

MARANAO RESISTANCE TO FOREIGN INVASIONS

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Reputed as brave and skillful fighters, the past and recent Maranao ancestors were either defenders of a homeland attractive to external invaders, or invaders themselves. The Maranao were able to maintain their independent nation under the pangampong organization for over 250 years through stiff resistance (typified by Sultan Kudarat) to Spanish military and spiritual campaigns. Amai Pakpak continued the struggle between 1891 and 1895 against expeditions sent by Governors Weyler and Blanco. Left virtually unconquered, the Maranao had a more formidable opponent in the Americans. Under Pershing scores of kotas were attacked and captured, resulting in heavy casualties. During the Japanese occupation, Major Datu Busran Kalaw led the united resistance movement.

This paper is a brief factual report with some commentaries about past events, which I believe fits a conference such as ours in quest for some possible solutions to the unhappy conditions existing in the Muslim areas. The paper addresses itself to all peace-loving leaders and citizens who may evaluate past events with the hope of minimizing, if not totally easing away, problems that obstruct peace and progress. Considering, however, the broad scope of the subject and the time needed to cover it, this treatment shall be limited to the Maranao, instead of the entire Muslim group. But the paper will not be short of implications upon the larger community.

Ethno-historical Background

The early settling Maranao ancestors were regarded as a hardy and adventurous people by scholars who classify them among the so-called "civilized Malays," just as they do the ancestors of the present-day lowland and coastal Filipinos of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. As a proof of our ancestors' virile character, they have conquered all human and natural adversaries when they came to settle in what is today the Lanao region. Such place is endowed with great natural resources (though still underdeveloped) such as the lakes, rivers, and seas, forests and fertile lands. It has a mild climate which makes life all the more comfortable for man and the luxuriant flora and fauna. With

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such favorable environment, they built and nourished their indigenous civilization which they defended against all foreign invasions. Indeed, only a virile race and culture can maintain itself in such a homeland attractive to external invaders.

Reputed as brave and skillful fighters, the past and recent Maranao ancestors were either defenders or invaders as often retold through oral traditions, as well as through historical accounts by foreign writers. As sea voyagers, they were known in other parts of the Malay Archipelago as the *Ilanun*, a name derived from *ranao* or *lanao* which means lake, as they used to start their trips overland from Lake Lanao and across the open sea from Illana Bay, thence to distant lands. Using an efficient seacraft called the *padao* (corrupted to *parao* or *prau*), they traversed the high seas as far as the coasts of New Guinea, Northern Luzon, Malaya and Burma (Wright, 1977) for either trade or piracy, if not for both. And since historians say that in olden times Moro sailors were once reaching the Persian Gulf (Mednick, 1967), it is possible that the Maranao were one among those great sea voyagers. Some of them used to travel desert trails on camelback for the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Today, in one of the districts of Sabah called Tampasuk, there is a sizeable community of Illanun who maintain their ethno-linguistic and cultural traits akin to those of the Maranao of Lake Lanao and the Iranons of the Moro Gulf. The 19th century English colonizers

included the Illanun of Tampasuk under control of their colonial administration over all ethnic populations in Northern and Western Borneo, now comprising the present territory of East Malaysia.

Seemingly, an alienated or "lost tribe" of Maranao, the Illanun of Sabah are today occasionally visited by some Maranao merchants from the Zamboanga Barter Trade for the exchange of goods and kinship reunion between peoples of common origins. Suffice to say, those brave and adventurous Maranao or Illanun (through peaceful penetration, if not for piratical expeditions) succeeded in permanently settling Tampasuk long before Dr. Jose Rizal conceived of his aborted plan to found a colony for Tagalogs from Calamba who could have settled in North Borneo in order to escape the onerous Spanish regime in the Philippines.

Once an Independent Nation

In their ancestral homeland in Mindanao described in my earlier paper (Saber, 1967:60-61), the Maranao once constituted a nation independent of their immediate neighbors, as well as from the past Spanish regime in other parts of the country. Their gradual subjugation came, as it is known, only during the early inception of the American administration (1899-1945) and not, however, without offering fearless resistance to such foreign rule. Despite their painful experience from a mighty foreign power, they are today a part and parcel of the larger and stronger Filipino nation, under the New Society. But formerly they were non-Filipino citizens in terms of not having had an allegiance to Spanish rule.

A brief review, therefore, of their past and recent experiences in war and peace may constitute thought-provoking information towards forging the ideals of "one nation, one spirit" in Pilipino, *Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa* in the context of nation-building. But before touching on this subject bearing on national unity, allow me to first discuss the Maranao as once constituting an indigenous "independent nation" (or *isang bansa*) before their subjugation to foreign rule along with other brother Filipinos who now all consti-

tute a larger and more cohesive nation.

The Maranao once laid ancestral or traditional claim to a wide territory over which the present-day provinces of Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, and part of Misamis Oriental have been superimposed by the modern government. They consider this territory the ancestral jurisdiction of the *Pat-a-Pangampong* or "Four Principalities (states)" of Lanao. The member principalities are called Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan and Baloi whose boundaries could easily be traced on the modern map of three provinces.

Each principality (*pangampong*) is subdivided into districts (*soko*), townships (*inged*), and smaller villages (*agama*). Each of these levels of large and small communities has its own territory and a set of elders (*leaders*) as guardians of the regulative system(s) called *adat* and Islamic laws or customary and religious laws, respectively.

The four principalities are not rigidly tied together by a central authority of government, of which they have none. They are, however, connected by their common adherence to native laws, their blood and kinship ties, and their consciousness of the universal brotherhood under Islam.

Jihad or Holy War

Islamic as they are, the Maranao regard their territory with the institutions therein as a part of Durul Islam (Homeland of Islam). Any foreign invasion upon these land, people, and institutions could cause a *jihad*, a holy war of defense (see Isidro, 1976; Saber, 1979). Under this ideal concept and limit of a holy war, a Muslim state or community cannot invade other people's land. But since the past, the Maranao homeland was, instead, invaded repeatedly by aggressors. Observers of Muslim affairs would easily understand why the Maranao turned into fierce fighters in defense against invaders. Thus, according to Islamic concept, self-defense is "natural," hence a rightful action. Such concept further elucidates that in the ecological system, nature has provided some plants with thorns and poisons as their defensive armors against any aggressor; either

another plant, man or animal.

Let us now recall some known events where the Maranao fought in wars of *jihād* and how they also settled in peace with former enemies. Their first successive adversaries were the Spanish and the American forces with native Filipino allies forced by unavoidable circumstances to join the past invasions of Moroland. During World War II, they also encountered the Japanese Imperial Army with its (suicidal) *hara-kiri* or *kamikaze* way of fighting, as the soldiers died for their country's sake in a spirit not identical, but somewhat akin to the psychic drive behind the *jihād*.

17th Century Resistance

The first of a series of Maranao-Spanish encounters took place between 1637 and 1640 when an intrepid conquistador, Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, was Governor-General of the Philippines. The motive of those early Spanish expeditions, as known in history, was to expand over the Muslim South the colonization and Christianization conquest of the Philippines. Such joint political and religious program would naturally meet Islamic resistance.

Sultan Dipatuan Kudarat of Magindanao was ready for the defense. With warriors armed with assorted weapons of Malay-made cannons and fighting blades, the sultan had a series of fortifications (*kotas*) in the settlements of Ramitan and Ilian, north of Malabang, then an old territory common to the Maguindanaon, Iranon and Maranao who were allies for a united defense.

Among these three closely-related ethnic groups, joining a *jihād* is called *prang sabilulah*, meaning "fighting and dying in the way of Allah." With a mighty force composed of Spanish and Indios recruited from Manila, Panay, and Zamboanga, General Corcuera assaulted and captured the *kotas* of Ramitan and Ilian. During the first battle of Ramitan, Sultan Kudarat was wounded, but he retreated to continue the resistance at Ilian. There were many casualties (dead and wounded) on both sides. The battles were so fierce and bloody that an impartial writer (Hurley,

1939), compared them to the Spanish-Indian encounters during the siege of Emperor Montezuma's fortification in Mexico by the Spaniards.

Kudarat's *kota* at Ilian was on a high hill with deep precipices on the sides. Wives and children of warriors were inside the fort of earth-and-stone walls covered by vegetation. While it was on the verge of capitulation, as most of the male defenders who did not escape were dead and wounded, a pathetic incident happened. The Spanish soldiers shouted to Sultan Kudarat's wife and her women companions to surrender. Fearing captivity, she instead grasped her baby in her arms, ran and leaped down in the precipice (Mastrilli, 1903). Writers who had read this incident interpreted that the Muslim sultan's wife had preferred death for herself and her child, rather than a life of captivity in the hands of a foreign and atrocious enemy.

The news of the tragic incident reached the Spanish camp. It worried some of the missionaries who knew the Muslim lady's noble character. It had been said that she was very kind to Spanish captives including priests whom she fed and clothed despite the war-like relations between Christian and Muslim forces.

Meanwhile, Sultan Kudarat and his remaining warriors escaped the defeat at Ilian. Embittered by such defeat in the Lanao area, the Sultan moved his forces toward Cotabato where in Simuay and other battlegrounds they continued their resistance. Kudarat reigned as a sultan for about fifty-four years, meeting several defeats, but never surrendering till he died of old age.

The Spaniards pursued their joint military and spiritual campaigns towards the shores of Lake Lanao (Sabet, 1975). In 1639, conquistador Corcuera sent the first Spanish expedition to that heartland of the Maranao country. With an outfit made up of a few Spaniards and hundreds of Boholano troopers, the expedition was jointly commanded by Captain Francisco de Atienza and Fray Agustin de San Pedro, a Portuguese-Recollect missionary. Padre San Pedro was admired for having expanded his conversion campaigns from the Christian center at Caraga down to

Cagayan, Bayug, and Iligan. For his participation in military expeditions, his comrades gave him the title of *padre-capitan*.

Besides all other provisions prepared at Iligan Bay, the expedition was equipped with pre-fabricated boats. There were six of them broken up and carried in pieces overland to be readily assembled for launching in Lake Lanao. On April 4, 1639, the expedition reached the lakeshores, its leaders being the first Europeans to see the beautiful body of water. After three months of exploring the land and water area, they gained full knowledge of the Maranao country and its prospects for the colonization program.

It appears that with the presence of a missionary leader, Fray San Pedro, the explorers first used the soft approach to control the area by entering into alliance with some of the chiefs or *datus*. However, in 1640, Don Pedro Bermudez Castro, sent by Corcuera, went to Lake Lanao with a garrison to establish Spanish sovereignty. Suspicious and alarmed by the threat of subjugation, the Maranao drove back the Spaniards to the sea coastal area, and also burned the latter's first installations in the Lake area. After such failure, Spanish forces were not able to return to Lake Lanao for over 250 years. Thus, the Maranao maintained their independent nation under the *pangampong* organization which was free from European domination.

19th Century Resistance

After such a long period of isolation for the Maranao, in 1891, Governor-General Valriano Weyler took personal command for the resumption of the campaigns in the Lanao and Cotabato areas. No less a spirited and brilliant invader as Corcuera, Weyler came with a strategy to establish a chain of instant fortifications with garrisons from the sea coasts toward high target areas in the Muslim hinterlands.

In what is today Camp Amai Pakpak (formerly called Camp Keithley) in Marawi City, there once proudly stood the earth-and-stone *kota* of Datu Akadir Amai Pakpak which was Weyler's first military objective for destruction

before other *kotas* defending Lake Lanao. Amai Pakpak's *kota* was known to the Spaniards as "Fort Marahui." It was equipped with ancient cannons, captured European guns, and an assortment of bladed weapons of hundreds of warriors who could instantly be assembled through the sound of gongs and cannons during emergencies.

But for the major operation, Weyler mobilized 1,242 heavily armed troopers. These were loaded with supplies on four transports, the *Manila*, *Cebu*, *San Quintin* and *Marquez de Duero*, which landed at Linamon on Iligan Bay, preparatory to the overland invasion of Amai Pakpak's Fort Marahui. Still reinforced at Iligan, Weyler divided his forces into a pincer movement which bombarded the *kota* on August 21, 1891. Despite the brave resistance, the Spanish attackers won the battle after many casualties on both sides. Defender Amai Pakpak, and some other survivors escaped from the capture of their fort.

The campaign was not at all satisfactory, however, as Weyler admitted. Three days later, the survivors of the Spanish expedition were forced to return to their bases in North Lanao, as the Maranao were massing stronger forces from the lake settlements against the occupied *kota* to avenge the defeat of their kinsmen.

After their enemy's retreat, some Maranao bands occasionally assaulted the Spanish settlements in Iligan and southern Misamis Oriental between 1891 and 1894. The authorities in Manila decided that the Moro raids would have to be checked or the colonization plan in the area would have to be given up.

In 1894, Governor-General Ramon Blanco who relieved Weyler concluded that an effective control of Lake Lanao may be made by establishing a fleet of steel steamships similar to the army and navy equipment effectively used in other battle fronts of Mindanao and Sulu.

Immediately, the Spanish government entered into a contract with an English ship-building firm in Hongkong for the construction of two light and armed gunboats (Saber, 1975). They were later called the *S.S. General*

Blanco and the *S.S. Lanao*. Each was capable of transporting a relatively small but well-armed group of men using English-made rapid-fire guns besides Spanish weapons. Again, in 1895, two more gunboats later called the *S.S. Corcuera* and the *S.S. Almonte* were also ordered to complete a four-gunboat detachment of the Spanish navy on the lake. Also pre-fabricated, these boats were made in separate sectional parts for quick assembly and launching on the lake.

During the few years that Blanco was preparing for the invasion, Amai Pakpak and his warriors rehabilitated Fort Marahui which in 1891 suffered from Weyler's heavy bombardment. Additional defenses of giant brass cannons were mounted on the stone walls. Native flags, symbolic of defiance against an enemy, decorated the *kota*. On March 10, 1895, Blanco's mightier expedition totalling 5,000 men assaulted the native defenders who fiercely resisted more than they did in the previous battle. With heavier losses on both sides, Blanco succeeded in planting the Spanish flag upon the fort for the second time, but at the cost of 400 Spanish and Filipino soldiers wounded and killed. Amai Pakpak fell in battle while the remnants of his warriors retreated to other *kotas*.

In that year, after establishing a large garrison in Marawi, the Spaniards started assembling and floating the fleet of gunboats on the lake with the *S.S. Blanco* as the flagship. One of the warcrafts initiated action on October 16, 1895 under the direct command of General Ramon Blanco who reconnoitered the warrior-infested Ganassi Bay area. Between 1895 and 1898, the Spanish combined action on land and water wrought havoc on the Maranao; many of their *kotas* were destroyed, and the movement of the war *vintas* (*awang*) on the water was prevented. But instead of all surrendering, many retreated to the hills, built new *kotas*, and continued resisting from there.

Like other human beings, not every Maranao is a suicidal fighter in the face of a mightier force. An influential sultan, a neighbor to the ill-fated Amai Pakpak, sued for peace if only to save the skin of his kinsmen. He was Amai Manabilang to whom General Blanco

issued (1895) a document as his adopted brother or friend to court his collaboration with the Spaniards.

Commending Amai Pakpak's heroic role, a Filipino veteran of the Fort Marahui battle, Trinitario Segui, recalled: "Had Amai Pakpak submitted to Spain, Mindanao would have more (Spanish) railroads than Luzon. I was one of the personnel (of engineers) who received the first material for railroad construction, Mindanao would have developed first. . . . But then, Amai Pakpak would not have contributed to the defeat of Spain during the Philippine Revolution."

Between 1891 and 1895, Governors Weyler's and Blanco's expeditions to the Muslim areas depleted Spain's forces in Luzon. Thus, seeing such weakening in the north the Katipuneros rose to revolt in 1896 against the government. One of the revolutionists protests to the government was the sending of mercenary Christian Filipino fighters from the North to be pitted against the Muslims.

Spain's conquest of the Maranao was perhaps near in sight, but the announcement of Commodore Dewey's victory over the Spanish navy at Manila Bay in 1898 (then, an event in the Spanish-American War) averted the Spanish success. In that year, the Spanish high command ordered the abandonment of Lake Lanao, preparatory to the shipment of Spanish forces to Zamboanga and ultimately to Spain. In their hurried evacuation, they scuttled their gunboats in the lake. These boats were later refloated to good use by the U.S. army in 1905.

It appears that General Aguinaldo's secret agents, in order to persuade different Moro chiefs to join the revolution, contacted Amai Pakpak who did not have time to consider the idea of an alliance with the Northern revolutionaries. (During the post World War II period, however, Philippine General Aguinaldo recognized the services of the Maranao survivors of the resistance at Marawi by enlisting them as *pensionados* of the Philippine Revolution Veterans Board.)

Aguinaldo sincerely desired unity. In his message to Congress on January 1, 1899 he directed his government to negotiate with the Moros for purposes of establishing national solidarity upon the basis of real federation with absolute respect for Moro beliefs and traditions.

Versus the Yankees

Left behind virtually unconquered, the Maranao nation faced a more formidable foreign invader at the turn of the 20th century. They first saw the American Navy at Illana and Iligan Bays in 1899 which relieved the Spanish forces, but without yet much signs of hostility towards the Moros. Yet, they nurtured the same antagonism towards the Americans who bore the same skin color as the Spaniards and were also armed to the teeth.

It was related in an American newspaper that General Adan Chaffee, commanding the entire U.S. forces in the Philippines, first visited with some datus at Malabang. Thinking he could minimize Moro resistance during the early occupation, the seemingly friendly general explained the motive and advantages of the American presence. He tried to impress upon his Moro listeners (through an interpreter in English and Arabic) the greatness and richness of his country, especially the vastness of the U.S. territory. During the exchange of remarks, an observant and suspicious sultan commented that if America were such a rich and wide land, why would the Americans come to share in the small land of the Moros. It is said the general ignored the question, as if he did not hear it.

Pershing and Amai Manabilang

After pacifying a band of Christian *insurrectos* (rebels) in Cagayan, Misamis Oriental, Captain John J. (Black Jack) Pershing, famous in American military history (Vandiver, 1977) asked for assignment in Iligan in 1901, preparatory to the pacification of the Lake Lanao area. It was there where he observed and befriended the Maranao in their colorful costumes and handicrafts at the market place. Some of them even visited him in his head-

quarters or residence.

Hearing about Pershing's friendly character, Amai Manabilang (with whom Spanish Governor Blanco previously made friends) came to the American commander in Iligan and invited him to visit the *torogan* at Mada-ya in Marawi.

Pershing accepted the invitation. The American soldiers, in not-so-heavy battle gear headed by their commander, were accompanied by colorfully costumed Maranao bearing festive flags and beating their parade gongs on the trail from Iligan to Marawi. Amai Manabilang honored the guests with a *kalilang*, the customary entertainment with food, games and music. Thus, an American-Moro friendship and collaboration was forged between a captain and a sultan. The friendly ceremonies assured a relatively peaceful relation, at least in North Lake Lanao area, but not in the South.

Wild West in Wild Lanao

In Parang and Malabang, a series of incidents happened between the American patrols or detachments and some small Moro bands. The latter attacked the soldiers to capture their guns and some of their cavalry horses. Escaping their pursuers, the bands would hide themselves inside the *kotas* of their sultans and datus near Lake Lanao.

One powder-keg incident which later started the American expeditions to Lake Lanao in 1902-1903 was the snatching of cavalry horses near Malabang by a Moro band which sought protection inside Kota Pandapatan in Bayang, then the strongest fortified area in south Lake Lanao. Irked by this incident, the American command at Malabang gave an ultimatum to the sultans and datus of Bayang to surrender the horses and the snatchers. An influential and friendly leader, Datu Grande Kibad of Macadar (grandfather to now Brig. Gen. Mamarinta Lao) tried to mediate for peaceful settlement of the incident, but he failed as the Bayang datus refused to surrender their kinsmen, and because they also disliked the American presence at Malabang, their southern outlet to the sea.

Determined to punish recalcitrant Maranao, the Americans fitted out their fully-equipped expedition to Bayang. With orders from higher commands in Manila and Zamboanga, the campaign was commanded by Col. Frank Baldwin. Before reaching Bayang, the American forces had to first attack the *kotas* at Pualas and Binidayan whose leaders and followers were equally hostile to the occupation of any part of the Maranao country. Despite some casualties on the American side, the *kotas* were lost to the attackers' superior might.

On May 2, 1902, the siege of Kota Pandapatan commenced and lasted until the following day. Minimizing here the detail of the encounter ending with the fort's capitulation, we only have to quote the American newspaper report which considered the Battle of Bayang "the fiercest battle of the entire Philippine insurrection" (Le Roy, 1914) because of the heavy casualties on both sides. That the battle was really a bloody one is often confirmed by Maranao oldsters reminiscing about some of their fallen heroes including the brave sultan of Bayang and other fighting datos.

In order to maintain their victory, the American forces established near the premises of the ill-fated *kota* a garrison they called Camp Vicars, named after one of the fallen officers. In 1903-1904, Pershing was transferred from Iligan to command Camp Vicars. Although he was brought in to lead other incoming operations, he used more the diplomatic approach in Bayang by applying the native custom of adopting some Maranao as his brothers, sons, daughters, etc. who proved sincere to the adoptive relationship. He was also later given a datu's honorary title.

Despite his diplomacy, however, Pershing could hardly avoid the use of military operation. Due to the divisive character of the entire Maranao area, the control of one sub-community with its set of leaders does not mean the pacification of others. In Masiu, Taraka, Bacolod Grande, and other settlements, there were also proud and defiant *kotas* awaiting and inviting assaults. During that time, most nativistic Maranao, outwardly or inwardly, discriminated against both Spaniards and Americans whom they considered as *kafir* or "infi-

del," and whom they challenged for coming to their land. Such was the built-in attitude towards strangers created by their war experiences and the long period of isolation from other peoples.

Such unfriendly attitude was expressed to Pershing in a note sent him by a proud datu saying, "You get out of Ranao because you are not fit to live among civilized Moros since you are uncircumcised. If you don't come, we will come to fight you" (Le Roy, 1914).

In his seemingly pacific moment, Pershing was not perhaps irked by the personal insult, but he had a military mission. During the whole of 1903, he and his outfit attacked and captured the *kotas* at Masiu, Taraka, and Bacolod Grande, which suffered hundreds of casualties. The actions were so considered by the American press as a big "massacre" that Pershing was warned by the higher authority in Washington. He was later relieved from the Lanao campaign for the equally tough problems in Sulu. Whichever Muslim group fought him, that group came off as brave warriors, like the Indians who earlier fought him during the American expansion into the Wild West.

Before his transfer to the Sulu battle area, he made initial successes in the pacification of Lanao, which contributed to his abrupt and unprecedented promotion from a captain to a brigadier general. He succeeded Generals Leonard Wood and Tasker Bliss at Zamboanga as Military Governor of the Moro Province before the establishment in 1914 of the civil administration of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, when a relatively more peaceful condition obtained.

Though admiring their own local heroes, Maranao oldsters often recall Pershing as a great fighter, like a western movie frontiersman, but he was more popular for fraternizing with Moros than he did with brave Indians before he came to the Philippines. (Later, he fought the Mexican outlaw Pancho Villa before taking on the Germans in World War I.) He was sincere to his Maranao friends, giving them commendation papers and sending them personal letters and gifts when he returned to the United States. He died in 1948 as a retired General

of the Army. Many succeeding American and Filipino commanders emulated some of Pershing's tactful approaches to the so-called "Moro Problem" which still continued after him.

Between 1903 and 1916, Pershing and the succeeding campaigners (one of whom was Capt. Guy O. Fort) met the stiffest resistance from the warriors led by Datu Ampuanagos of Taraka. At first in 1903, Ga-os (short for his name and title which means "power") resisted Pershing's forces which killed about 200 Maranao inside their *kota*. Having survived the massacre, through a tactical surrender, Ga-os and remnants of his warriors later undertook guerrilla warfare, instead of a futile stand inside an antiquated fortification, so easily overwhelmed by superior enemy weapons.

Ga-os' hit-and-run band harassed American soldiers traveling overland on the Iligan-Dansalan road. In 1908, they attacked Dansalan (Marawi) and nearly overwhelmed the constabulary post. They also ambushed an infantry detachment and seriously wounded Lanao District Governor Allen Gard. In frustration, one general wrote that American parties could hardly cross the Keithley road "without getting shot up" by Moro ambushers (Silva, 1978: 18).

Ga-os and his fighters temporarily surrendered in 1909, but returned to the battlefield till mid-1916 when his forces disintegrated. But he did not surrender again. He died of old age while in hiding, causing no more trouble.

Later Resistance and Peace

Since Ga-os' time to the inception of the Commonwealth Government, there were other small resistance groups under separate leaders who either surrendered or died fighting inside *kotas*. Among the more resistant ones were the bands led by Sultan sa Buisan, Datu Pagompaten, and Imam Minirigi of Masiu; Datu Sarwang of Tugaya; Sultan sa Raya of Wato (Balindong), and the defenders of Kota Malawanag in Bayang. Two separate fighters in the open fields, Datu Dimakaling and Dikalingen, were long pursued by the Constabulary till the first was captured dead, while the other died unknown somewhere in hiding.

After 1937 to the Japanese invasion in 1941, a relatively more peaceful condition was attained in Lanao due to combined efforts, both "soft and hard," of the local civil and military governments headed by tactful Muslim and Christian Filipino leaders.

Before the Commonwealth, in about 1919-1920, there was a Filipino commander, Captain and concurrently Governor Paulino Santos, who is remembered by admiring Maranao for his efficiency in the pacification campaigns. Like Captain Pershing, Santos is said to have "smoked the peace pipe" (if he didn't chew betelnut) in dealing with the Moro problem which needed more the civic action approach. Also like Pershing, he adopted as his "friends, brothers, uncles, sons," etc. some sultans and datus who helped him solve some of the problems of peace and order. An Ilocano from Tarlac, he communicated fluently in Maranao. Later, he became the first Chief of Staff of the Commonwealth Army.

The achievement of peace in Lanao was not purely due to expensive military operations by the combined American and Christian Filipino campaigners. Three types of native agents which in Maranao were called *sondaro*, *palatiko*, and *amigos* (Saber, 1967) were employed to help in the campaign.

Sondaro were those recruited and trained as soldiers to fight their people; *palatiko* were the guides and spies; and *amigos* were honest and wise marginal agents of peace in the "policy of attraction" program. Given different government titles, among them were the late Amai Manabilang, Amai Korot, Datu Grande, Sultan Alauya Alonto, Datu Lawi Usngan, and most of the appointed headsmen, deputy governors, municipal district presidents, etc. They were usually issued commendation letters, medals and other forms of government award or recognition.

Versus the Samurai

An inquisitive Japanese high official during the occupation of Manila interviewed me at the National Library. He was checking his own information about the Moros whom he said were *juramentado* fighters, a stereotype

made up by the Spaniards, Americans and others. He was inquiring because of the frequent Japanese encounters with Maranao guerrilla bands, and especially because of the annihilation of an entire Japanese expeditionary group at Tamparan, Lanao, in 1943.

Modestly, I told the official that the Moros were not perhaps as brave and courageous as the feudal-day Samurai warriors. But the Lanao Moros had a psycho-cultural spirit called *maratabat*, an equivalent to the Spanish *amor propio* and the Japanese *Bushido* spirit, which drives them to stand fearlessly in battle or during any contest.

After the USAFFE surrender under General Guy O. Fort, the Maranao were among the first (1942) to organize the largest guerilla outfit against the Japanese. General MacArthur's headquarters in Australia recognized their achievements up to the end of World War II. The united resistance movement was led by Major Datu Busran Kalaw and other fightingest sultans and datus of the *pangampong*.

The same Japanese official who interviewed me intimated that the garrisons in Mindanao were given instructions to exercise "special treatment" of the Moros. But their collaboration with the enemy was minimal for they were not won over by Japan's propaganda of

establishing the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere among the wartime Asian countries. Up until the end of the war, the Maranao were anti-Japanese and remained instead pro-America, pro-Philippines, and pro-democracy diehards.

Conclusion

As long as their land was repeatedly invaded, the Maranao fought spiritedly due to their dual concepts of *jihad*, and *maratabat*. Often lacking adequate weapons or better military organization, their forces were defeated during big frontal battles. This observation is true as they were routed inside *kotas* in the big battles of Ramitan-Ilian, Marawi, Bayang, Taraka, and Bacolod Grande. But their military history shows also that they could prolong their native resistance through guerrilla warfare which occupation armies could hardly control. They also sued for peace through tactful negotiations between high government officials and the influential datus and sultans, especially those who were trusted as government agents.

Past events of war and peace as herein reviewed, are a lesson to resolve perhaps any present or future social cancer opposed to social unity that preserves Filipino lives, happiness and peace.

Notes

¹This event is well described by Fr. Marcelo Francisco Mastrilli, S.J., in his letter on the "Conquest of Mindanao," Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* 28 (1903-1909).

²Included in the sinking of the Spanish Navy by Commodore Dewey's fleet in the Battle of Manila Bay, May 1898.

³Antonio Alcala Lopez, son of a Spanish soldier who fought in Marawi, vividly described (in mixed facts and fiction) Blanco's operations of 1895 in his *Bajo El Cielo Filipino*, which work is now being translated into English for the University Research Center of MSU by Monsignor Benjamin, L. Etruiste of Quiapo Church on request of Prof. Alfredo Tiamson.

⁴Writer's well-remembered reading of newspaper account (1902) in the file of the National Library, Manila, where he was connected between 1939 and 1949.

⁵Later in World War II, General Fort was the commanding general of the USAFFE in Mindanao which surrendered to the Japanese. He was executed at Fort Santiago, Manila, along with others after a Japanese court martial. Unknowingly, the Maranao thought he was executed near Signal Hill at Camp Keithley where his skeletal remains were searched with no result.

G.Y. Coats, "Philippine Constabulary in Mindanao and Sulu, 1903-1917," *Bulletin of American Historical Collection* (1975), and Samuel K. Tan, *The Filipino Muslim Armed Struggle, 1900-1972*. Manila: Filipinas Foundation Inc., 1977, as cited by R.D. Silva, *Two Hills of the Same Land*. 1978.

⁶ Among them, locally called *kontra* (outlaws, by the government), were Sultan Pata and his brother Gomikas (Pindolon, Molundo) Datu Mandong (Lalabuan), and Datu Imam Pagayokan (Masiu, Tugaya).

⁷ Other *amigos* were Amai Binaning (Taraka), Sultan Macakalanggan Kapal (Maguing, Molundo), Datu Kapa, and Sultan Makapaar (Bayabao, Molundo), Sultan Bagolong and Datu Domato (Molundo), Sultan Mangking (Tamparan), and Amai Bangkorong (Wato).

⁸ Guerrilla personal papers or documents of Major Kalaw, who resides at Carmen, Cagayan de Oro City, are in the hands of this writer for safe keeping. Among the top guerrilla leaders were Majors Manalao Mindalano, Malamit Umpa, and Ananggo Baguinda-Ali.

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