

Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints

Volume 65
Number 3 *De la Costa and Filipinization*

Article 2

9-25-2017

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Recommended Citation

Aguilar, Jr. and Sy, Nicholas; Ateneo (2017) "Horacio de la Costa, Foreign Missionaries, and the Quest for Filipinization: The Church in the Age of Decolonization," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*: Vol. 65: No. 3, Article 2.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13185/2244-1638.4233>

Available at: <https://archium.ateneo.edu/phstudies/vol65/iss3/2>

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philippine studies: historical and ethnographic viewpoints

Ateneo de Manila University · Loyola Heights, Quezon City · 1108 Philippines

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Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints
vol. 65 no. 3 (2017): 267–314

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Horacio de la Costa, Foreign Missionaries, and the Quest for Filipinization The Church in the Age of Decolonization

Fr. Horacio de la Costa became the first Filipino Superior of the Jesuit Province in the Philippines (1964–1970) at a time when the Filipinization of religious orders was intensely contested. As a young priest, De la Costa sought the training of more Filipino priests so that the Catholic Church would “take root” in the country. Filipinization, however, entailed two further questions: Filipino assumption of leadership positions and the role of foreign missionaries. This article examines how De la Costa’s approaches to these issues shifted when he became provincial and as the crisis in Philippine society deepened, revealing the intertwining of national and church history.

KEYWORDS: HORACIO DE LA COSTA · NATIONALISM · RELIGIOUS ORDERS · AMERICAN JESUITS · ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY

The history of the Catholic Church in the Philippines has been inseparable from the broad currents of nationalism and the social tensions in Philippine society. In the 1950s the Filipinization of religious orders, which were composed largely of foreign missionaries and led by them, was intensely disputed. Of the 1,742 religious priests in the Philippines in 1958, 1,555 (or 89 percent) were foreigners and only 187 (11 percent) were Filipinos, nearly half (87) of them in the Jesuit order (De la Rosa 1996, 209; 2014, 207–8), the only one that had a deliberate policy of local recruitment. Moreover, because the downfall of Spanish rule had compelled the religious orders to move out of parishes, education became their primary field of engagement, foreign missionaries thereby having a controlling presence in schools. As we show in this article, nationalists became apprehensive about their negative influence on the nationalism of the youth. Nationalists within and outside the religious orders demanded that there be more Filipinos in these organizations and that Filipinos be at the helm. The desire was for Filipinos to be preeminent over foreign missionaries. Some Filipino priests contrasted their religious orders to the state, which enjoyed formal sovereignty and independence and a Filipinized apparatus of power. This article examines how these issues ramified within the Jesuit order through an analysis focused on Fr. Horacio de la Costa.¹

De la Costa, aged 55, became the first Filipino Superior of the Jesuit Province in the Philippines, known as “the provincial,” assuming office on 8 December 1964 and ending his term on 8 December 1970. He was “the first Filipino to hold such a position in any of the internationally based religious orders, and probably the first Asian to do so in East and Southeast Asia” (Schumacher 1978a, 12). In the postwar milieu, it was unprecedented for a Filipino to lead a religious order, and one in which Americans made up the numerical majority. De la Costa epitomized and embodied Filipinization, the first fulfillment of the nationalist dream for the religious orders. In this sense De la Costa was a deviant, and his career consisted of the “negotiation of contingencies,” particularly those beyond the Jesuit order, that were not “merely adventitious random occurrences” but were related to “distinctive patterns” (Abrams 1982, 272) unfolding in the church, the country, and the world at large.

As we narrate in this article, De la Costa’s selection and performance as the first Filipino Jesuit provincial suggested the play of broad structural



Horacio de la Costa, SJ, undated photograph
Source: Image no. 11, Photo Collection,
Rev. Horacio de la Costa, SJ,
Ateneo de Manila University Archives

forces even as it was inextricable from the specificities of his person and career path. How did De la Costa grapple with the issue of the Filipinization of the Catholic Church, particularly as it concerned the Jesuit order? Apart from the numerical growth of the Filipino priesthood, which he advocated from the outset, what was De la Costa’s position on the two key issues of (a) Filipino religious in leadership positions and (b) the role of foreign missionaries? As we aim to demonstrate, De la Costa’s thinking about and approach to these issues shifted as he assumed different roles in the Jesuit order and as the crisis in Philippine society deepened. De la Costa’s career showcased the complex interactions of wider Philippine

societal forces, Jesuit organizational givens and dynamics, and his own individual choices and actions, in time transforming his thinking and his own order.

No study has been conducted on these questions. Despite the voluminous writings that De la Costa left behind—which fellow Jesuit and historian Fr. John Schumacher and Rafaelita Varela (1978) compiled in a bibliography soon after De la Costa’s death on 20 March 1977 and the texts of many of which Roberto M. Paterno (2002) collated in four volumes—not much was written about De la Costa until recently. A number of articles in journals and newspapers, mostly by fellow members of the society, have served as tributes (Arcilla 2003, 2008; Arevalo 2002; Bernad 2003; Clark 2002; Ferriols 2002; Rodrigo 2003; Sicam 1977; Schumacher 1978a). Alfeo Nudas’s (1979, 105–26) discussion of De la Costa’s literary pieces is in that genre. A rare analytical study is Schumacher’s (2011) discussion of De la Costa’s views on Rizal and his novels in the context of the Catholic Church’s

formulation of a response to the 1956 Rizal Bill, which would oblige the reading of these novels in all schools. In a tribute to Schumacher, Reynaldo Iletto (2010) also provides a brief discussion of De la Costa in the context of the unsettled 1950s, when the Catholic Church confronted what he calls a new Propaganda Movement. De la Costa's birth centenary in 2016 served as impetus for the School of Humanities of the Ateneo de Manila University to hold a lecture series, the proceedings of which have been published recently (Reyes 2017). From the lectures have emerged several analytical studies of De la Costa's writings (Javellana 2017b; Rafael 2017; Iletto 2017; Francisco 2017; Zialcita 2017; Barry 2017; Labella 2017), but none on the issues tackled in this article.

In pursuing this study, we relied primarily on published sources, including De la Costa's published works and articles in journals and periodicals, mainly the *Manila Times*, *Manila Chronicle*, and the *Sentinel*. We also made extensive use of materials found at the University Archives of the Ateneo de Manila University, which houses a substantial amount of De la Costa's correspondence and several of his writings, usually in typescript. One major limitation is our inability to access the files and correspondence of De la Costa during his term as provincial. These materials are housed in the Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, which imposes an embargo of half a century after the writer's death before the files are opened to researchers—in 2027, in the case of De la Costa's papers. But the materials we have collected are substantial enough to build an initial narrative.

In addition, in 2008 and 2016, interviews were conducted with De la Costa's contemporaries and younger associates, namely, Frs. Catalino Arevalo, Francisco Glover, William Kreutz, James O'Donnell, Thomas O'Gorman, James Reuter, John Schumacher, Thomas Steinbugler, Sergio Su, and Noel Vasquez.² Their testimonies were crosschecked against a variety of internal and external Jesuit publications. We also consulted the society's *Catalogus*, an annual directory of each Jesuit missionary's assignment and status, as well as the newsletters *The Philippine Clipper* and *The Philippine Jesuit*, the first intended for internal circulation among local Jesuits, the second intended for circulation among the society's benefactors. Also consulted were the following Jesuit publications: (a) the *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, an annual compilation of the order's decrees; (b) the *Practica Quaedam* and the *Epitome*, the society's rule books that offer updated interpretations of the

order's *Constitutions*; and (c) publications related to its major meetings such as the 1968 East Asian Jesuit Secretariat Conference (Morton et al. 1968) and the thirtieth, thirty-first, and thirty-second General Congregations. Most of these Jesuit publications can be found at the Ralph B. Gehring Library of the Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University.

This article is organized broadly in chronological fashion. The initial parts discuss the early years of De la Costa's career as a Jesuit, which anticipated later Filipinization issues, and the creation of the Philippine Jesuit province in 1958, which De la Costa perceived as hinging upon the vocation he and other Filipinos had entered. The article then links the issue of native vocations to the campaign for the Filipinization of religious orders launched by six priests in 1957–1958. Among others, this campaign advocated Filipino leadership of these orders—on which as early as 1950 De la Costa and two other Filipino Jesuits had occasion to put their thoughts in writing. The campaign eventuated in attempts to “nationalize” Catholic schools in 1958. Five years later De la Costa became Jesuit provincial, compelling him to make decisions fully entangled with Filipinization. The article illumines his actions as provincial by presenting statistics on appointments to leadership posts and dissecting his policy statements. As Filipinization acquired a more acute inflection in the 1960s, tensions between Filipino and American Jesuits at the Ateneo de Manila University escalated, a juncture that revealed the vast distance that De la Costa's thinking about foreign missionaries and the aspirations for Filipinization had traversed.

Personal Trajectories

Born on 9 May 1916 to a landed and politically connected family in Mauban, Quezon province, Horacio de la Costa attended the public Batangas Elementary School, finishing his studies there in 1927. The decision of the De la Costa family to send their son to the Ateneo, then located in Intramuros, Manila, for high school and college put him under the influence of the Jesuits. In those days the small teacher–student ratios allowed students to be in close contact with Jesuit mentors. For boarders like De la Costa (1942/1997, 443) this immersion extended beyond class hours into, for example, roundtable discussions organized by Fr. Joseph Mulry, who “was willing to sit up most of the night” with his students. Championing social justice and the defense of Catholicism, Mulry became an important mentor to De la Costa, who was part of a group known as “Mulry's boys”

(Paterno 2002, xxxix). Another member of this group was Francisco “Soc” Rodrigo, who would later become a senator and prominent Catholic voice in the public sphere, opposing measures against church interests such as the Rizal Bill.

De la Costa first considered entering the priesthood during a graduation retreat in his senior year of high school in the early 1930s. But it was only at the end of his college years that, with the encouragement of a Jesuit scholastic, he concluded that the best way to pursue the scholarly and the spiritual lives that he wanted was within the priesthood (ibid., xlvi). In 1935 he earned his undergraduate degree with highest honors, after which he joined the Society of Jesus, studying theology at the Sacred Heart Novitiate in Novaliches. In 1941 he wrote *Light Cavalry*, a celebration of Jesuit history since 1859 and a record of his youthful defense of the Catholic Church against its perceived enemies (De la Costa 1942/1977; cf. Javellana 2017b; Rafael 2017). He was imprisoned at Fort Santiago during the Second World War (Arevalo 2017, 28–30).

In 1945 he went to the US to study at Woodstock College, Maryland, where he was ordained a priest on 24 March 1946, a few months before Philippine independence. After completing his licentiate in theology at Woodstock in 1947, in the following year he went to Harvard University where he obtained his PhD degree in history in 1951. He returned to the Philippines in 1952 to commence teaching in the Department of History and Government of the Ateneo de Manila University; a year later he was given a three-year appointment as dean of the Ateneo’s College of Arts and Sciences. While on a leave of absence in 1956, he completed the manuscript of the first and only volume of a planned two-volume *The Jesuits in the Philippines* while staying at Fordham University. Later that year he started to serve as chair of the Ateneo’s Department of History and Government, although in 1962 he became research associate at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. In 1959 he became editor of *Philippine Studies*, serving until 1964 when, at the end of that year, he assumed the provincialship (cf. Javellana 2017a). The early and middle parts of his career as a Jesuit accommodated scholarship and administration.

For his thesis at Woodstock De la Costa examined, as the title of his work put it, “The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines,” which covered the entirety of the Spanish period. It was published in 1947 as an article in *Theological Studies* (De la Costa 1947). Schumacher (1978b, 157; 2003, 8) described it as “magistral” and “path-breaking.”³ By choosing

this topic, De la Costa indicated that he problematized, academically and historically, the profession he had entered. Citing papal encyclicals to support his argument, he expressed concern that the church “must take root”—a metaphor he repeatedly deployed to refer to the indigenizing of the church as a means of survival and growth—but it would not happen without a “sufficiently numerous” Filipino clergy (De la Costa 1947, 220). He attributed the “abnormally slow” formation of a native priesthood to the “political trammels” the Patronato Real imposed on the church and to the prejudice of church leaders in New Spain that barred the admission of natives to the priesthood (ibid., 223, 249).

In the 1940s he was only one of two Filipino priests, the other being Fr. Ambrosio Manaligod, SVD (De la Rosa 2014, 206), who studied the question of the native clergy. De la Costa’s decision to focus on this subject was a mark of reflexivity as he responded to his current context, yet also anticipated the future, a time when the ferment of decolonization would intensify. By making this study he enhanced his ability to analyze and discuss issues regarding the Filipino priesthood. But while Manaligod was concerned with racism and imperial motives among foreign missionaries,⁴ becoming, as we shall see, one of the key figures in the campaign for Filipinization that upset the church in the late 1950s, De la Costa took the middle ground, initially considering foreign missionaries indispensable in cultivating native priestly vocations, a moderate path facilitated by local American Jesuit leaders sympathetic to the yearning for Filipinization.

The Establishment of the Philippine Province

De la Costa’s appointment as provincial would not have happened had the Jesuit mission in the Philippines not become a province a few years earlier. Although it was a full province before the expulsion in 1768, the Jesuit presence was reduced to a mission when the order returned to the country in 1859. It was dependent—for personnel, training, and finances—on the Province of Aragon from 1859 to 1927, and subsequently on the Province of Maryland–New York, and its later offspring the Province of New York, from 1927 to 1958 (*Philippine Clipper* 1952, 1–2).

Elevation of the Philippine mission to a province had been the goal in the 1940s, which meant meeting the requirements for autonomy, but the war set back the mission’s financial standing. In 1952 the Philippine Jesuit mission was raised to the intermediate rank of “dependent vice-province,”

not to the self-sustaining rank of “independent vice-province.” This upgrade was part of a wave of administrative elevations during the mid-twentieth century, which started with Japan in 1948 and continued on with, after the Philippines, Bombay (1953), Ranchi (1953), Calicut (1955), Java (1956), Ahmedabad (1956), Bengal (1956), Jamshedpur (1956), and the Near East (1957), which all became vice-provinces like the Philippines (Fejer and de Cock 1997, 2, 16, 51, 53, 60, 87; D’Souza 2016; Das 2016).

With this administrative status, the vice-provincials in the Philippines began to endeavor to merit promotion to a full province. On 12 May 1957, a few months before Rome announced the further ascent in the Philippine Jesuit organization’s status, procurator Fr. Edward Haggerty (1957) had prepared a financial report that indicated the sense of urgency: “We are rapidly being propelled from the status of a Mission, financially, and for personnel, dependent on the New York Province to the status of a Province, financially, and personnel-wise dependent upon itself.” As a result, he cautioned, “We must now begin preparing to stand alone” (ibid.). What was needed, he said, was a change of perspective, “a gradual change of attitude” (ibid.). This coming to its own had profound implications beyond the financial.

On Christmas Day of 1957 the Society of Jesus decreed the Philippines a full province to commence formally in February of the following year (Janssens 1958). This elevation came after that of Madurai in 1952 and in the same period when Bombay, Ranchi, China, and Japan became provinces between 1956 and 1958 (Fejer and de Cock 1997, 16, 54, 64, 82, 87). It may seem odd that, despite being planted in the only majority Catholic country in Asia, the Jesuits’ Philippine mission was barely at par with other Asian missions in terms of administrative self-sufficiency. In fact, the full autonomy of the Philippine mission had come sooner than what the local order’s fiscal situation warranted. Still, Haggerty (1959) thought it was inevitable, given the trend in the political sphere: “This was a necessary step, since the Philippines have been independent now for over 15 years. The spirit of nationalism is abroad all over the world, and in many cases, such as the Philippines, rightly so.”

De la Costa (1958, 2) saw the creation of the Philippine province as “of course a great honor,” but with it came a heavy responsibility. Whereas “for more than three centuries Jesuits from Europe and America have spent themselves to enkindle in these islands the light of the Faith. Now it is our turn to transmit that light; to be light ourselves for our own people and for

the rest of Asia; to be light in the Lord” (ibid., 5–6). To lead the Philippines and Asia required that the local Jesuit order become *Filipino*. As a province it was expected to be “personnel-wise dependent upon itself” (Haggerty 1957, 1); hence, the necessity of developing Filipino Jesuit vocations.

Unlike the “scarce and sporadic” vocations when the Spanish Jesuits were in command, Fr. Pacifico Ortiz (1950, 9) credited the “flowering” of native vocations to American-oriented Jesuit schools where English became the medium of instruction,⁵ especially when

a number of the best crop of Ateneo graduates from 1931 on entered the Society—let me mention some names: Guerrero, Escano, de la Costa, Pimentel, Araneta, Bulatao, Arevalo, Escaler, etc. . . . that gradually Ateneo boys and Ateneo families began to look at the priesthood . . . as something worth the best efforts and ambitions of the most promising fellows.

Soon other schools began to generate vocations for other religious orders. Professing his objectivity as a non-Atenean, Ortiz (ibid.) emphasized that “the prestige of the native clergy has considerably been built up by the splendid vocations that came from the Ateneo.” Writing in 1950 Ortiz (ibid., 10) added an incisive point that would resonate in later debates: “It is my impression too that vocations to the society from the Ateneo considerably picked up from the time Filipino Jesuits in big numbers began to teach the main subjects, or to hold responsible positions in the school. This started roughly in 1938–39.”

In an article for *Philippine Studies*, De la Costa (1959a, 96–97) reviewed the growth in native vocations in quantitative terms: “In 1907 there were two Filipino Jesuits, both novices, in a total membership of the Philippine Mission of 146. Fifty years later, in 1957, every other Jesuit in the Philippines was a Filipino, that is to say, 239 out of 442, or 54%. Of the total number of priests (222), 88 (or 39%) are Filipinos.” Turning to the local order’s leadership, he stated, “Of the total number of rectors or local superiors (16), 6 (or 37%) are Filipinos” (ibid., 97). He considered the growth in Filipino vocations as justifying the formation of the new province:

In consideration of this remarkable growth of the Society in the Philippines as an organization *truly native* to the country, the Jesuit

General, Father John Baptist Janssens, raised the Mission to the status of a vice-province dependent on the Province of New York in 1952, and in 1958 to the status of an independent province, called the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus. (*ibid.*, italics added)

Quantitative evidence suggests that Filipinos in “leadership positions,” in proportion to all local superiors/rectors and province consultors, were on the rise, from 40 percent in 1958 to 52 percent in 1961 and to a further 57 percent in 1964, coinciding with Fr. Francis Clark’s two terms as provincial from 1958 to 1964 (Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus 1958, 1961, 1964). The increase in the number of Filipino Jesuits assuming leadership positions was Clark’s intentional policy (Arevalo 2016; O’Gorman 2016).

Not only was De la Costa one of those who added “prestige” to the native clergy, but he was also one of two natives raised to a high position during this transition. In December 1958, together with Fr. Francisco Araneta, De la Costa was made a “consultor” of the province (*Sentinel* 1958d, 10). In effect, the Jesuit father general appointed two Filipinos out of the four official advisers to the, at that time American, provincial. Although without voting power, consultors occupied a strategic position, as they met with the provincial at least once a month to discuss matters in the province (Gramatowski 1992/2013, 10; Kreutz 2016). In the late 1950s the new Philippine province was apparently on track to raising its own personnel, giving De la Costa confidence it would evolve into an “organization *truly native* to the country.”

The Campaign for Filipinization of the Religious Orders

De la Costa’s celebration of the growth of Filipino Jesuit vocations and rise to leadership was at odds with the sentiment of a coeval campaign for Filipinization.⁶ In December 1957, in the same month the Philippine Jesuit province was created, six Filipino priests from each of the orders that had been active in the Philippines since the Spanish era and one order, the German Society of the Divine Word, the SVD, which arrived in the country in 1909, sent a ninety-page memorial to the Pope. The six petitioners were Fr. Salvador Calsado, OAR; Fr. Antonio Garin, OSA; Fr. Hilario Lim, SJ; Fr. Ambrocio Manaligod, SVD; Fr. Julio Obvial, OFM; and Fr. Benito Vargas, OP. As representatives of the campaign for Filipinization of the religious orders, these six priests raised issues concerning (a) the small proportion of

Filipinos compared with foreign priests in relation to the total membership of each of these religious orders, (b) the low level of responsibility assigned to Filipinos in these orders, and (c) the institutional negligence of the vocations and development of Filipino aspirants to the priesthood (De la Rosa 1996, 207–12; 2014, 205–10; Bolasco 1994, 66–68).

It was not the first letter sent to Rome. In September 1957 Manaligod had written the pope to lament the dominance of foreign religious in the Philippines: “After almost four centuries of otherwise successful Christianization of our country, we see in the Catholic Directory of this year 1957 the number of foreign religious priests to be one thousand five hundred eleven (1,511) while Filipino religious priests number only one hundred sixty-three (163)” (cited in De la Rosa 1996, 208–9, 247 n. 10; 2014, 206–7, 245 n. 10). He lamented that the orders were not developing native vocations, with some, after three centuries, having “only two or three or four Filipino religious, with little or no prospect of improvement. All our Catholic universities, almost all our seminaries and most of our Catholic colleges for men and women are completely in the hands of foreign religious” (*ibid.*).

Vargas, the first Filipino Dominican priest, portrayed foreign missionaries as thinking that “priests, just like machineries, can be imported” (cited in *ibid.* 1996, 209; 2014, 207). In their memorial to the pope the six priests asked: “How can Catholic Philippines ever fulfill her providential mission in the Far East if the doors of the old Religious Orders and Congregations do not really and sincerely open to admit and form native Filipino candidates?” (cited in *ibid.* 1996, 211; 2014, 209). According to Manaligod, the foreign missionaries’ stranglehold suggested the “maintenance of the status quo” as there was no “policy of gradual giving up of positions of leadership” (cited in *ibid.* 1996, 210; 2014, 208).

Apart from airing their views to the Vatican, the priests also raised their concerns to the papal nuncio, the archbishop of Manila, the Philippine ambassador to the Vatican, and local politicians. By 1958 the issue had come to public attention and was being debated over the radio and in print (*Manila Chronicle* 1958a, 1958b; *Sentinel* 1958a; Rodrigo 1958; H. Lim 1958; Glover 2016; O’Gorman 2016). Even De la Costa’s name was dragged into the debate. Just two months before his appointment as consultor, Lim used De la Costa as proof of the glass ceiling that was impenetrable to native priests. In response to Sen. “Soc” Rodrigo’s remark

that Filipino parents were partly to blame for the lack of Filipino priests, Lim rebutted:

Concerning the “general prejudice of parents against their sons entering the priesthood”; parents do not just have a prejudice. There is always a reason. For example: You, Leonie Guerrero, Henry Quema, Narciso Pimentel, Arsenio Lacson, Skeezi de la Costa, etc., etc., were contemporaries in the Ateneo. Today you are Senator of the Philippines, Leonie is Ambassador to London, Quema, Assistant Executive Secretary; Lacson, Mayor of Manila; Pimentel, Editor-in-chief, “*Filipinas*”; Padilla, ex-Solicitor General and Senator of the Philippines; etc., etc., etc., but THE BRIGHTEST OF ALL, “SKEEZIX” de la Costa is teaching Spanish in his Alma Mater. If Skeezi were your son how would you feel about this? If this is done by the “democratic” American Jesuits, what do you think is being done by the Spanish Friars? (H. Lim 1958)

As Lim suggested, while Filipinos—in this case, Senator Rodrigo’s contemporaries at the Ateneo de Manila—could attain high positions in the state structure, in the religious orders it was not the case, both in the American-controlled Jesuit order and even more so in the other orders.⁷

Under the circumstances it was not farfetched that the Filipinization campaign had a major influence on the appointment of De la Costa and Araneta as consultants, at that time the highest post occupied by Filipino Jesuits. Lightheartedly a nun in Cavite congratulated De la Costa on becoming consultant and added, “I’d say that ‘Father Lim’ might keep quiet now about Skeezi” (Inocencia 1958). The campaign reverberated overseas. Glover (2016), who was at Woodstock College from 1955 to 1959, recalls that the campaign “got to us in Woodstock, the Filipinos and the Americans . . . for about two years we had a long series of discussions, meetings in our rooms, out on picnics, talking about this.” The outcome was an unprecedented professorship for a Filipino to teach theology at Woodstock, which Fr. Catalino Arevalo held for one semester in 1959. As Arevalo (2005, 266) recounts, “at that time some marked friction was beginning to develop between the Filipinos and the Americans at Woodstock College,” so his appointment was “a kind of ‘good gesture’” that served to “defuse the problem somewhat.”

We cannot ascertain the extent of popular support for the six priests within their respective orders, but what is clear is that their bold confrontation with church leaders resonated with the intelligentsia outside the church, coinciding as it did with other midcentury struggles between church and state, foremost of which was the debate over the Rizal Bill (cf. Laurel 1960; Constantino 1969, 244–47). Among several points of contention in church–state relations—which made church leaders feel besieged by “those who hate the Church” (CWO 1956)—several bills were filed in the Senate and the House of Representatives in 1958 on the “nationalization of schools” that sought to ensure Filipino control of both school administration and ownership and the teaching of values subjects. In the Senate the main proponent of the bill was Fr. Hilario Lim’s cousin Sen. Roseller Lim. Although the six priests denied involvement in the proposed legislation, their memorial to the Vatican undeniably raised the issue of foreign control over schools. The senate bill adopted the six priests’ premises and proposals (R. Lim 1958b, 4; 1958c, 4; 1958d, 4; Bolasco 1994, 77–78; De la Rosa 1996, 213; 2014, 211).

The six priests ended up being penalized, with their respective superiors transferring them to assignments distant from Manila: the Jesuit Lim to Cagayan de Oro, the Dominican Vargas to Batanes, and the Franciscan Obival to Bicol (Bolasco 1994, 73). The SVD’s Manaligod received an official reprimand and was later transferred to northwest Cagayan. Eventually, all except Vargas left their orders, either voluntarily or through dismissal (De la Rosa 1996, 212; 2014, 204–10; Bolasco 1994, 73). With the edict coming directly from the Superior General in Rome, the Society of Jesus expelled Lim in September 1958 for behavior “incompatible” with the Jesuit calling (*Sentinel* 1958b). In the end, as Fr. Rolando de la Rosa, OP (1996, 207; 2014, 205) put it, not only was there “no official support from the hierarchy, not even on the verbal level,” but also in various ways the six priests “were eventually silenced.”

Filipino Capacity for Leadership

Notwithstanding the personal fate of the six priests, the issues they raised could not be quelled. In fact, Lim and his Filipino Jesuit contemporaries saw eye to eye on the need to increase the number of local clergy and of Filipinos in responsible positions in religious orders. Reflecting on this incident, Schumacher (1992, 240) deemed the issue the six priests raised

to the Vatican as “most justified.” While Lim might have crossed the line for raising the issue publicly in a manner unacceptable to the Society of Jesus, some Jesuits had already asserted similar points, but not in public. In fact, Filipino leadership ability was an issue the Jesuits had confronted for some time.

In January 1950 Fr. John Hurley, who had been the wartime provincial (1936–1945), requested four Jesuits to prepare a written response—he called an “outline”—to his query on the “capacity for leadership in native priests and laity in the Philippines” (McDonnell 1950). The four Jesuit responders were Frs. Pacifico Ortiz, Miguel Bernad, Nicholas Kunkel, and Horacio de la Costa.⁸ In turn, Hurley was responding to a request made by the American branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for assistance in preparing a course on that same subject for its mission studies program. Hurley was to lecture on this topic. Ortiz (1950), who wrote a short paper, and Bernad, who produced a simple outline, both referred to De la Costa’s 1947 “fine article” on the native clergy. In time, De la Costa (1950, ii) expanded his outline into a full paper in the writing of which he acknowledged the assistance of Ortiz and Bernad, suggesting congruity in the sentiments of these three Filipino Jesuits. The paper was eventually published in *World Mission* in 1953 (Schumacher 1978b, 212).

In his own written response to Hurley, Ortiz (1950, 2) asserted that Filipino leadership capacity was “no longer, if it ever was, in doubt.” The problem, he said, was “the lack of a native clergy sufficiently numerous to administer and develop the Church’s religious, social and cultural apostolate” (ibid., 4). Despite “a steadily growing number of vocations to the priesthood, both secular and regular” (ibid.), he said it remained inadequate, moving him to stress that “we must accelerate the pace” (ibid.). Ortiz’s primary reason shared a broad nationalist sensibility, calling it “quite an anomalous situation for a solidly Catholic country like the Philippines to be a politically mature and self-governing country, and still to depend, for the survival and growth of the Catholic church among its people, upon the continued help of foreign missionaries” (ibid.). De la Costa (1947, 222) expressed the same sentiment in his classic study by stating simply: “Although [the Philippines] has recently become a politically independent nation, it remains, to a large extent, mission territory.”

To Ortiz (1950, 10) the solution was clear: “the only way to develop leadership is to put a man in a responsible position,” that is, “to put duly

trained and capable natives in positions of responsibility. It’s the only way to grow.” Moreover, the task of augmenting Filipino priestly vocations had “to be done through the Catholic Schools and Colleges,” which had to be “staffed more and more by native priests” in lieu of foreign missionaries (ibid., 11). Schools were the key to solving the problem of clerical Filipinization, and it had to start with Filipinizing the schools.

De la Costa’s (1950) paper on native capacity for leadership embarked on an extended discussion that traced the problem to the past, drawing heavily from his previous historical study. He argued that there existed “radical capacity for leadership in the priests and people of any nation,” but it required “intense and sometimes protracted training” before the locals could “assume the responsibilities of actual leadership” (ibid., 49). In other words, Filipino religious were not yet ready to become leaders. The priority was to form a well-trained native clergy, the painful lesson De la Costa (1947, 242, 247) had drawn from the “irreparable damage” created in the 1770s by Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa’s “hasty ordination” of native secular (diocesan) priests who were installed as parish priests in lieu of the regular (religious) clergy. Sancho’s “disastrous experiment,” De la Costa (ibid., 244) asserted, “resulted in the general acceptance, on the part of both civil and ecclesiastical officials” of the belief that natives were “by nature incapable of the full responsibilities of the priesthood.”⁹

Although the “aberration” in the formation of a native clergy was “redressed during the American period,” it did not happen “in time to prevent the loss by default to secularist and radical leadership of important areas of national life” that demanded social justice such as the “agrarian problem,” the “oligarchy” that controlled the “economic and social structure of the nation,” and the rise of “local ‘strong men’” in response to “social and personal insecurity” (De la Costa 1950, 45–47, 50). He saw the church as losing in this competition for leadership, especially on the ideological terrain, a situation that had to be redressed.¹⁰ The church, De la Costa (ibid., 48) asserted,

must once again assume the perilous but heroic role it played under the estado misionero: to be the voice, clear and stern, of the politically speechless masses, the guardian of their rights and liberties in the face of a ruling class, until such time as they can themselves make their voice heard, not on the field of fratricidal strife, but in the peaceful councils of an undivided nation.

With this goal in mind, like Ortiz, De la Costa felt the need to hasten the development of a native clergy who would become leaders in the church and in Philippine society.

However, unlike Ortiz and the leaders of the Filipinization movement, De la Costa (ibid., 36) explained the reliance on foreign missionaries as unavoidable, given the structural constraint created by the fall of Spanish rule, which left the church “deprived” of both “manpower” and “the means to finance even its ordinary activities” in what was a “spectacle of a country Catholic for centuries suddenly reduced to the status of a foreign mission.” Despite the work of seminaries in training Filipino youth, the parishes “absorbed all that the seminaries could train” (ibid., 37). As a result, “specialized works such as education and the social apostolate had of necessity to be left to foreign missionaries” (ibid.). Echoing Ortiz, De la Costa (ibid.) added, “Native vocations to the religious life have been slow to develop, except in the congregations for women, and, among the men, in the Society of Jesus.” Given the church’s battle with secularism, “it was the foreign missionaries, especially those from the United States, who succeeded in capturing a strategic position in a bitterly contested area, that of education” (ibid.). He lauded the “foreign missionaries” who “had stepped into the breach which the native clergy was not yet prepared to fill” (ibid., 43).

At this point, De la Costa still had no clear stand on whether foreign missionaries should step aside and give way to Filipino priests. A short while later, De la Costa (1951, 10) considered the possibility of the Philippines falling under communist rule, in which case: “Magnificent though the work of the American Jesuits and of the other foreign missionaries has been, we cannot depend on them indefinitely. If the worst comes to the worst and Communism sweeps across Southeast Asia, the Church in the Philippines will have to go underground.” In such a scenario foreign missionaries would be banned; hence, it was urgent that “we must have our roots deep in our own soil if we are to survive. These roots are a native priesthood. They are not yet fully grown, but they are growing” (ibid.).¹¹

The 1958 Bills on the Nationalization of Schools

Contrary to De la Costa’s commendation of foreign missionaries, a different perspective was asserted by the movement to nationalize schools, most of which were in the hands of religious orders, especially at the tertiary level.¹² The bills aimed to restrict the headship of schools, colleges, and universities

and the teaching of social science subjects to natural-born Filipinos. In addition, the bills stipulated that the management and operation of educational institutions be limited to Philippine citizens and to corporations with a capitalization at least 75 percent of which Filipinos owned. The bills also required at least 60 percent of the governing board of educational institutions to be held by Philippine citizens.¹³

In the upper house Senator Lim framed the bill as a response to a double threat against national sovereignty in the form of a colonial glass ceiling over the indigenous priesthood and the risks of alien control over the educational formation of the country’s youth. In a six-part essay published in the capital’s major dailies the senator minced no words in branding his opponents as “seriously afflicted with a sort of ecclesiastical colonial mentality” (R. Lim 1958c). He asserted, “I refuse to believe that there can be found among us one so debased as to continue to tolerate the persistent and persisting denial and withholding of such sinecures of honor and profit from the native sons of this Republic” (R. Lim 1958a). He argued, “*the right order, the natural order, the God-given order, is that foreigners are guests in this country, they are not the masters*” (ibid.). Seeking full decolonization, he contended, “We are sovereign in all lines of governmental activity. But in education a great part of it is under the control of Aliens. Yes, I repeat: We are a sovereign Catholic nation, with a captive Catholic education” (ibid.).

In response to these bills, in January 1959 the Catholic hierarchy composed of bishops issued a statement that began by reporting the progress being made in Filipinizing the church, stating that “the Hierarchy, in its majority, is now composed of Filipinos” (CWO 1959). It emphasized that “Contrary to what has been said recently, religious Orders and Congregations are not the Church in the Philippines but only a part of the Church; a part which, God willing, following the course of our development, in due time will be composed too, in their majority of Filipino members” (ibid.). It admitted the non-Filipinized status of the religious orders, but contended that vocations by Filipinos—hence the formation of a Filipino majority in these orders—could not be legislated into existence. While saying the bills’ objectives were “praiseworthy and commendable,” the bishops objected to “the means proposed in order to attain said objectives and about the reasons advanced in favor of such means” (ibid.). The hierarchy argued that the “brand of nationalism” that cast doubt on foreign educators was “nothing but the old Nazi dogma of racism, the kind of nationalism that ignited the

Second World War. We must realize that race and blood and the place where one was born have nothing to do with impartiality and truthfulness” (ibid.).¹⁴ A good teacher was a good teacher, regardless of nationality. Moreover, the bishops asserted that, because Filipinos controlled the state’s education bureaucracy and its policies, education was already nationalized.¹⁵

Along with others on the side of the church who took pains to contest the Lims’ particular delineation of what was nationalistic and unnationalistic, Senator Rodrigo was careful to agree with Filipinization in principle, but he branded the bills’ proposals as that of “pseudo-nationalists” characterized by “jingoism” and ultimately “destructive of the people” (*Manila Chronicle* 1958b).

Jesuits objected to nationalization based on the primacy of merit over nationality, of achieved over ascribed status. In 1958, in a speech to the newly declared Xavier University, formerly the Ateneo de Cagayan in Cagayan de Oro, Araneta speaking as university president criticized the proposal in the Senate:

So today I simply beg our legislators not to rob our people of this simple joy, of being able to introduce a Filipino Rector to their friends with the full confidence that if he is a Rector he is so not by legal coercion but because his superiors in Rome have judged him to be for the purposes the man best suited for the position.

I cannot think of anything more humiliating for a Filipino Rector than to be appointed to so burdensome a position for no other reason than that the law of the land requires it. No Filipino with a trace of self-respect would want to belong to a closed-shop of Filipino superiors created by legislative decree. (*Sentinel* 1958c, 5)

Obliquely referencing the Filipinization campaign, De la Costa (1959b) wrote a piece on “Filipino Jesuits” in the province’s newsletter for benefactors, which surveyed the growth in native Jesuit vocations from 1907 to 1957, providing similar figures he used in an article in *Philippine Studies* (De la Costa 1959a). But in this short piece he underscored that the proportion of Filipino Jesuits (37 percent) in leadership positions “almost exactly” matched the proportion of Filipino priests (39 percent) relative to all Jesuit priests in the province (De la Costa 1959b, 2). He explained the matching proportions as “purely statistical,” because the “principal consideration in selecting men

for administrative positions, as for all other positions, is aptitude” (ibid., 2). Hence, “if the above ratio proves anything,” he explained, given “all other things being equal,” then “a given group of Filipinos will normally contain the same number of men capable of governing as an equivalent group of Spaniards, Americans, Chinese, or Negroes” (ibid.). Neutral statistics would explain the predominance of American Jesuits in administrative positions.

Despite making these calculations, he avowed:

To put it bluntly: The Philippine Jesuit Mission and Vice-Province in past years, and the Philippine Jesuit Province today, spends [sic] a great deal of time, thought, and expense in training [all] its members . . . for specific works in the varied apostolate committed to its care. It spends neither time, thought nor expense in worrying about whether the national or racial composition of its administrative officers corresponds exactly with the national or racial composition of its membership. (ibid., 3)

Moreover, he debunked the tendency to compare the Filipinization of the state with the Filipinization of the church because these were two distinct institutions. The Jesuit order, De la Costa asserted, was founded by Ignatius to be the “kind of society” based on companionship, “a group of men so closely knit, so much of one mind and one heart, that they would hardly need a chain of command, a hierarchy of offices, or even any set rules and regulations” (ibid., 2–3). In this view the Jesuit order belonged to an entirely otherworldly realm such that it had no need for the kind of aggressive Filipinization advocated in the public sphere.

In 1959 his thinking on Filipinization had not yet run its course. Things would change as he served as Jesuit provincial from December 1964 to 1970, a period that witnessed the intensifying political and economic crisis in Philippine society and dramatically altered the context of his provincialship. About a week before De la Costa started his term, on 30 November 1964 the Kabataang Makabayan (Nationalist Youth) was founded, chaired by Jose Ma. Sison, who would go on to lead the establishment of the new Communist Party of the Philippines in December 1968. In 1969 Ferdinand Marcos won an unprecedented second term in what many believed were fraudulent elections. The wider crisis would push the question of Filipinization even further. De la Costa’s appointment as provincial could be interpreted within

the context of an intensifying nationalism in the early 1960s to which the movement for Filipinization in the church was inextricably bound. Coevally, the Catholic Church itself was shifting in orientation in response to the challenges of the contemporary world, signaled by the convoking of the Second Vatican Council in 1959, which opened in October 1962 and ended in December 1965. The council had dramatic repercussions for the orientation, direction, and engagements of the church.¹⁶

De la Costa's Designation as Jesuit Provincial

The rules in the *Practica Quaedam*, at least in the 1973 edition, indicated that regularly, about every three years, a report must be sent to the father general in Rome detailing a list of individuals “apt for governing.” As rule 160 put it, for each candidate on the list, drawn up by the provincial and his consultants, “the provincial should seek information from four fathers or brothers who are endowed with sufficient maturity and right judgement, and who have a truly sufficient knowledge of him who is being proposed” (Curia of the Superior General of the Society of Jesus 1973, 40). It also stipulated that “the provincial and his consultants should indicate their comments and judgements on the prescribed report form” (ibid.).¹⁷

Without a doubt, Clark, the then Jesuit provincial, considered De la Costa “apt for governing,” whom he, according to Arevalo (2016), personally endorsed to the father general over other persons on the list. Arevalo (ibid.) also recalled that among Filipino Jesuits De la Costa's nationalism was unquestionable, while among Americans his competence was highly regarded (cf. Sicam 1997, 14). That De la Costa was acceptable to the two sides made him a strategic choice for provincial at a time when the question of nationality had become a sensitive issue.

Interestingly Clark (2002, 9) narrated that he returned to the Philippines from Rome on 23 December 1963, carrying the letter that named De la Costa the next provincial. However, because De la Costa was then in the midst of “writing two books, and because Loyola House of Studies and School of Theology were in process of construction, Father General asked me to continue as provincial temporarily” (ibid.). De la Costa assumed his post almost twelve months later. “Through those whole twelve months no other Jesuit ever suspected from his words or actions that he was already the new provincial. He was the model of how to keep a secret” (ibid.).

Long after De la Costa had assumed his post, an article appeared in the *Sunday Times Magazine* in March 1966 that lauded his appointment as “both well-timed and appropriate, he being closely identified . . . with the cause of Philippine nationalism” (Garchitorena-Goloy 1966, 55). However, De la Costa told the writer his appointment was merely an “‘accident’ in the timetable of appointment rotation that avoids discriminating against either the American or the Filipino” (ibid.). Calling his ascent an “accident” probably issued from genuine modesty, and it resonated with his 1959 statement on the “purely statistical” correlation between the relative number of Filipino Jesuits in leadership positions and the proportion of Filipino priests out of all Jesuits priests. Moreover, this public statement indicated that, well into his first term, De la Costa held to an avowed policy of meritocracy and equal opportunity regardless of nationality.

Filipinization during De la Costa's Term as Provincial

Indeed, De la Costa held the view that foreign missionaries continued to play an indispensable role in training Filipino priests. Among those to be considered for administrative positions, he would include an American in the *terna* or shortlist. O’Gorman (2016) recalls that De la Costa once approached him—this would have been 1968—to say “that he was submitting my name as one of the . . . three possible candidates to be rector of [the Loyola House of Studies], and I said, ‘You’re crazy?’ and he said, ‘I know but I want to make a point’—but he knew that would be impossible.” Notwithstanding the point he wanted to impress upon fellow Jesuits, De la Costa's two terms as provincial saw an intensification of Filipino appointments to high positions in the Philippine Jesuit province following a pattern that went beyond purely statistical coincidence.

Figure 1 presents graphical data drawn from the *Catalogus* from 1925 to 1976. The graph indicates the number of Jesuits by nationality, whether Filipino or foreign, who held leadership positions, specifically referring to consultants and members of the *Ordo Regiminis Superiorum* (ORS, the rectors and superiors of the local houses). We selected 1925 as a starting point because it captures the period just before the official turnover of the Philippine mission from Spanish to American Jesuits in 1927. We selected 1976 as the endpoint because it covers the two terms of De la Costa's immediate successor, Fr. Benigno Mayo, allowing us to view the trend immediately after De la Costa's tenure as provincial. The graph shows data

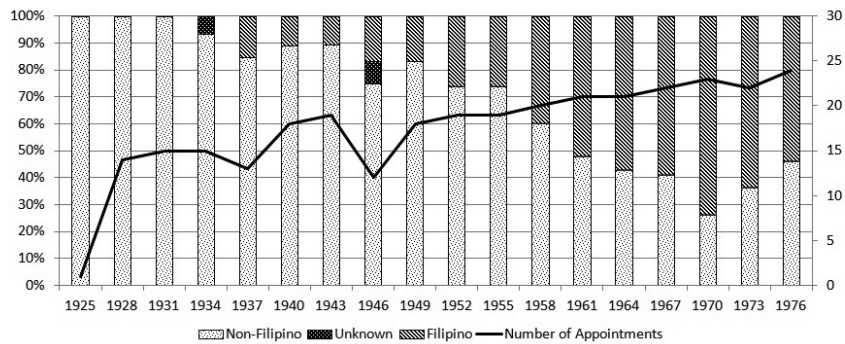


Fig. 1. Number and proportion of Jesuits in leadership positions (consultors and the ORS), by nationality, 1925–1976

Sources: Aragon Province of the Society of Jesus 1925, 71–87; Philippine Mission of the Society of Jesus n.d., 1, 27; 1943, 5, 41–42; 1946, 1, 26; 1949, 5, 52; Maryland–New York Province of the Society of Jesus 1925, 97, 107–8; 1928, 76, 108–9; 1931, 74, 103; 1934, 75, 103; 1940, 1, 128; New York Province of the Society of Jesus 1943, 58, 110–11; Philippine Vice-Province of the Society of Jesus 1952, 5, 54; 1955, 5, 57; Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus 1958, 7, 62; 1961, 7, 68–69; 1964, 7, 72–73; 1967, 8, 80–81; 1970, 9, 83–84; 1973, 7, 77–78; 1976, 7, 77–78

at three-year intervals, which were selected intentionally to correspond with the beginning and end of each of De la Costa’s two terms as provincial, 1964–1967 and 1967–1970, but the data only roughly correspond with the terms of provincials who preceded him.

Already, between 1952 and 1962, there was a steady decline in the percentage of foreign missionaries in positions of responsibility, from a majority of 74 percent in the early 1950s to a plurality of 48 percent in 1961 (fig. 1). By the time De la Costa became provincial, Filipino Jesuits enjoyed a slight majority. By 1967, during De la Costa’s first term, the proportion of Filipinos had risen to 59 percent. By 1970, the year he ended his second term, the proportion of Filipino Jesuits in high positions had risen dramatically to 74 percent, even though Filipino priests accounted for 44 percent only of all Jesuit priests. The overall picture suggests a concerted promotion of Filipinos during De la Costa’s second term. Under his successor, the Filipino majority was scaled down to 64 percent in 1973 and further down to 58 percent in 1976. The decline need not be due solely to the appointing authority for it could also be due to the unavailability or unwillingness of Filipino Jesuits to assume leadership positions.

These figures can be nuanced by disaggregating the data based on whether the appointing authority was the father general or the provincial, as shown in figures 2 and 3. The data show that Rome’s appointments of Filipino Jesuits to the ORS rose significantly from 50 percent in 1967 to 80 percent in 1970. Under Mayo this proportion rose even further to 88 percent in 1973 (when De la Costa was already in the father general’s office in Rome), but it declined slightly to 70 percent in 1976 (when coincidentally De la Costa was back in Manila) (fig. 2). Nonetheless, the data reveal the father general’s rather solid support for Filipinization over several years.

Interestingly De la Costa’s appointment of Filipino Jesuits to the ORS started at a high 75 percent in 1967 (higher than the father general’s), rising further to 79 percent in 1970 (approximating the father general’s). For a variety of reasons, his successor noticeably reduced the appointment of Filipino Jesuits to 50 percent in 1970 and to 45 percent in 1976. Filipino Jesuits in high positions remained a majority in 1976 because of the appointments coming from Rome. Evidently De la Costa was a strong exponent of promoting Filipino Jesuits to leadership positions, a preference demonstrated from the start of his term as Jesuit provincial.

Late in his second term De la Costa articulated his justifications for his action, which revealed his altered perspective. In a speech delivered on 26 January 1969 at a faculty–student seminar at the Ateneo de Manila University on “Filipinization of the Ateneo,” by then a hotly contested issue on campus, De la Costa (1969a) reiterated the goal of increasing Filipino vocations to the point that “the institutions and ministries of this Province can be staffed entirely, or almost entirely, by natives” in order for the church to “take root” in the country—a task to which all Jesuits in the province “no matter what their nationality, must be wholly committed.” To help fulfill this goal, “we have needed, welcomed, and sought the assistance of Jesuits from other Provinces” (ibid.). This time, however, the role of foreign Jesuits was subsidiary.

In the previous year, at a conference of the East Asian Jesuit Assistancy held in Hong Kong in April 1968, which De la Costa chaired, the “Asian Jesuits” issued “A Letter to our Foreign-born Brothers in Asia.” The letter, which De la Costa read aloud at the close of the conference, explained that in the period of decolonization “when the nations of Asia are striving to come into their own” these countries “seek with a certain passion to be masters within their own homes, to take the direction of their lives and their future

into their own hands, to chart their own course, make their own choices, stumble through mistakes of their own making” (Morton et al. 1968, 89–90). Suggesting that worldly nationalism had penetrated the church, the Asian Jesuits admitted—De la Costa included—that it was “only natural” that they “should share (sometimes with equal passion) in their [peoples’] aspirations also.” They called for the “process of self-determination” in indigenizing their respective Jesuit provinces (ibid., 90).¹⁸ Thus Asian Jesuits had to “be increasingly given service in responsible positions,” with the evaluation of competence based not on Western standards but on those suited to different Asian cultures (ibid.). They asked the non-Asian Jesuits to understand and support these aspirations (ibid., 90).

At the November 1970 Jesuit mission benefit dinner in New York, De la Costa (1970) explained, “In the past, when we were under your tutelage, you helped us best by showing us how to do things your way. Today, there is only one way you can help us, and that is by somehow helping us to discover how to do things our way . . . even if you are certain there is a better way to do it.” In this assertion of self-determination and finding “how to do things our way” even if Americans had “a better way” could be found traces of Manuel Quezon’s (1939) famous quip, first made in the mid-1920s and repeated in 1939 that he “would rather have a government run like hell by Filipinos than a government run like heaven by Americans.”¹⁹ The divide that made the church distinct from the state, and therefore incomparable, no longer felt so rigid.

Nonetheless, in his 1969 speech at the Ateneo de Manila, De la Costa (1969a) rehearsed an old position, saying that the Filipinization policy under his leadership, “if indeed such a policy exists,” did not abide by a racial barrier: “No member of this province—nor any member of the Society of Jesus, for that matter—is antecedently excluded from any position or ministry of the province on the basis of race or nationality alone, except as the just laws of this Republic shall require.” This apparent inclusivity notwithstanding, he stressed “that there are certain offices and ministries in the Province to which it is desirable that Filipinos rather than non-Filipinos be assigned, all other things being equal. Among these may be considered, in general, administrative positions,” the rationale being that “Filipino Jesuits must learn as early as possible to take responsibility for this Province” (ibid.). No longer did he emphasize prior training: Filipino Jesuits were to learn how to lead by taking on leadership positions, a sort of on-the-job training

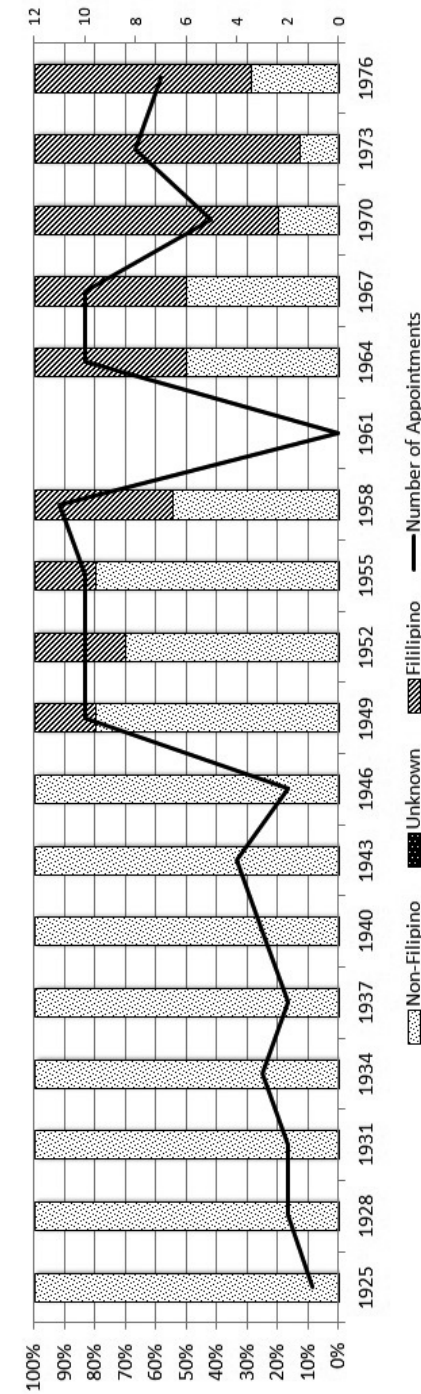


Fig. 2. Proportion of incumbent ORS members appointed by the father general, by nationality, 1925–1976

Sources: Aragon Province of the Society of Jesus 1925, 71–87; Philippine Mission of the Society of Jesus n.d., 27; 1943, 41–42; 1946, 26; 1949, 52; Maryland–New York Province of the Society of Jesus 1925, 107–8; 1928, 108–9; 1931, 103; 1934, 103; 1940, 128; New York Province of the Society of Jesus 1943, 110–11; Philippine Vice-Province of the Society of Jesus 1952, 54; 1955, 57; Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus 1958, 62; 1961, 68–69; 1964, 72–73; 1967, 80–81; 1970, 83–84; 1973, 77–78; 1976, 77–78

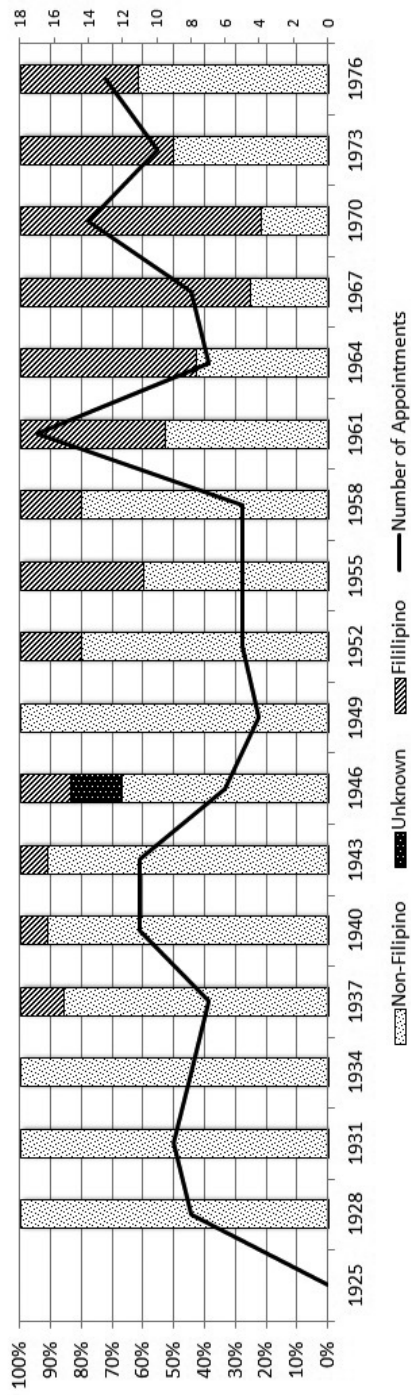


Fig. 3. Proportion of incumbent ORS members appointed by the provincial, by nationality, 1928-1976

Sources: Aragon Province of the Society of Jesus 1925, 71-87; Philippine Mission of the Society of Jesus n.d., 27; 1943, 41-42; 1946, 26; 1949, 52; Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus 1925, 107-8; 1928, 108-9; 1931, 103; 1934, 103; 1940, 128; New York Province of the Society of Jesus 1943, 110-11; Philippine Vice-Province of the Society of Jesus 1952, 54; 1955, 57; Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus 1958, 62; 1961, 68-69; 1964, 72-73; 1967, 80-81; 1970, 83-84; 1973, 77-78; 1976, 77-78

for Filipinization—which would explain what he had already done in appointing a proportionately large number of Filipino Jesuits to positions of leadership and responsibility.²⁰

But how successful was the province in meeting the anterior goal of increasing native vocations? Figure 4 indicates no appreciable surge in the total number of Filipino vocations, despite the relatively large number of Filipino Jesuits in the order's schools. Although the total number of Filipino Jesuit priests rose from 128 in 1964 to 146 in 1967, a 14 percent increase, by 1970 the figure stood at 147, a single-digit rise from 1967. Comparatively speaking, the rate of increase in Filipino vocations for diocesan priesthood paralleled but also exceeded that seen in the Jesuit order, with the former rising by 18.8 percent from 1,773 in 1964 to 2,107 in 1967 and by another 4.8 percent from the 1967 level to 2,208 in 1970 ([CBCP] 1964, 799; 1967, 916; 1970, 1049). From 1964 to 1970 the rate of growth in native Jesuit vocations was 14.8 percent, whereas the comparable figure for diocesan priests was 24.5 percent.²¹

After De la Costa's term, the total number of Filipino Jesuit priests in 1973 rose to 156, a 22 percent increase from the 1964 level. Given the protracted process of becoming a priest, this rise could have its origins in De la Costa's term as provincial. The total rose again slightly to 159 in 1976, enabling Filipino Jesuits to constitute a simple majority of all Jesuit priests. But this Filipino majority was attained because by 1976 non-Filipino Jesuits numbered 141 only, declining from 1967's high of 198.

In 1976 the total number of Jesuit priests of all nationalities stood at 300, the lowest in the period considered in figure 4, with the highest point registered at 348 priests in 1967.²² For the ten-year period from 1967 to 1976, the rate of decline in the number of foreign Jesuit missionaries (-28.7 percent) was larger than the rate of increase in the number of Filipino Jesuit priests (8.9 percent).

The large decline in the number of non-Filipino Jesuits could not be accounted for entirely by deaths in their ranks or by American Jesuits being shifted to Nigeria and Ghana, new fields of engagement of the New York province that opened in 1962 and 1968, respectively. Something happened within the Jesuit order in the Philippines that led to what amounted to a veritable exodus of American Jesuits, although the situation would not fully unravel until after De la Costa had completed his tenure as provincial. While some departures seemed innocuous when the person concerned went to the

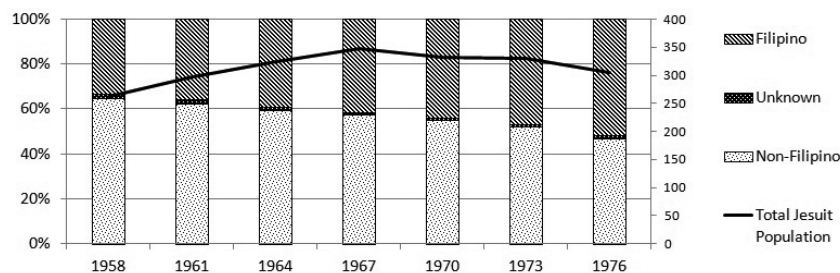


Fig. 4. Number and proportion of Jesuit priests, by nationality, 1958–1976

Sources: Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus 1958, 63–78; 1961, 70–85; 1964, 74–89; 1967, 82–97; 1970, 85–97; 1973, 79–90; 1976, 79–92

US for studies in theology and never returned to the Philippines, the data point to tensions between American and Filipino Jesuits that eventuated in the parting of ways. How, we might ask, did De la Costa rein in the brewing conflict?

The locus of these tensions was the campus of the Ateneo de Manila in Loyola Heights, Quezon City. As the Philippine province admitted, “Here can be found the biggest potential for good in the province, as well as some of the biggest problems” (Morton et al. 1968, 85). In 1967 sixty-one Jesuits, or 12 percent of all Jesuit priests and brothers in the Philippine province, were directly connected to the university. Other Jesuits were affiliated with other institutions located on the same campus: the Manila Observatory, San Jose Seminary, Loyola House of Studies, and East Asian Pastoral Institute. Altogether the number of Jesuits on the Loyola Heights campus accounted for 37 percent of all Jesuits in the Philippine province (Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus 1967, 82). Amid this physical concentration of Jesuits, tensions were most acute at the Ateneo de Manila.²³

De la Costa and the American Jesuits at the Ateneo de Manila

As in other parts of the world, the 1960s was a time of student unrest in the Philippines. But the Filipino youth were responding to the worsening crisis specific to the Philippines, with student unrest not sparing the Ateneo de Manila (Totanes 2005). On 27 November 1968 five students—Jose Luis

Alcuaz, Gerardo Esguerra, Emmanuel Lacaba, Leonardo Montemayor, and Alfredo Salanga (all juniors, except for Salanga, who was in his senior year)—published in the student periodical *Guidon* the manifesto “Down from the Hill,” the title drawn from a line in the alma mater song (Alcuaz et al. 1968). The “Big Five,” as the students came to be known, scored the Ateneo’s Westernized and elite-oriented education. They deplored the complicity of the church and the Philippine Jesuit province with the “power elite” in perpetuating “a neo-colonial structure.” Given the “revolutionary situation” Filipinization should signify “relevance” to the “oppressed masses,” and the education system must respond to the needs of Philippine society that was mired in poverty, inequality, and injustice (ibid.). Toward this end, the curriculum needed to be overhauled. The nationality or race of teachers and school officials also mattered. The students said they could not “help but call attention to the preponderant American presence in the Society and in the University,” which to them revealed “the roots of the irrelevant Western orientation of the university” (ibid.).

Fr. Roque Ferriols amplified the students’ sentiments, saying that the university’s administrative setup was being used to “perpetuate a cultural island on Philippine soil,” a social isolation that he said owed to the fact that “the frames of reference within which the Ateneo operates are to a great extent bodily transplants from the United States” (Puno and Cabanero 1968). In his view, Filipinos ought to be “using our own sensitivities, our own judgment, our own versatility to create a new dynamic culture which will include our ancient patrimony and such of foreign influences as we might choose to adopt” (ibid.). In pursuit of this end Filipinos should occupy the top administrative positions because the foreigner was “as a matter of fact, incapable of developing a Filipino culture” (ibid.).²⁴ At a meeting of the Academic Council called to discuss the student manifesto, Ferriols advocated immediate change instead of long-range planning because, as a product of the Ateneo, he knew the “feeling of alienation” from his fellow Filipinos, which was “shattering” (Ateneo de Manila University 1970, 7).

In this emotionally charged atmosphere, De la Costa enunciated his policy on Filipinization on 26 January 1969 at a faculty–student seminar on “Filipinization of the Ateneo,” which verbalized the desirability of Filipino Jesuits in administrative posts, as discussed in the previous section. On 22 February university president Fr. James Donelan tendered his resignation, stating that his decision was based on an “objective, unprejudiced,

unemotional and personal conviction that the nature of the times required that the President of the University should be a Filipino” (*Guidon* 1969a). Although he asserted that he did not “subscribe to the exaggerated notion of ‘Filipinization’ that would call for all administrative positions in the University being immediately turned over to Filipino Jesuits,” he believed the presidency was different because it was “highly symbolic” and the president “should, therefore, be as representative of the University community as possible” (*ibid.*). On 1 May Ortiz took over the presidency of the Ateneo de Manila. Outside the campus, in June 1969 De la Costa, who by this time analyzed the country’s situation from a liberation theology perspective, had to defend the social and political involvement of some Jesuits, particularly Frs. Jose Blanco and Edmundo Garcia, against church conservatives and the government (Magadia 2005, 222–34; cf. De la Costa 2002a, b). On 24 November 1969 the *Guidon* (1969b) called for a Filipino replacement for Fr. Joseph Galdon as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Early the following year the societal crisis reached a turning point signaled by the First Quarter Storm. In this milieu Fr. Joaquin Bernas assumed the deanship in June 1970 while Galdon was made chair of the English Department, an appointment students also contested by demanding Galdon’s resignation. In a late July forum Fr. Joseph O’Hare (1970) raised the question, “What does it mean, then, for academic freedom to claim that only Filipinos should be allowed to teach values subjects, as various student manifestoes have demanded?” To do so meant “a racial criterion for judging one’s competence” (*ibid.*). In August 1970 students complained about the racism of biology professor Fr. John Bauer and English professor Fr. Joseph Landy. Bernas put Bauer on “preventive suspension.”²⁵ With Landy the confrontation culminated on 14 December in the public burning of his English sophomore textbook, *Inventions*, which nine faculty members of the English Department had denounced as colonial, reactionary, and anti-Filipino (*Guidon* 1970a, 1). At around that time, Glover (2016) began to see posters on campus that insisted, “Yankee, go home!” Adding to the tumult was Ortiz’s resignation in August 1970, after barely a year in office, in order to run as a delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention—a body whose nonpartisan nature De la Costa openly advocated in order that it could address the country’s problems (Magadia 2005, 232–33).²⁶ In September 1970 Araneta—who had spoken in the 1968 Hong Kong conference saying, “Our schools are agents of westernization,” and “if we are thinking of indigenizing

the Faith . . . then clearly our schools have been failures” (Morton et al. 1968, 66)—became president of the Ateneo de Manila, and under his watch would happen the book-burning incident.²⁷

With passions running high, De la Costa as provincial held the two sides in delicate and tense balance, using his social skills to the utmost and enduring the stress as best he could. As Steinbugler (2008) recalled, “He would have meetings with the Americans; he would have meetings with Filipinos—and trying to bring them together, trying to get them to cooperate.” It was a difficult task because there were “hotheads on both sides” (*ibid.*). Although De la Costa did not enjoy his job at all because he was a “scholar” and “not a bureaucrat,” he persisted: “he would get the Americans together in the evening for dinner and a few drinks and give them a chance to ventilate and to talk, but usually towards the end of the evening he was pretty heavy into his own glass”; and “he would do the same thing for the Filipinos” (*ibid.*).

De la Costa met American Jesuits at his family’s residence “on Shaw Boulevard” in Mandaluyong, as Steinbugler (*ibid.*) reminisced, although Arevalo (2016) said those meetings took place at the Jesuit Residence on the Ateneo campus. Arevalo (*ibid.*) also recalled that De la Costa met Filipino Jesuits at his family’s residence every Thursday over several months to discuss the question of Filipinization: whether there were enough Filipinos to fill leadership positions, what they would do in those positions, and how American Jesuits would likely perceive them and respond to them. De la Costa reportedly did not participate in those discussions, but he joined them for dinner afterwards (*ibid.*). Meetings specific to the Jesuit faculty in the university were also held on campus. Fr. Noel Vasquez (2016) recalled that those meetings were only with “the Filipino Jesuits of the Ateneo, so it was all no holds barred.”

Arevalo (2016) viewed De la Costa’s meetings with Filipino Jesuits as venues where De la Costa collected their opinions and formed his own policy, after also talking to his consultors. One policy recommendation he sent to the father general in Rome, which was approved, was that every superior of the Philippine province was to be a Filipino. Steinbugler (2008) believed that De la Costa’s purpose was “to get people to reflect on the situation, to see the other side.” Amid these discrepant reminiscences, the outcome was beyond doubt. As Steinbugler (2008) put it, “we were all very, very happy that he was in charge during that time . . . he defused the situation. He made

it easier for people.” In fact, when De la Costa stepped down as provincial, Donelan ([1970]) sent him a note that said, “Without perhaps even realizing it your greatest service to the province was your presence. You held us all in your hand, not by any vested authority or power of command but by sheer virtue—the Roman kind.” Bernad (2003, 121) believed De la Costa “emerged from his six years as provincial a broken man,” but Arevalo (2002, 11) mused,

If Horacio had not been Philippine Provincial at the time he was (1964–1970), what happened (even very very [sic] recently) to some religious orders and congregations in the Philippines might have also happened to our Jesuit Province here. He took some unusually courageous moves at that difficult time . . . I knew how difficult he found his time as Provincial . . . But if he had not been in that post, what might have been . . . ?

Consonant with his “unusually courageous moves,” De la Costa’s thinking on Filipinization had moved even further. We glimpse it through a contemporary whose thinking had also changed dramatically. Just weeks after De la Costa ended his term as provincial in December 1970, Araneta, who had balked at the move to Filipinize schools in 1958, issued his ten-page double-spaced letter “To my American Fellow Jesuits in the Ateneo” dated 25 January 1971, a draft of which he had circulated for comments to a select number of American Jesuits and to at least one other Filipino, De la Costa. The letter began by stating the familiar disclaimer that Filipinization “does not imply, much less is it fulfilled by, a Filipinization of positions, administrative or academic,” reiterating that “every position in our apostolates should be open to every Jesuit, whether Filipino or non-Filipino” (Araneta 1971, 1). He gave the reassurance that “the process of Filipinization should not affect your continuing to stay in this country as missionaries” (ibid.).

But what did it mean to be a missionary? Araneta (ibid., 2) stressed the indigenizing of the church: “do not the Church documents teach us that indigenization or inculturation is among the principal objectives of mission?” Continuing his rhetorical questions, he asked, “Would we not say then that in our country one of the objectives of those involved in the missionary task is precisely that of Filipinization?” (ibid.). Toward this goal the missionary “must now so transform himself that those whom he has come to serve will, while recognizing him as alien in origin and appearance, easily see in him

a co-laborer in the corporate tasks of the Filipino people as a local church” (ibid.). The missionary had to demonstrate “great respect for the human ways, sensibilities, hopes and desires of the people to whom he has been sent,” making sure “he does not push out, distort, or stunt the ways of this people” (ibid., 3). Putting the American in his place, Araneta remarked, “Above all, he must not, even with the best of intentions, set out to remake the way of life of this people after the pattern of the life of his people—wishing to turn out, for instance, the ‘little brown brother’, whom our nationalists rightly deride” (ibid.). He recalled De la Costa’s statement, “Today, there is only one way you can help us, and that is by somehow helping us to discover how to do things our way” (ibid., 8). Within these parameters, American Jesuits could participate and even lead the process of Filipinization.²⁸

Araneta (ibid., 6) then asked pointedly: “Do I have your trust in my competence and judgment in working out . . . and carrying out the needed policies for the development and Filipinization of the University?” Forthrightly he supplied the answer: “Sincerely, I do not know to what extent you do trust my judgment” (ibid.). He then gave an example, saying “I hear it said quite often that ‘if things continue the way they are going quite a few Americans will go home’” (ibid., 7). On his allowing the burning of Landy’s book he stated, “some express their disagreement without having made any previous effort to inquire into why I made a decision I felt I had to make” (ibid.).²⁹ Araneta (ibid.) argued that at bottom the question was: “does the Ateneo, and the way it is run, have to be patterned after the American university?”

Proceeding to the main point of the letter, Araneta (ibid., 8) said, “On many occasions not a few of you have asked whether in fact you are wanted here and whether you cannot do more for the country by leaving it.” In his comments on the draft, De la Costa (1971) stated:

One gripe I have often heard from our American brethren is this. We are Jesuits together. We have a loyalty to each other, as Jesuits. It is arguable that our loyalty to each other as Jesuits should take precedence over our loyalty to our respective countries. But, in any case, our Jesuit loyalty is something we must take into account. Then why is it, in case after case in the recent past, when an American Jesuit is attacked by our students, the Filipino Jesuits have kept silent, have not come to his defense? Cases can be cited of American Jesuits coming to the defense of Filipino Jesuits on this campus when attacked (Jim Waterbury in defense of Nick Yatco), but not the other

way around. “Do you really want us here or not? If you don’t, say so clearly; if you do, say so with equal clarity, in public, to the students who attack us.” I don’t know whether you want to take this up.

Araneta (1971, 8) did not, but he offered a guideline on whether an American should stay or leave by positioning the Jesuit apostolate in the wider context:

If an American Jesuit considers that his mission vocation and Jesuit apostolate extend beyond the limits of his academic work to the many other ways that this Jesuit Province can serve the Church and people of the Philippines, then certainly he is needed here and can be of valuable service here for life. But if he judges that he can serve the Church and the Filipino people effectively only in his academic or professional line, and perhaps even only in the Ateneo de Manila, then the country’s need for him becomes quite contingent.

If it was the latter, Araneta’s (ibid., 10) advice was crystal clear, “then I would think that it is right for you to request a transfer out of this Province.” The moment of decision had arrived.

In response, academic vice-president John Doherty (1971), in a letter to Araneta dated 12 February 1971, admitted the “rift” amid a breakdown in communication between American and Filipino Jesuits. He observed that “Filipinization now for some is simply anti-Americanism,” but it was “started and pushed by a few Filipino Jesuits” (ibid., 1). He accused some Filipino Jesuits of hiding beneath the cloak of Filipinization “to cloud over inadequacies or an inability to compete [with American Jesuits] either in the classroom or out”—echoing a point Fr. Joel Tabora (1969), then a scholastic, had made that “foreign-born scholars, and administrators” were being used “possibly as scapegoats of our personal ignorance and patriotic ambivalence.” Doherty (1971, 2) lamented that, amid the rift, “sometimes American Jesuits find that what they try to do in the classroom is undermined by their fellow Filipino Jesuits.” He also suggested that Araneta was not “open to consultation and to seeking and receiving advice” (ibid., 3). His final point was that, while the Ateneo was not an American university and should not be run as such, it should be a university, which “is and should

remain supra-national while relating itself to the particular society in which it finds itself” (ibid., 4). O’Hare (1970) had earlier pointed out that, while a university had a “vital role to play in national development . . . it must remain a University,” a “place where ideas can be exchanged freely, where different viewpoints can clash,” “a place of inquiry, not indoctrination.”

Viewing recent events, Doherty (1971) wondered if it was possible “to maintain the Ateneo as a Jesuit university” and “even possible” “to pull the Jesuit community together.” The mistrust and misunderstanding had reached their nadir. The gulf between Filipino and many American Jesuits had become almost unbridgeable. The idealism that moved De la Costa (1959b, 2–3) to declare in 1959 that the society that Ignatius founded was “so closely knit, so much of one mind and one heart” had been severely tested. About a dozen years later, things were radically different.

De la Costa (1971) declared Araneta’s letter, which generated anger and resentment, “very good,” even in draft form. Agreeing with it wholeheartedly, he asked for a copy of the letter so he could “at least use its ideas,” in a “seminar set up by the Regional Superiors of Mindanao on this very question of what the present role of the foreign missionary is in the Philippines” (ibid.). He promised not to “mention provenance” if Araneta so wished. The times had pushed De la Costa, who had wrestled increasingly with the relationship between the church and its Philippine context, to go beyond his role as provincial trying to conciliate Filipino and American Jesuits. By way of Araneta he favored that his fellow Jesuits from the US make a decision. And if it fulfilled the threat—“that ‘if things continue the way they are going quite a few Americans will go home’” (Araneta 1971, 7)—then it could not be helped. And so the “pull out,” as Doherty (1971, 2) called it, happened, but with “not much appreciation of why” it did—and certainly not for lack of “missionary zeal” on the part of American Jesuits, as Doherty insisted. Euphemistically Fr. Jose Magadia (2005, 234) put it thus, “The number of American Jesuits thinned down, with a good number of them choosing to go back to the US.” These departures would register in the statistics for 1973 and 1976 in figure 4.³⁰ Meanwhile, in April 1971, De la Costa was made general assistant and consultor to the father general of the Jesuits in Rome, an assignment that lasted until 1975 (Schumacher 1978a, 13), after which he returned to a country that since September 1972 had been under Marcos’s martial law.

Conclusion

Horacio de la Costa epitomized someone whose career stood out for the way he negotiated the givens as well as the contingencies of his changing historical context. At the outset, in the 1940s, his systematic study and reflections on his own vocation led him to anticipate, in inchoate and idealistic terms, the issue that would pose a serious challenge to the Catholic Church during the 1950s and 1960s. His sentiment had always been for expanding the number of Filipino priests in order for the church to take root in the Philippines and not be an alien institution, to indigenize the church to be effective in its ministry to Filipinos, to address issues of social justice, and to provide national leadership. In the early years, he appreciated the role of foreign missionaries in overcoming the stunted formation of the native clergy. When he became the Jesuit provincial in late 1964, he embodied the first fruits of the Filipino aspiration, a nationalist dream, to lead one of the religious orders that had been until then under the command of foreign missionaries. As provincial he advanced Filipinization as seen in the number of Filipino Jesuits appointed to high positions, although the expansion in native priestly vocations in his order was not as dramatic as the ascendancy of Filipino Jesuit leadership.

Despite the appointments he made, his declared policy favored meritocracy conformable to the universalistic notion of brotherhood within the Society of Jesus. However, as the tumult in Philippine society was exploding in the late 1960s, De la Costa—along with other Filipino Jesuits such as Araneta, his fellow consultor in 1958—could not insulate himself from the social upheaval. The divide between the church and the secular world had become porous, or one could say the church had to adjust to the world where it had to compete for relevance by pursuing a sort of strategic worldliness. The changed circumstances altered the understanding of Filipinization, which called for Jesuit apostolates, especially education, to be relevant to the profound injustices and inequalities in Philippine society. It meant that the Philippine province, despite the risk of mistakes, would seek and find its own way. In the age of decolonization, it meant self-determination. In this milieu, De la Costa explicitly favored the placing of Filipino Jesuits over American Jesuits in administrative posts. He deemed foreign missionaries as playing a role, but a supporting one only, in indigenizing, nationalizing, and inculturating the church.

Amid the tensions that this issue fomented between Filipino and American Jesuits, particularly at the Ateneo de Manila University, De la Costa as provincial held the two sides in tight balance. He did his best to preserve the internal cohesion of his polarized organization and prevented it from unravelling. His mediatorship ensured the Jesuit order did not degenerate into an utterly racial strife. As a result, some Americans did not succumb to “group-think” (O’Hare 1970) while others threw their support behind the Filipino side. However, with the expanded meaning of Filipinization called forth by the crisis in Philippine society, De la Costa supported the view that foreign missionaries could stay on in the country only if they were willing to serve the church outside the academe, beyond the immediate field for building vocations. When the issue came to a head in early 1971, soon after his term ended, he gave the pro-Filipino side full, if quiet, support. This denouement eventuated in the departure of a sizeable number of American Jesuits, which put Filipino priests on the majority of the local Jesuit order.

As a deviant to the norm that then prevailed among religious orders, De la Costa as provincial began to normalize his deviancy by fast-tracking Filipinization in his own order. The Jesuit order moved in De La Costa’s favor—unlike in the case of fellow proponents of Filipinization Manaligod, who eventually had to leave the SVD, and Lim, the Jesuit order. De la Costa possessed the remarkable combination of intellect and social skills, which he deployed with panache within a religious organization the paradigm of which he had fully internalized and the norms of which he had thoroughly mastered, in order to transform it from within. He maintained the dignity of his office, remaining the consummate negotiator while holding back on the logical conclusion implied by his sharpening thoughts on Filipinization. Would he have done what Araneta did in compelling American Jesuits to decide whether to leave or stay in the Philippines? In any event, Araneta served as his shield. De la Costa maintained his image as a cosmopolitan, able to engage American Jesuits in the Philippines and New York and the global Jesuit community, while asserting, always nonthreateningly, the distinctiveness of the Filipino. De la Costa was a nationalist, a believer in his fellow Filipino Jesuits and their staunch defender, who was swept by the current within and beyond the church, but his own abilities and choices empowered him to ride the current even as the current changed him, in the process leaving the legacy of a transformed Jesuit order.

Notes

We thank the Jesuits of the Philippine province, particularly Frs. William Abbott, Catalino Arevalo, Asandas Balchand, Jose M. Cruz, Antonio De Castro, Jose Mario Francisco, Pasquale Giordano, Francisco Glover, William Kreuz, James O'Donnell, Thomas O'Gorman, James Reuter, Mateo Sanchez, Herbert Schneider, John Schumacher, Thomas Steinbugler, Sergio Su, Ruben Tanseco, Amado Tumbali, and Noel Vasquez, for their kindness in providing assistance to this project, some by granting interviews, others by providing useful leads. We regret that some Jesuit informants have passed away and not been able to see the completion of this study. For help in understanding the Jesuit manuals of the mid-twentieth century, we thank the Jesuit historian Fr. James Grummer. The Jesuits of the Conference of South Asia, the Conference of Asia Pacific, and the Province of Chicago–Detroit, particularly Frs. William Abranches and Francis D'Souza, helped confirm the elevation dates of the different Asian provinces, for which we are grateful. We acknowledge with thanks the kind permission to access holdings granted by the University Archives, Ateneo de Manila University; the Ralph B. Gehring Library, Loyola School of Theology; the Miguel de Benavides Library and the Archives of the University of Santo Tomas; the Lopez Museum and Library; and the Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus. Ms. Carina Samaniego and the staff of the University Archives were especially accommodating of our requests. We are grateful to the three referees whose comments and suggestions guided us in the final revision of the manuscript. We thank Carol Hau, Mike Pante, and Angelli Tugado for comments on earlier versions of this article; Marguerite Sy and Justine Dinglasan for logistical help during the study's early stages; and Ram Balubal for various forms of assistance throughout the study. Any errors of fact and interpretation are solely our responsibility.

- 1 In an article focused on the Society of Jesus, expectedly most priests mentioned in the text are Jesuits, for which reason we have desisted from adding the customary "SJ" after a Jesuit's name. But when the context requires clarity we use the Jesuit initials, just as priests from other orders are identified with the initials of their orders.
- 2 In 2008 five American Jesuits were interviewed for Nicholas Sy's undergraduate student paper. Three Filipino Jesuits and two American Jesuits were interviewed in 2016; although we had wanted to interview more informants, in the end only these five were available.
- 3 De la Costa 1969b is a revised and expanded version of the original article.
- 4 Writing together with a "native American" colleague, Manaligod asserted, "It likewise happens all too often that the foreign missionary, especially if he is a citizen of a proud nation that rules the mission field as a subordinate colony, is either indifferent, unfriendly, or openly hostile to the legitimate customs, traditions and national aspirations of the people among whom he works, and tries to Europeanize everything, or, what is worse, to work for the permanent political control of his own country over the territory" (Weyland and Manaligod 1947, 63–64).
- 5 On the question of language in the transition from Spanish to American Jesuits in the Philippines, see De Castro (2010).
- 6 The push for Filipinization can be traced to the secularization movement of the nineteenth century. However, the antecedent of the Filipinization movement in the late 1950s occurred during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, when the Japanese Military Administration—conformable to the slogan "Asia for Asians" in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—sought to Filipinize the clergy and the Catholic hierarchy. Cesar Ma. Guerrero, auxiliary bishop of

Manila, actively promoted the Japanese policy, causing the US to charge him with treason after the war. See Terada 1999; Parpan 1989.

- 7 Over the radio Hilario Lim criticized Clark as provincial, which according to O'Gorman (2016) "really hurt" Clark, who had "ben[t] over backwards for Filipinization."
- 8 The responses of the Jesuits, except that of Kunkel, are preserved at the Ateneo de Manila University Archives.
- 9 On the secularization movement in the nineteenth century, see Schumacher 1999, 2006; Blanco 2010.
- 10 Coeli Barry (1999, 60) argues that the church's dominant trope during the American period was one of "loss," especially of lost opportunities, which De la Costa shared.
- 11 This apparently anticommunist proposition was a restatement of a general scenario, which did not mention communism, depicted in *Rerum Ecclesiae*, which De la Costa (1947, 221) cited in his classic study. On De la Costa's understanding of the relationship between social injustices and communism and the softening of his position by the late 1960s, cf. Iletto 2017, 124–29, 135–39.
- 12 Based on the second edition of the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines Directory (CEAP 1968, 173), of 437 schools offering tertiary education in the Philippines in 1967, 204 (or 47 percent) were affiliated with an institutional religion, most of them (190) Catholic. Data for previous years exist but only for public educational institutions, with no data on private schools, except for higher education in 1959–1960, which indicate an overwhelming number of private institutions: 42 public, 8 state colleges plus the University of the Philippines, and 366 private (Board of National Education n.d., 4).
- 13 The objectives of the bills on the nationalization of schools are summarized in CWO 1959. Interestingly, the bills' proposed minimum 75 percent Filipino ownership of capital was steeper than the 60 percent Filipino ownership stipulated in Article XII of the 1935 Constitution on the exploitation and utilization of natural resources. However, the bills were relatively lenient when compared with RA 1180, the Retail Trade Nationalization Law of 1954, which required that a corporation that engaged directly or indirectly in the retail business be wholly owned by Philippine citizens.
- 14 Nationalism and racism, while distinct, can be complexly intertwined (cf. Aguilar 2005)—a subject that cannot be tackled in this article. As we shall see, De la Costa resisted the conflation of Filipinization with racial prejudice, best exemplified by his personal demeanor.
- 15 For an analysis of the Catholic Church hierarchy's defense of the church's role in education and the construct of "Catholic nation" during the 1950s, see Francisco 2014, 347–55.
- 16 For the Second Vatican Council's impact on women religious orders in the Philippines, see Barry 1996.
- 17 Wider consultation with the whole province would be required in later years, although public discussion was to be avoided, as stipulated in the rules of the Society of Jesus (1991).
- 18 On the second day of the five-day conference, De la Costa interposed that "Self-determination requires a clear consciousness of national identity," which for the Philippines meant arriving at a "synthesis" of its "diversity" (Morton et al. 1968, 45). Cf. Francisco 2017 and Zialcita 2017 for further analyses of hybridity and identity in De la Costa's thought.

- 19 A close personal friend of Aurora Quezon, De la Costa's mother was riding in her own vehicle as part of Aurora's motorcade to Baler (E. de la Costa 1949, 2–3), where they were supposed to inaugurate the Quezon Memorial Hospital in honor of Manuel Quezon, who had died five years earlier, when Aurora's vehicle that was at the head of the convoy was ambushed on a mountain pass in Nueva Ecija province, resulting in her death in April 1949. The Huks were widely believed to be responsible for the assassination.
- 20 What the numbers and proportions of Filipino Jesuits in leadership positions would have been had there been no hesitation on the part of those nominated to assume administrative positions, we would not know. As Arevalo was quoted as saying, when De la Costa "would offer [a task] to a Filipino Jesuit and the Filipino Jesuit would not take it, that hurt him very much because he felt that was the only way we could assume what we were supposed to do. He was also quite angry at both Filipinos and non-Filipinos who at the back of their minds had a lack of confidence that a Filipino could do the job as well as an American or any Westerner could" (Sicam 1977, 14).
- 21 The reasons for the higher rate of vocations in secular or diocesan priesthood than in the Jesuit order can be complex and need a closer examination than is possible here. We do note that diocesan priests are recruited from the wider field of Catholic schools with larger student populations, while Jesuits are recruited mainly from the few and comparatively smaller Jesuit schools. Moreover, diocesan priests can return to their own dioceses and be assigned closer to their families unlike Jesuit priests who cannot expect to work near their families.
- 22 The totals include priests whose nationalities could not be ascertained. Note also that the data in fig. 4 include not only the total population of the Philippine Province but also resident *Applicati* (individuals on loan to the Philippine province based on an agreement between the provincials of both the sending and the receiving province). As a result, these numbers do not coincide with the statistics on the Philippine Jesuit province found in the Catholic directories for those years.
- 23 To a less explosive extent, Filipinization was also an issue at the Loyola House of Studies, with complaints brought up by scholastics (O'Gorman 2016). The issue was not contested in other institutions such as the Manila Observatory (Su 2016).
- 24 Ferriols also emphasized the need to "study Filipino culture using Filipino languages as the medium of research" because "The language in which the research is done influences the interpretations of the researchers. Also, to use methods evolved within a Filipino context" (Puno and Cabanero 1968, 3).
- 25 According to Steinbugler (2008), Bauer was "a tough teacher," a "hard man, critical, sharpened tongued"; Steinbugler and other American Jesuits disagreed with the preventive suspension not on racial grounds but because it implied that teaching "depended on the willingness of students to come to class."
- 26 One of the outgrowths of the Second Vatican Council (1959–1965) was the "worldly" involvement of the clergy, as seen in thirty priests and a nun standing as candidates for the constitutional convention in twenty-two provinces; only five priests and the nun won (Magadia 2005, 229–30).
- 27 This highly abbreviated history of the late 1960s to 1970 suggests why, in the Ateneo de Manila's current statement on its mission and vision as a "Filipino," "Catholic," and "Jesuit" university, Filipino appears first in the list of self-descriptors, a term that carries the weight of a turbulent past on its very campus. In the early 1950s the self-descriptors used in its college catalogs were not fixed: it was referred to simply as "Catholic" and "Jesuit" (Ateneo de Manila 1953, 10), but by

the late 1950s "Catholic," "Jesuit," "Filipino," "metropolitan," and "a training ground for leaders," had become formulaic, with Filipino appearing third on the list (ibid. 1956, 15; 1958, 12–13). These five terms and their order were used in catalogs, by this time referred to as bulletins, until at least the mid-1960s (Ateneo de Manila University 1963, 21; 1964, 21). In 1978 the self-descriptors in the Ateneo de Manila's statutes began with "University," followed by "Catholic," "Filipino," and "Jesuit," with Filipino appearing after Catholic (ibid. 1989, 2). By 1982 the current set of terms to describe Ateneo de Manila were already in use in the Bulletin of Information, beginning with "University," followed by "Filipino," "Catholic," and "Jesuit"; Filipino had become the primary description of the university, a formula firmed up in the statutes of 1990 (ibid., 1982, 8–9; 1990, 2–3).

- 28 O'Hare (1970) had expressed his opinion in late 1970 that Filipinization was "a task to be accomplished by Filipinos" because "all foreigners must remain in the end outsiders," adding that foreigners "who consider themselves simply oversized white Filipinos, engage in sentimentality."
- 29 The *Guidon* (1970b) suggested that Araneta had allowed the use of the textbook because banning it outright would have "gained the disfavor of many Jesuits in the community," but allowing its use risked "disfavor with the studentry, especially with the more radical quarters of the student population."
- 30 According to Arevalo (2016), some embittered American Jesuits stayed on because they felt they were doing good work in the Philippines, which they would not be able to do if they returned to the US.

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