General Pershing 1910 - 1911

Major Chamberlain 1911 - 1914

Major Beebe 1914 - 1918

Captain Stoneburn 1918 - 1919

Lt. Col. Well 1919 - 1920

Lt. Col. Fletcher 1920 - 1930

Lt. Col. Hoffman 1930 - 1931

Lt. Col. Grier 1931 - 1933

Major Philoon 1933 -

Moro Tribal Organization

The Moros are divided into a number of tribal groups all differing slightly in customs, traditions and dress. Practically all of them agree in professing the Mohammedan religion, although two minor tribes, namely the Bajaos and the Yakans, still contain great numbers of pagans. The main tribal divisions are as follows:

Mindanao

Maguindanaos - This tribe is found in the Cotobato Province to a number approximating 100,000.

Lanaos - A tribe from interior Mindanao in the region of the lake of the same name. They are among the fiercest of the tribes and their country was barely known to the Spaniards. They number some 75,000.

Sangils - A small and unimportant tribe which is greatly diluted with pagan blood. They are found in the Davao Province and number a few hundred only.

Basilan Island

Yakans - A tribe of mountain Moros, many of whom are pagans. About 20,000 of them are found on the Island of Basilan, fifteen miles from Zamboanga. They are famous for the excellence of their outrigger canoes or vintas and they supply many of the other Moro tribes with these vessels.

Sulu Islands

Sulus or Tao-sugs - The most important of the Moro tribes. They live on the islands of Jolo, Pata, Patian, Lugus and Tapal.

Samals - The fishermen tribe. They are expert mariners and navigators, and from this tribe was recruited the terrible pirate clan which terrorized the islands.

Bajaos - the "sea gypsies" who seldom set their feet on the land. They

spend their lives in their small vintas and rove the entire Sulu group. The Bajaos are looked down upon by the other tribes because of their filthy habits and manner of living. The Bajaos are not Mohammedans.

The Fast of the Ramadan

The ninth month of the Mohammedan year, called *Ramadan*, begins on August 26 and ends on September 24. From dawn until dark the Mohammedans are enjoined to abstain from food and drink or from any act producing a pleasant sensation. "Only when the darkness of night advances from the west and the day departs from the east" can the devout break their fast. Eating and drinking is permitted during the entire night until "one can discern a white thread from a black thread by daylight."

The name of the month is derived from the Arabic word meaning to burn. The month fast is designed to burn away the sins of man. The Mohammedans say that during the month of *Ramadan* the "Gates of Paradise are open and the gates of Hell are shut with the devil chained by the leg."

Many additional prayers are prescribed for the *Ramadan*. The Moros say that on the Night of Power, the 17th, when the Koran was delivered to Gabriel, the trees bow in *homage* to Mecca.

In order to prepare a morning meal, it is necessary for the devout to arise at three o'clock in the morning. As the month wears along, tempers fray and it is during the *Ramadan* fast that a great many *amuks* and *juramentados* appear.

The Mohammedan Calendar

The Mohammedan months are lunar with the result that their year is eleven days shorter than the Gregorian year and each year begins much earlier than the preceding one. The months of the Mohammedan year are: 1. *Muharram*; 2. *Safar*; 3. *Rabia I*; 4. *Rabia II*; 5. *Jumada I*; 6. *Jumada II*; 7. *Rajab*; 8. *Shabon*; 9. *Ramadan*; 10. *Shawwal*; 11. *Zu'lkadah*; 12. *Zu'lhijjah*.

The days of the week are: *Isnin* (Monday), *Salasa*, *Albaa*, *Hammiss*, *Duimaat*, *Sabtu* and *Ahad*. *Duimaat* or Friday, is the day for attending the mosque.

American Army Posts in Mindanao and Sulu

Originally, the American posts approximated the Spanish posts taken over. As time went on, many of the Spanish posts were abandoned as America fought an offensive war against the Moros. America did maintain the principal Sulu posts of Jolo, Bungao and Siasi as well as ten strong posts in Mindanao, until the opening of the Great War in 1917.

First American Treaty with the Moros.

The first American treaty with the Moros was signed, not by General Bates in 1899, but by Admiral Charles Wilkins of the United States navy as early as 1838. This treaty with the Sultan of Sulu provided permission to trade with the Moros and guaranteed protection of American ships. The treaty provided for the return of wrecked crews to the nearest Spanish settlement.

Note on a Moro Execution

American soldiers, witnessing a Moro execution, wrote as follows: "We saw a sight we shall never forget. The Moros killed eleven of their countrymen with *barongs* and every person in the crowd got one blow at them. They were chopped into very small pieces for the crime of stealing fish."

Ancestry of the Sultan of Sulu

Many historical authorities state that the present Sultan of Sulu is descended from a Spanish woman who was captured and removed to the harem of the present Sultan's father.

Recent Activities of the Moros

Amuks still occasionally run the streets of Zamboanga and Jolo. The writer recalls several occasions when individuals were killed on the streets of Zamboanga during the period 1926-1933. On November 19, 1933, Lieutenant Esculto of the Philippine Constabulary was killed near Jolo by Moros who ambushed the patrol of soldiers. Lieutenant Barbejera had been killed a few months previously, on September 6, 1933. During the year 1933, three Lieutenants of the Constabulary met their deaths in Jolo. It was believed by the authorities that the son of Jikiri, the famous outlaw killed in 1909, was involved in the recent trouble in Jolo which

resulted in the death of Barbejera.

Mohammedan Feast Days

Asura, the tenth day of *Muharram*, is the anniversary of the last day of the deluge. Jonah was freed from the whale on this day.

Maulud, the twelfth day of *Rabia I*, is the birthday of Mohammed and corresponds to our Christmas.

Murad, the twenty-seventh day of *Rajab*, marks the day on which the Prophet ascended to Paradise.

Halilaya Puasa, the twenty-first day of *Shawwal*, is the day for breaking the Fast of the Ramadan. It ushers the three-day festival culminating with the end of *Ramadan* on September 24. Prayers are said in mosques by the men, ceremonial betel-nut is thrown on the floor and food is sent to friends.

Visit of Prince Sanfaluna to the White House

Prince Sanfaluna, seventeen years of age, was received by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907. The Prince wore a yellow jacket and tight white trouser, with a red sash over his shoulder supporting a large gold badge of his office as headman of the Moros of Mindanao. With an interpreter in pink and a slave in blue, the Prince called to present the President with a *kris* which had been in family 280 years. The *kris* had been the property of Datu Ali, who had been a terror to the American government until shot down. Prince Sanfaluna traced his ancestry to Mohammed.

Poisoning Fish

The Moros had several interesting methods of poisoning fish in a manner which left the flesh edible. Among these methods was the use of a large breadfruit-like bulb, called by the Moros *Bo-Bo*, which was cut and mixed with lime. After standing in the lime solution for an hour or more, the mixture was placed in the water. In a few minutes, the fish would settle to the bottom where they could be removed with the hands.

Another method was with the use of a root called *toobly* which was macerated and thrown into the water. The juice of the *toobly* quickly stupefied the fish and they floated to the surface.

A third method involved the use of a berry (*anamirta cocculus* L.) which was crushed to a powder, wrapped with leaves and thrown into the water.

Ship Launchings

In the maritime customs of the Moros are found several parallels to the beliefs of the Vikings. Among them may be mentioned the practice of launching a ship on the body of a captive slave in the belief that good fortune was thus assured the vessel on her maiden voyage.

Moro Sultans

In the text will be found many references to Moros styling themselves "sultans". Strictly speaking, there were but two Sultans in the Philippines, namely, the Sultans of Mindanao and Sulu. There were, however, some thirty-two minor potentates who usurped the title Sultan, as they held forth a territory larger than that ordinarily controlled by a Datu. The two actual Sultans were descendants of a long line of royalty, originating in Borneo and Arabia. The present Sultan of Sulu is the twenty-fifth in line of descent and the Sultan of Mindanao is the twenty-first.

List of Native Words Used in the Text

A.

Aetas---Aborigine black pygmies of the Philippines.

Agong---A brass tom-tom.

Ahad---Sunday.

Aisa---Bedtime.

Albaa---Wednesday.

Anting-anting--Moro charm or amulet.

Asar---Sunset.

Asura---The anniversary of the last day of the Deluge.

B.

Bagobo---A tribe of mountain pagans in Mindanao.

Baklaynun-Tagidaina-One of the three legendary original Moro tribes.

Bal-bal---The Moro equivalent of a werewolf.

Barangay--The native tribal unit of government. A village.

Barong---A single-edged weapon of the Moros.

Barrio---A small native village.

Bejuco---Rattan.

Belatics---Pointed stakes set in the trail as an obstruction.

Betel---The nut of the areca palm, chewed by the Moros.

Bilaans---A tribe of long haired mountaineers of Mindanao.

Biola---Violin

Bo-bo---A bulb used by the Moros in poisoning fish.

Bodoh---Stupid

Bosque---A native term for jungle.

Bumbaran--The mythical Moro paradise which sank beneath the sea.

C.

Caliph---An honored ruler of the Mohammedans.

Campilan--A tremendous two-handed sword of the Moros.

Carabao---Water buffalo

Cebuanos--Inhabitants of the island of Cebu

Cedula---Registration card.

Cotta---A Moro fort.

D.

Daop-Daop--Cymbals.

Datu---A Moro title (see notes on Moro titles).

Duimaat---Friday

F.

Frangipane--A white flower, the funeral flower of the Moros.

G.

Gabang---Piano.

Gadang---Wooden tom-tom.

Garay---Outrigger pirate vessel of the Moros.

H.

Halilaya-Puasa--The day for breaking the fast of the Ramadan.

Hamnis---Thursday

I.

Imam---A Moro title (see notes on Moro titles).

Isnin---Monday

J.

Jihad---The Holy War authorized by the Koran.

Jubba---The white robe worn by a juramentado.

Jumada I--The month of May.

Jumada II--The month of June.

Juramentado--A religious fanatic seeking death.

K.

Kawayan--Bamboo.

Kolarian tribes--Pagans of India.

Kris---A way-edged cutting weapon of the Moros.

Kulaying--Jew's harp.

Kulingtangan--A row of brass tom-toms played in a scale.

Kurits---A mythical monster of the Moro traditions.

L.

Lantaka---A Moro brass cannon.

Lojar---Noontime.

M.

Magarip---After sunset.

Magloonsy--The Moro dance of love.

Magpanhaly--Moro posture dance.

Magpanhaly-tauty-The Moro fisherman's dance.

Mag-sabil--A juramentado Moro

Magsaggow--Moro elopement.

Magsayaw--Moro spear dance.

Maguindanao--The tribe of Lake Moros.

Maimbunghanuns-One of the legendary tribes of aborigine Moros.

Mamanuas--Black pagan tribe of Mindanao.

Mangangayo--Pirate.

Manggayans--A tribe of pagan mountaineers of Mindoro Island.

Manobos--A tribe of pagan mountaineers of Mindanao.

Manuju---An amok Moro.

Maulud---The birthday of Mohammed.

Moi---A pagan people of Indo-China.

Muharram--The month of January.

Murad---The day on which Mohammed ascended to Paradise.

N.

Nakura---The commander of a Moro privateering expedition.

Napi---Moro religious oath.

Negritos---General term for black pygmies of the Philippines.

Nipa---A palm, the leaves of which are used to make houses.

P.

Pah---A mythical monster of Moro tradition and legend.

Panglima--A Moro title (see notes on Moro titles).

Parang-sabil--The road to Paradise.

Payahan---Difficult to teach.

Prao---A native outrigger boat.

Pulawta---A bamboo flute.

Punayama--A plant eaten by the Moros to dispel the pangs of hunger.

R.

Rabia I---The month of March.

Rabia II---The month of April.

Rajab---The month of July.

Rajah---An Oriental ruler.

Rajahmuda--The son of the Sultan.

Rajamadan--The month of September.

S.

Sabtu---Saturday

Safar---The month of February.

Salasa---Tuesday

Samal---One of the Moro tribes.

Sapit---A Moro sailing vessel used for hauling cargo.

Senoi---A pagan tribe of the Malay States.

Shabon---The month of August.

Shawwal--The month of October.

Simbilan--Moro throwing spears or javelins.

Soling ---A bamboo flute.

Subo---Before sunrise.

Sultan---Temporal and spiritual leader of the Moros.

Sungud---A marriage problem.

T.

Tagbanuas--An aborigine tribe of the Palawan Island.

Tagidaina--The ancient name for the Samals.

Tagimahanun Tagidaina-One of the three legendary original Moro tribes.

Tarabusan--A mythical monster of the Moro legends.

Taraquito--A fish of the Pompano family.

Toala---A pagan tribe of Celebes.

Toobly---A root used by the Moros to stupefy fish.

V.

Vedda---A pagan tribe of Ceylon.

Vinta---A small outrigger canoe.

Visaya---A native unit of the Visayan or Middle Islands of the Philippines. -----Also the Moro word for slave.

Z.

Zu'lhijjah--The month of December.

Zu'lkadah--The month of November.

