Revolutionary Teachers: Colonial Schooling and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Philippines

By

Erin H. Cantos

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

William John Reese, Professor, Educational Policy Studies and History
Alfred McCoy, Professor, History
Adam Nelson, Professor, Educational Policy Studies and History
Walter Stern, Assistant Professor, Educational Policy Studies and History
John Rudolph, Professor, Curriculum and Instruction

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Abstract

Universal primary education and teacher professionalization were ubiquitous components of worldwide, nineteenth-century modernization. Convinced that it would promote social order, economic progress, and cultural stability, reformers used schools to cultivate national identity and political unity. But, in the case of the Spanish Philippines, the processes of colonial modernization gave rise to internal conflicts for indigenous teachers that eventually produced new forms of anti-colonial resistance. My dissertation on teachers, colonial schooling, and the Philippine Revolution of 1896 asks three questions: *How did the processes of colonial modernization, and specifically colonial schooling, create the conditions for anti-colonial resistance? How did colonial schooling produce a new political consciousness among teachers? How did colonial schooling lead to revolution?* Grounded in the promise of "enlightened" modernization—but operating within a colonial context of xenophobia and repression—schools soon became a source, and a site, of nascent nationalism and independent political identity formation. Once willing participants in colonial modernization and representatives of successful Hispanization, indigenous teachers would use their educations and professional and personal experiences to participate in the political evolution of an independent Philippine republic and its people by century's end. To understand how teachers got involved in cultural and political rebellion is to understand the ultimately "incomplete" Philippine Revolution of 1896, but it is also much more. It is a way to understand the "incomplete revolution" of universal education *itself* as a worldwide modernization project in the nineteenth century.


PHILIPPINES
Physical Map
120°E
125°E
20°N
15°N
10°N
5°N
BASHI CHANNEL
Itbayat I.
Batanes Islands
Batan I.
BALINTANG CHANNEL
LUZON STRAIT
Babuyan I.
Calayan I.
Babuyan Islands
Dalupiri I.
Camiguin I.
Fuga I.
BABUYAN CHANNEL
LAOAG
VIGAN
TUGUEGARAO
VALLEY COVE
Cagayan
CORDILLERA CENTRAL
SIERRA MADRE
MT. PULOG 2842
BAGUIO
Luzon
BALER BAY
LINGAYEN GULF
ZAMBALES MTS
Agno
Pampanga
Polillo Islands
Polillo I.
MT. PINATUBO 1660
Patnanongan I.
Jomalig I.
SUBIC BAY
BATAAN PENINSULA
MANILA
LAMON BAY
MANILA BAY
LAGUNA DE BAY
Alabat I.
SAN MIGUEL BAY
TAAL VOL. 100
MT. BANAHAW 2177
Lubang I.
BICOL PENINSULA
Catanduanes
MAYON VOL. 2421
LAGONOY GULF
MT. HALCON 2585
Marinduque
LEGAZPI
Burias I.
Mindoro
SIBUYAN SEA
SAN BERNARDINO STRAIT
MINDORO STRAIT
Sibuyan I.
Ticao I.
Busuanga I.
Tablas I.
Calamian Group
Semirara Islands
Masbate
Samar
Culion I.
Coron I.
Linapacan I.
VISAYAN SEA
Biliran I.
CUYO WEST PASS
CUYO EAST PASS
Panay
Bantayan I.
TACLOBAN
Leyte
Cuyo Islands
ILOILO
BACOLOD
Camotes Islands
LEYTE GULF
Homonhon I.
Spratly Islands
(claimed by the Philippines)
IMURUAN BAY
Guimaras I.
Cebu
Dumaran I.
CANLAON VOL. 2450
CEBU
Dinagat I.
PANAY GULF
PUERTO PRINCESA
HONDA BAY
Panaon I.
Bohol
Siargao I.
Bucas Grande I.
Negros
Palawan
Cagayan I.
DUMAGUETE
BOHOL SEA
Camiguin I.
Siquijor I.
SULU SEA
ILIGAN BAY
CAGAYAN DE ORO
LIANGA BAY
Agusan
SINDANGAN BAY
ILIGAN
Bugsuk I.
Balabac I.
ZAMBOANGA PENINSULA
MT. RAGANG 2815
CATEEL BAY
BALABAC STRAIT
ILLANA BAY
Mindanao
DAVAO
Samal I.
Cagayan de Tawi-Tawi
Pilas Group
ZAMBOANGA
MT. APO 2954
MAYO BAY
Pangutaran Group
MORO GULF
Basilan I.
Turtle Islands
Samales Group
GEN. SANTOS
DAVAO GULF
Sulu Archipelago
Jolo I.
SARANGANI BAY
MALAYSIA
Tapul Group
Sarangani Islands
Tawi-Tawi I.
Sibutu Group
CELEBES SEA
0 100 200 300 500 1000 2000 3000
0 50 100 150 200 250 mi
0 100 200 300 400 km


Philippines
0 50 100 150 Kilometers
0 50 100 150 Miles
Luzon Strait
Philippine Sea
South China Sea
Sulu Sea
Celebes Sea
BATAN ISLANDS
BABUYAN ISLANDS
Cordillera Administrative Region (or CAR)
Ilocos
Cagayan Valley
Central Luzon
National Capital Region (or NCR)
CALABARZON
Bicol
Western Visayas
Central Visayas
Eastern Visayas
Northern Mindanao
Caraga
Zamboanga Peninsula
Davao Region
SOCCSKSARGEN
Muslim Mindanao (or ARMM)
MIMAROPA
ILOCOS NORTE
ILOCOS SUR
LA UNION
APAYAO
CAGAYAN
ABRA
KALINGA
MT. PROVINCE
IFUGAO
ISABELA
Tuguegarao
Vigan
Ilagan
San Fernando
BENGUET
NUEVA VIZCAYA
QUIRINO
PANGASINAN
NUEVA ECIJA
TARLAC
ZAMBALES
AURORA
Baler
PAMPANGA
BULACAN
BATAAN
Manila
RIZAL
Polillo
CAVITE
LAGUNA
BATANGAS
QUEZON
CAMARINES NORTE
CAMARINES SUR
CATANDUANES
Virac
MARINDUQUE
Mamburao
OCCIDENTAL MINDORO
ORIENTAL MINDORO
ALBAY
SORSOGON
NORTHERN SAMAR
ROMBLON
Masbate
MASBATE
SAMAR
EASTERN SAMAR
BILIRAN
AKLAN
CAPIZ
ANTIQUE
ILOILO
San Jose
Bago
Tacloban
LEYTE
GUIMARAS
CEBU
SOUTHERN LEYTE
SURIGAO DEL NORTE
NEGROS OCCIDENTAL
BOHOL
Surigao
NEGROS ORIENTAL
SIQUIJOR
CAMIGUIN
AGUSAN DEL NORTE
MISAMIS ORIENTAL
MISAMIS OCCIDENTAL
Prosperidad
SURIGAO DEL SUR
ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE
LANAO DEL NORTE
AGUSAN DEL SUR
BUKIDNON
LANAO DEL SUR
DAVAO
ZAMBOANGA SIBUGAY
COMPOSTELA VALLEY
Cotabato
SHARIFF KABUNSUAN
COTABATO
ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR
Zambaonga
MAGUINDANAO
Davao
Digos
DAVAO ORIENTAL
BASILAN
SULTAN KUDARAT
SOUTH COTABATO
Jolo
SULU
SARANGANI
DAVAO DEL SUR
TAWI-TAWI
PALAWAN
Puerto Princesa
Kota Belud
Sandakan
Bandar Seri Begawan
BRUNEI
Bangar
MALAYSIA
INDONESIA
PAMPANGA
San Fernando
BULACAN
Malalos
Balanga
Manila
NCR
RIZAL
BATAAN
Trece Martires
Santa Cruz
CAVITE
LAGUNA
QUEZON
BATANGAS
Batangas
0 30 Kilometers
0 30 Miles

Introduction

If we allow the indios *to learn Castilian, some of them may turn out to be satirists and scholars who will understand what we say, dispute with us and write things against us.*[1]
"El indio agraviado," 1821 (pamphlet published in Manila)

Spain arrived relatively late to the European Enlightenment. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual and philosophical movement emphasized the scientific method, reason, and human progress. It also encouraged the separation of church and state and the replacement of traditional authority with secular, centralized rule. Enlightenment views on religion initially kept conservative, Catholic Spain from fully embracing the movement.[2]

The dawn of the nineteenth century found Spain at a political and socioeconomic crossroads. Once a formidable global power, it was now financially insolvent, mired by domestic turmoil and corruption, and militarily impotent. Historian Alfred McCoy once wrote that the fate of European empires was broadly dependent on two interconnected forces: economic strength and military capacity. At the turn of the century, Spain lacked both.[3]

Spain was on the verge of losing its vast overseas empire. Enter the Enlightenment. Centralization, administrative rationalization, and economic reform were soon embraced by a Bourbon court desperate for a lifeline. While it would prove too late to retain control over its American possessions, the Philippines, Spain's easternmost outpost, might yet be transformed into a profitable, Hispanized, and "modern" colony.[4]

Political and socioeconomic transformation was at the heart of Spain's nineteenth-century colonial modernization mission in the Philippines. Administrative and economic reforms, however, could not effectively take place without a corresponding transformation of the colony's human resources. During the long nineteenth century, reformers were convinced that universal primary education would promote social order, economic progress, and cultural stability. In

order words, universal education featuring a standard, sequenced curriculum and under the leadership of trained teachers, could affect the individual transformations needed for enlightened modernization.[5]

Enlightened modernization and colonization were strange bedfellows. It was doubtful enlightened reformers thought of the colonial context when recommending schools as sites to cultivate national identity, duties of citizenship, linguistic unity, and the basic skills to operate in the new, modern world. Besides administrative rationalization, economic reform, the scientific method, and human progress, the Enlightenment embodied liberty, the pursuit of happiness, inalienable rights based on human dignity, and constitutional government. Could a nation apply enlightened administrative, economic, and educational reforms piecemeal and unevenly and still expect successful colonial modernization and a content—or at the very least, complacent—indigenous populace?

This dissertation traces the centerpieces of colonial modernization in the Philippines: universal primary education and teacher professionalization. Expanded educational and professional opportunities accompanied colonial modernization. So too did xenophobia, discrimination, repression, and the denial of civil liberties. As the nineteenth century wore on, indigenous teachers were increasingly viewed with suspicion by Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials despite the fact they were essential for the processes of colonial modernization. Enlightened modernization and colonization were strange bedfellows, indeed.

Colonial modernization required universal primary education. Universal primary education required trained indigenous teachers. Thus, the success of colonial modernization in the Philippines hinged on the continued willingness of teachers to act as agents of Spanish

acculturation. But could the processes of enlightened modernization, and especially universal primary education, backfire in a colonial context? And could the experiences of teachers in the field sow the seeds of anti-colonial resistance instead of the gospel of Hispanization?

This dissertation takes a holistic approach to identify the myriad forces that contributed to the radicalization of Filipino teachers. Colonial policies set the agenda for the processes of modernization and betray civil officials' expectations of universal education, normal schools, and teachers. Government reports and statistics reveal school growth and the effectiveness of school legislation, including teacher-preparation and compulsory-attendance policies. Beyond colonial policies was the implementation of these policies and how teachers tempered their expectations when met with the harsh realities of the field. The ways in which teachers interacted with their communities, supervisors, and each other, disclosed in school inspector reports, disciplinary cases, and resignation records, contributed to their growth as much as the rhetoric of "enlightened" colonial policies. So, too, did their educational experiences inside normal schools. Indeed, identity formation and the quest to shape one's own destiny would start in the schools.

While teachers were involved in a particular process of modernization, universal primary education, their lives were equally impacted by the economic policies that transformed the landscape from subsistence to cash crop agriculture and exacerbated social stratification. Rising literacy rates, proficiency in Castilian, and the availability of written works from enlightened authors in Europe and the Americas had an outsized impact on the ways in which teachers viewed themselves within the broader modern colonial infrastructure. How did Spaniards and outside observers write about the processes of colonial modernization and the role of Filipinos in a Hispanized Philippines? How did Filipinos write about themselves and their own aspirations? Personal accounts and correspondence, travelogues, propaganda, literature, and socioeconomic

conditions supplement an otherwise staid, "official" narrative of universal primary education in the archipelago.

To understand how Spain, and by association the Philippines, arrived on the path of colonial modernization at the turn of the nineteenth century, one must go back to the nation's imperial heyday. Chapter One traces Spain's *conquista espiritual* [spiritual conquest] of the archipelago, which began in 1565. Missionaries' abilities to successfully convert the populace, often in catechism schools, was hampered by the unique geographic context of the islands, a negligible Spanish presence, as well as domestic instability and turmoil. Economic desperation, the loss of its American colonies, and the growing popularity of Enlightenment ideals later led Spanish civil officials to consider administrative, economic, and educational reforms in the Philippines as a means to support the struggling mother country beginning in the late eighteenth century. Successful implementation of any early reforms, however, would remain elusive.

Nineteenth-century economic transformations in the archipelago put the necessity for universal primary education in stark relief. Chapter Two follows the heated debates over colonial universal primary education among Spanish civil and ecclesiastic figures. A modernizing colony warranted an educated indigenous populace to fill the new administrative positions required in an increasingly bureaucratic, rational, centralized state. Yet many feared that "too much" education, and especially Castilian language proficiency, would lead to discontent among the indigenous populace. In the end, a groundbreaking 1863 educational decree mandated universal primary education with a standard curriculum in Castilian and a normal school to train indigenous teachers. Ideally, a carefully controlled and supervised colonial education system could promote cultural stability (Hispanization) and loyalty to Spain and to the Catholic Church without

undermining Spanish hegemony. However, the 1863 decree did little to alleviate fears of Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials who continued to associate education with political action.

Successful implementation of universal primary education in the Philippines hinged on an indigenous teaching force. Only a uniform, sequenced curriculum delivered by trained, professional teachers could meet Spain's goals for colonial modernization: Christianization, Hispanization, and administrative rationalization. Chapter Three explores the creation of the colony's first normal school. In the establishment and curriculum of the normal school, the Philippines mirrored the worldwide nineteenth-century trend of teacher professionalization. The normal school was an instant hit among youth who sought entrance into a nascent, native middle class. The first normal school was soon joined by normal courses at established secondary schools for both sexes. While the instructors aimed to keep their students insulated from the political and social events happening around them, cloistered secondary and tertiary institutions in Manila provided like-minded individuals, and increasingly indigenous and *mestizo* youth, a built-in community in which to share and develop ideas, especially about their roles within the machinations of colonial modernization.

The success of colonial modernization in the Philippines depended on the continued willingness of teachers to be agents of acculturation. Chapter Four recounts the experiences of indigenous and *mestizo* teachers in the field and considers how those experiences might sow the seeds of anti-colonial resistance among this growing class of professionals. The transition from cosmopolitan Manila educational institutions to the outside world of economic oppression and discrimination under the guise of "enlightened" modernization was eye-opening for many teachers. Spanish fears about educated Filipinos appeared more regularly in racist literature that was widely available to (and read by) the increasingly literate indigenous populace. Years spent

in insulated, focused study might prepare teachers for the intellectual labor of their profession under ideal conditions. However, the majority of teachers were headed for posts and conditions beyond the realm of ideal. Professional and personal experiences in the field would become a source of radicalization for scores of teachers.

A convergence of grievances across social classes would lead to the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the first nationalist revolution in Southeast Asia. Chapter Five shows that for teachers, place and experience would ultimately determine how and if they might participate in revolution and *which* revolution. For there were two simultaneous revolutions at the end of the nineteenth century: an external revolution, which was a fight for political independence, and an internal revolution, which was the individual transformation necessary to wisely exercise one's freedoms. The external revolution was fought on the battlefield, while the internal revolution took place in the classrooms of the universal primary education system first established in service of colonial modernization. Teachers would participate in both forms of revolution, but their involvement in the internal revolution, grounded in the development of political unity and national identity, would have lasting effects for the future of the republic and, like the external struggle, would remain an "unfinished" revolution by 1898.

Universal primary education and teacher professionalization were ubiquitous components of worldwide, nineteenth-century modernization. In the case of the Spanish Philippines, the processes of colonial modernization gave rise to internal conflicts for teachers that eventually produced new forms of anti-colonial resistance. Grounded in the promise of "enlightened" modernization—but in reality, operating within a colonial context of xenophobia and repression—schools soon became a source, and a site, of nascent nationalism and independent

political identity formation. Once willing participants in colonial modernization and representatives of successful Hispanization, teachers would use their educations and professional and personal experiences to participate in the political evolution of an independent Philippine republic and its people by century's end.

[1] "El indio agraviado" (Manila: Imprenta de Sampaloc, 1821). See also, W. E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas,* vol. 2 (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906), 510.

[2] Ritchie Robertson, *The Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness, 1680–1790* (New York: HarperCollins, 2021); Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). On the Spanish Enlightenment, see Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Allen J. Kuethe and G. Douglas Inglis, "Absolutism and Enlightened Reform: Charles III, the Establishment of the Alcabala, and Commercial Reorganization in Cuba," *Past & Present* 109 (1985), 118–43.

[3] Alfred W. McCoy, "Fatal Florescence: Europe's Decolonization and America's Decline," in eds. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson, *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, and America's Decline* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2012), 7. See also, William S. Maltby, *The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[4] William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 232–35; María Dolores Elizalde, "Imperial Transition in the Philippines: The Making of a Colonial Discourse about Spanish Rule," 149, and Josep M. Delgado Ribas, "Eclipse and Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1650–1898," 45, both in eds. McCoy, Fradera, and Jacobson, *Endless Empire*; Alejandra Irigoin and Regina Grafe, "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire Building," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88:2 (2008), 173–209.

[5] Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, eds., *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization, *Sociology of Education* 60 (1987), 2–17; Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789: A Social and Political History of Modern Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1922); Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Vintage, 1961).

Chapter One: The Spanish Philippines, Education, and the Enlightenment (1565–1815)

Education is the only thing that influences us, giving us clear or twisted ideas of things.[1]
Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, 1789 (Spanish economic minister under Charles III)

The lucrative spice trade drew Spain to the waters of Southeast Asia. The prospect of *conquista espiritual* [spiritual conquest] kept it there. When Miguel López de Legazpi landed in Cebu in 1565, Spain was one of the most powerful nations in the world with a vast, resource-rich empire spanning much of the Americas. Spain would eventually lose out on a spice trade monopoly to the Dutch. Nonetheless, the region was rife with opportunity, especially for a Catholic nation on a divine mission to unite the world under the one true religion.

Philip II (1556–1598), for whom the Philippines would be named, once remarked that he would rather not rule than have to rule over heretics. While the Philippines did not become Spain's foothold in the spice trade, it did become a base for the nation's missionary ambitions in the region, including China. Meanwhile, the establishment of a galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco brought American silver to the Asian market, simultaneously boosting Spain's global stature and enriching Spanish-American merchants.[2]

Spain's more than 300-year entanglement with the Philippine archipelago was perhaps the unintended byproduct of a failed attempt to control the spice trade. The Philippines would never be a profitable colony for Spain. It was a political and financial liability; administration of the islands cost the crown money and personnel it increasingly did not have. Missionary work—aided in large part by education—was likely what kept Spain in the region.[3]

Education, grounded in religion and taught in Castilian, served the dual purpose of Christianization and pacification. Or so said the official *conquista espiritual* narrative. In reality,

Christianization and pacification started with a forceful, prolonged process called *reducción* [resettlement]. In the mid-sixteenth century, there were approximately 750,000 indigenous inhabitants living in small, independent settlements, or *barangays,* scattered across the 7,000-island archipelago. Around the same time, there were less than 30 Spanish missionaries. The number of missionaries grew to 270 by the end of the sixteenth century.[4]

Conversion efforts would be more efficient by compelling indigenous inhabitants into centralized towns, ideally organized around a stone church with a resident missionary. Missionaries faced a serious problem: how to convince members of dispersed, clan-based *barangays* reliant on shifting agriculture to settle in permanent communities. The missionaries brought a new religion, a new way of life, and a new conception of community. For many, all of the missionaries' newness was too much to take; *reducción* was not always successful and could involve violence, especially in the south where Islam retained its firm hold.[5]

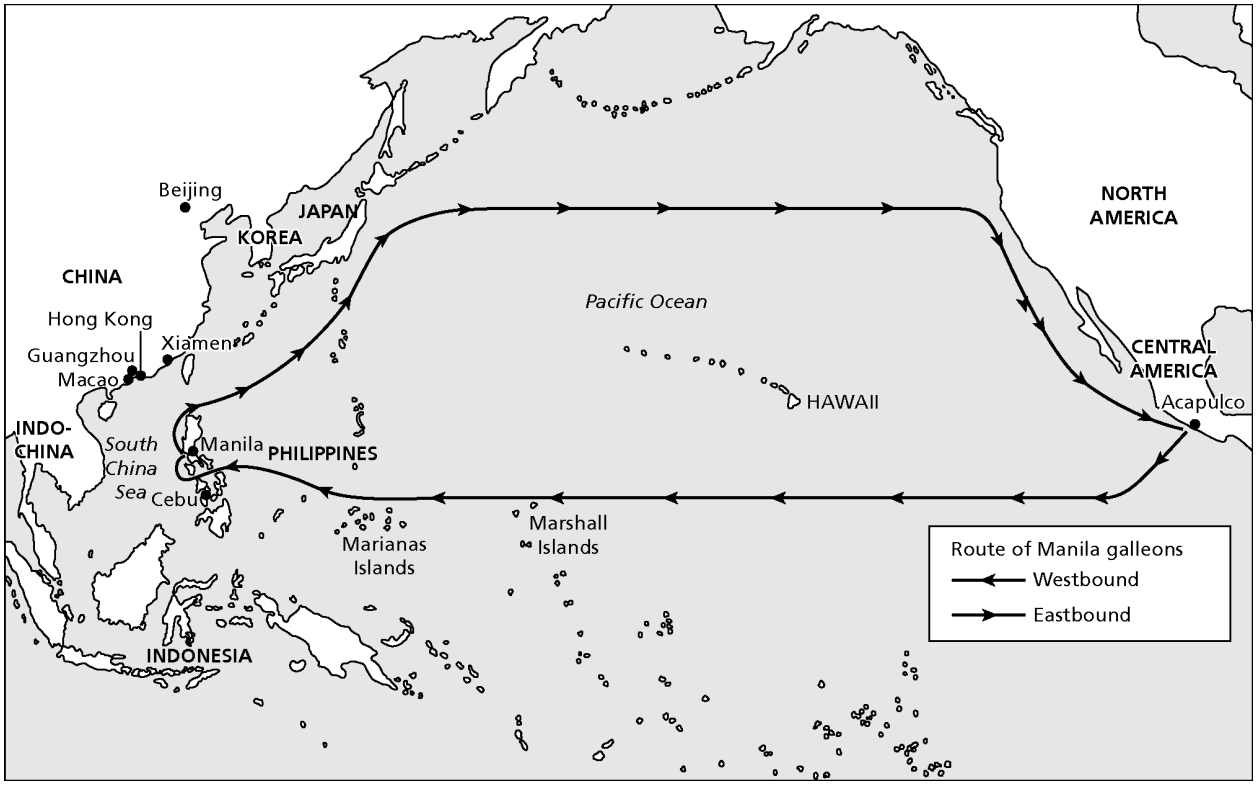
A Dominican missionary recounted a seventeenth-century attempt at *reducción* that quickly turned from resistant to deadly. The Dominicans had difficulty getting the mountain inhabitants of Zambales, in central Luzon, to agree to resettlement in the lowlands. Therefore, the governor-general issued an edict ordering the indigenous population to come down from the mountains or incur "severe penalties." About 500 inhabitants descended the mountains and encountered a handful of missionaries, a military commander, and 22 soldiers. The leader of the group, a man called Quiravat, announced, "Let him who wishes to go down to settle do so and be welcome, but as for me, I am going to live with my people where I choose." Upon hearing this declaration, the Spanish commander ordered Quiravat manacled; the latter's companions responded with a hail of arrows. "Thereupon the commander ordered Quiravat to be beheaded,

and the other *indios* retired with the death of twelve of their companions, but without having done any harm to the Spaniards."[6]

New *poblaciónes* [towns] were strategically located near rivers and coasts, which missionaries believed were easier to administer. Some indigenous inhabitants, like the ill-fated Quiravat, refused to leave the mountains; others, called *remontados*, fled back to the mountains to avoid resettlement, learning that scant Spanish ecclesiastic and civil personnel and challenging terrain meant little chance of being followed. Indeed, across much of the archipelago during the Spanish colonial regime, the parish priest was the only Spaniard a local might ever encounter.[7]

The first century of Spanish occupation was marked by Church dominance and secular state dependence. Historians Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso found the seventeenth-century secular state was "weak in personnel, its power did not flow evenly through the territory it claimed, and it remained extremely dependent upon [missionaries] for its most basic functions." Spaniards did not rush to join the civil administration in the Philippines. The crown could not even convince pardoned criminals in New Spain to take up residence in the distant colonial outpost. Indeed, the Philippines was administered and financially supported by Mexico, linked by the galleon trade, due to its distance from the metropole and lack of civil personnel. It did not take long for two distinct spheres to develop in the archipelago: Manila, the Hispanized center of commerce and colonial administration; and the linguistically and culturally disparate countryside, with the sole parish priest. Manila, therefore, was wholly reliant on the Church to extend its power and influence into the periphery.[8]

The Acapulco–Manila Galleon Trade (1565–1815)[9]



The Acapulco–Manila galleon was an essential commercial and administrative link between Mexico and the most distant Spanish colonial outpost. The ships brought a rotating cast of Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials to the archipelago as well as the latest news and edicts from Mexico and the metropole. American silver also arrived on the galleons to boost the Philippine economy. On the return voyage to Acapulco, galleons were laden with porcelain, spices, silk, and other luxury trade goods, which were sold at substantial mark-ups in Spanish American colonies.

Spanish missionaries were the most visible (and numerous) representatives of the colonial administration and therefore wielded the most power. While Spanish monarchs, beginning with Philip II, regularly issued *cedulas* [decrees] concerning the purpose, content, and linguistic medium of education in the archipelago, missionaries just as regularly ignored the decrees. The latter preferred to decide for themselves how best to Christianize—and educate—the indigenous population. Therefore, each religious order operating in the islands conducted its own unregulated system of catechism schools with little interference from the metropole.[10]

For the overextended and outnumbered missionaries, conversion efforts would be aided not only by corralling indigenous inhabitants into centralized towns, but also by learning the

local languages.[11] Back in the metropole, monarchs who would never set foot in their furthest overseas possession made clear their desire for conversion efforts to take place in Castilian. Meanwhile, missionaries on the ground knew it was quicker for them to learn the local language and then begin their task of Christianization in earnest.[12]

An education for Christianization began in the newly constructed churches, with daily Mass serving as students' first lessons in the catechism. The education inhabitants received during this time period comprised of reading and Christian doctrine. In some cases, writing and arithmetic were also taught, but the extent of instruction depended upon the inclination and ability of the parish priest.[13]

A contingent of Augustinians accompanied Legazpi in 1565 and established some of the first catechism schools in the archipelago. Gaspar de San Agustín, OSA, wrote in 1566 of the order's work in Cebu: "Our religious placed all their efforts and care in having the natives bring their children to the Church [and] our religious achieved the objective they had, which was the teaching of doctrine to the children." Francisco Váez, SJ, gave a similarly idyllic review of the Jesuit order's educational work in Cebu, reporting in 1599: "We have a boys' school where they learn to read drinking the milk of virtue [catechism] in their tender years."[14]

Wherever they erected a permanent residence within their assigned mission territory, the Jesuits established an elementary school for indigenous youth. The Jesuit schools were soon a step up from average catechism schools. Renowned generally for their commitment to education, Jesuits taught Christian doctrine, the 3 Rs, and music in their schools. Alonso de Humanes, SJ, reported from the Jesuit mission site of Dulag, Leyte, in 1598, that approximately 60 boys from the surrounding area—mostly children of traditional leaders and village elders—attended the mission school and pursued their studies enthusiastically. Indeed, these youth would eventually

help in conversion efforts since they would return to their homes to succeed their relatives as the next generation of local leaders.[15]

The Jesuit Annual Letter (report) from the Philippine Province for 1595–96 was unequivocal in the order's position on the relationship between indigenous education and conversion efforts: "We hope that [schools] will be a source of great fruit in His service. For if these boys are brought up in the fear of God and taught good behavior, as the Society does in its schools, it is likely gathering water at its source before it takes on the taste of idolatry." The report added that "the hearts of so many pagans, their parents and relatives, are cleansed, watered, and fertilized for the Gospel." The schools could also train indigenous officials and thus strengthen colonial authority outside Manila.[16]

Indeed, one Jesuit, Pedro Chirino, SJ, marveled at the intellectual aptitude of indigenous youth when afforded the opportunity to learn. Writing in 1604, he noticed that "they have learned our language and its pronunciation and write it even better than we do, for they are so clever that they learn anything with the greatest ease. I have had letters written by themselves in very handsome and fluent style." One precocious pupil stood out. "In Tigbauan [Panay] I had in my school a very young boy, who, using as a model letters written to me in a very good handwriting, learned in three months to write even better than I; and he copied for me important documents faithfully, exactly, and without errors."[17]

In 1611, Alonso Fernandez, OP, reported on the ease with which indigenous youth learned choral and instrumental music. In addition to teaching youth how to read and write, he witnessed Dominican missionaries instructing them how to "sing with organ accompaniment" and "play the organ, flageolets, flutes, and other instruments" in service of the Church. Fernandez continued, "with these facilities, [students] have acquired great skill, especially those

who live near Manila, who have among them very good choir singers. They grace and solemnize the fiestas of the Blessed Sacrament and of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, and other fiestas throughout the year."[18]

While missionaries had not yet determined how to uniformly educate the indigenous youth of the archipelago—especially in the countryside—during the first 100 years of occupation, it did not mean these questions were far from their minds. There were missionaries wholly uninterested in protecting the rights of indigenous peoples and erred on the side of economic exploitation, often on religious-owned *haciendas.* But there were also missionaries who actively sought to protect and educate the indigenous peoples; however, due to a chronic paucity of trained personnel and government financial support, compounded by the archipelago's geographic and demographic constraints, it was a task soon found to be easier said than done.

The first provincial chapter meeting of the Franciscans, held in Manila in 1580, passed a resolution regarding catechism schools. Franciscans "should establish primary schools where the inhabitants of the country may be taught not only Christian doctrine and how to read and write, but also some skills useful to them as citizens." The Augustinians approved a decree at its tenth provincial chapter meeting in 1596 requiring its members "to teach the schoolboys how to speak as well as how to read and write Castilian." However, perhaps the most significant indicator of growing concern among the religious community for the education of indigenous youth came during the first Manila Synod in 1582.[19]

A central point of discussion in the first Manila Synod, held by the first Bishop of Manila, Domingo Salazar, OP, was missionaries' efforts at education. Prelates of all the religious orders operating in the archipelago attended the 1582 assembly. One participant, Juan de

Plasencia, OFM, proposed teaching indigenous youth not only Christian doctrine, reading, and writing but also some occupations and trades. This would create good Christians *and* useful colonial citizens. Given the dearth of qualified instructors and the multiplicity of responsibilities of the missionaries, Plasencia also advocated implementing a monitorial system in schools in which more advanced students helped instruct younger and/or less advanced students.[20]

At the conclusion of the synod, Bishop Salazar, as head of the Catholic Church in the Philippines and therefore the one most responsible for educational efforts, issued the following instructions for all pacified territories, provinces, towns, and districts in the archipelago.

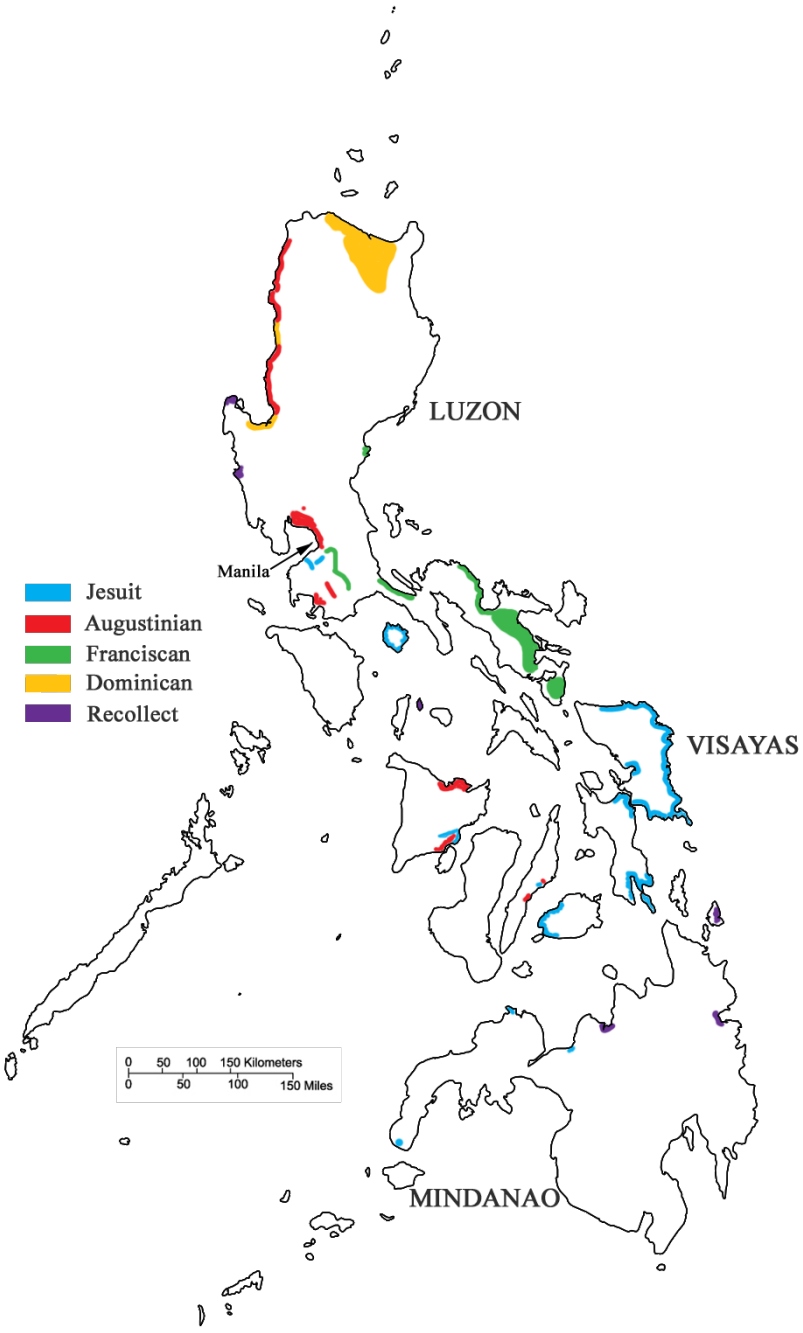
1. Every town, district, and barrio shall have two primary schools, one each for boys and girls
2. All children, whether of the wealthy or of the laboring class, must attend these schools and parents must assist in this work
3. For the better fulfillment of obligatory attendance at school a record of all pupils who should attend shall be made and a copy of such shall be read in the school and the names of those absent will be recorded as a basis of future censure
4. In addition to the curate or parish priest, lay instructors or teachers shall be chosen from among the most learned inhabitants of the town or district
5. The teacher's salary shall be paid by the parents of the children attending the school; but if this is impossible, the missionary, as a kind of alms, shall provide the means for paying the teachers [Very poor families were exempt from paying school fees.]
6. What is said of the salaries of the teachers shall be extended to the procurement of school equipment
7. In these schools, at least the catechism, reading, and writing in the dialect, music, and the rudiments of arithmetic, shall be taught
8. Trades and industries, as far as facilities permit, must also be taught to the pupils

Salazar's recommendations, albeit promising on paper, were naïve. Implementation of his instructions, as well as later educational plans, was very difficult. Salazar's synod was the start of a long line of idealistic—yet impractical—decrees, proposals, and orders aimed at providing a basic Christian education for the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines.[21]

The sparse archival record inhibits the ability to ascertain the exact number and location of early catechism schools. Countless town records were lost to natural and manmade disasters

over the centuries. Nonetheless, if a town or district had a church, it likely had some form of catechism or primary school attached to it where children learned Christian doctrine from a parish priest.[22]

General location of religious missions and likely primary schools, 1565–1700[23]



Religious missions were located along the coast and major waterways, in line with the philosophy of *reducción.* Every order operated in the center of colonial administration, Manila.

The closer to the administrative center of Manila or large *población,* the more a school might resemble a formal primary school that offered the four Rs (religion, reading, (w)riting, and (a)rithmetic) versus an informal, doctrine-heavy catechism school more common in the countryside. Indeed, in a 1689 letter to a companion, Miguel de Pareja, SJ, emphasized that proximity made all the difference in effectively teaching—and learning—Castilian. "I think it will be a very difficult proposition to teach Castilian to the children, because it is a rare schoolmaster who can teach in our language, no matter how capable he is in other respects. In [Manila], because of the presence of Spaniards with whom [youth] are in daily contact, many are able to speak a kind of rough Castilian." Pareja hit the crux of the problem when he wrote, "Only continued social intercourse between natives and Spaniards" could ensure the acquisition of Castilian. Outside of Manila and the larger *poblaciónes,* youth rarely had regular or extensive contact with a Spaniard.[24]

As the administrative center of the colony, Manila had the most comprehensive educational options, from primary school up to university.[25] Technically, *colegios* preceded universities in the islands. The oldest universities began as secondary schools, which prepared pupils for higher education and ecclesiastic or civil careers. In a 1622 letter to Philip IV of Spain, Archbishop Miguel García Serrano described the archipelago's first two *colegios* (the Jesuit *Colegio de Manila* and the Dominican *Colegio de Santo Tomás*): "These two colleges are a source of great prestige for [Manila], and the sons of the inhabitants of these islands are being educated in them in culture, virtue, and letters." Through the eighteenth century, *colegios* and universities were typically reserved for children of *peninsulares* [Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula], and, increasingly over time, *mestizo* youth. And most *colegios* had an adjacent primary school.[26]

While youth in the countryside might have access to a basic education in Christian doctrine and reading, Spanish and *mestizo* youth in and near Manila could attend a *colegio*-affiliated *escuela de niños* [primary school] to prepare boys for entrance into the secondary school. When the Jesuits opened the *Colegio de Manila* in 1595, it offered a five-year grammar program of language and literature (Latin, Greek, and Castilian), which required a prerequisite of two years of primary school. At the primary school, boys had structured days and lessons with instructors whose sole purpose was to teach in the school. This was a stark contrast to a country parish priest, who had to juggle multiple community roles in addition to schoolteacher.[27]

An eighteenth-century manuscript detailed a day at a typical *escuela de niños;* it was likely little had changed from the previous century. Students occupied the same classroom but were grouped by reading and writing ability, from boys just learning to read to those who "write large" to those who could form medium-sized letters to those who could write in small cursive script. A fifth group comprised boys learning sums. The school day started at 6:30AM and included Mass, recitations, writing exercises, and teacher corrections. Lunch and siesta occurred from 11:00AM to 2:00PM. After lunch, there were prayers followed by more recitations, writing exercises, and corrections. The order of recitations, writing exercises, and corrections were determined by the ability grouping of the student; for example, those who "write small" needed more time to complete their writing exercises before submitting to the teacher for corrections. The school day ended at 5:00PM with the rosary.[28]

Spanish and *mestiza* girls were also more likely to have some exposure to formal education if they lived in or near Manila. *Beaterios* were special houses that took care of orphans and young women who wanted to live in seclusion. Archbishop Serrano believed these institutions necessary "in order to maintain in [them] poor girls, both Spanish and *mestizas,* who

being reared there in retirement and under good instruction might leave it virtuous women and as such be sought as wives." Instruction in *beaterios* was practical, preparing girls for religious life or motherhood, and included Christian doctrine, morals, basic reading and writing, and home crafts. In other words, girls were instructed in the obligations of ideal, Hispanized womanhood.[29]

The nature and quality of early primary schools depended upon a variety of factors. In the countryside, the ability and inclination of the parish priest was crucial. Missionaries were not only charged with conversion efforts but also with day-to-day administration of the town or towns under their purview. Across the archipelago, missionaries were the most visible representatives of the colonial administration; often, they were the *only* representatives of the colonial administration that indigenous peoples ever encountered. Pedro Murillo Velarde, SJ, best described the scope of a parish priest's duties in the late seventeenth century: "In the administration of a parish there are hardships because of the large number of villages, because of the way these people are scattered, so that at times they are three and four leagues from the church. The roads are bad, the sun is hot, the rainfalls are heavy, with a thousand other inclemencies and inconveniences which have crippled many and taken away the lives of others. The variety of offices which the minister has to exercise is so great that he has to be preacher, teacher, confessor, mediator and arbiter of their quarrels, doctor and pharmacist to cure them in their infirmities, schoolmaster, master of music, architect, builder, and everything for every occasion. For if the minister does not take care of everything, soon everything will be lost."[30]

During the seventeenth century, given the context and demands of the environment, the disorganized and unregulated collection of catechism schools in the archipelago did not much differ from educational options found in the towns and rural hamlets of Europe and the Americas.[31] When it came to primary education, location and background mattered: children of

peninsulares and *mestizo* youth living in or near Manila had more choices and opportunities compared to indigenous youth in the countryside. Nonetheless, all religious orders operating in the archipelago had the same basic goals for these early primary schools: to instruct youth to become good Christians and law-abiding subjects of Spain. A basic education in the four Rs would prepare members of the peninsular, mestizo, and indigenous population for their respective positions in the global Spanish social hierarchy.[32]

Events half a world away during the eighteenth century would mark a concerted effort to challenge the Church–State relationship and educational status quo in the Philippines. The death of Charles II in November 1700 led to a crisis of Spanish succession. For he died without an heir. In his will, Charles named Philip of Anjou, a grandson of the French king Louis XIV, as his successor. Philip of Anjou became Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain.[33]

The ascent of Philip V was met with horror in the Habsburg-dominated Spanish court, and the news stunned European nations that feared the dawn of global French hegemony. The subsequent War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714) was less about Spain, now viewed as a minor European power, and more about fighting the specter of French dominance in Europe and abroad. For the moment, Spain still held the largest overseas empire but without the prestige of such a distinction. England, France, the Netherlands, and other nations considered Spain and its territories a prize in the war rather than a threat.[34]

Interest in the War of Spanish Succession eventually petered out when a Habsburg became heir apparent to the German imperial crown. The promise of a Habsburg resurgence in the Germanies turned anti-Bourbon attention away from Spain. Philip V (1700–1746), though

initially a foreigner, soon gained the admiration of his subjects and settled into what would become one of the longest reigns in Spanish history.[35]

Ideals from the European Enlightenment would influence the direction of Philip's Bourbon court. The European Enlightenment was a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual and philosophical movement that emphasized reason, science, and progress. Among other things, Enlightenment figures advocated for liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the scientific method, constitutional government, and the separation of Church and State. Tradition was no longer the primary source of authority in much of Enlightenment Europe. In Catholic Spain and its colonies, the Enlightenment was mostly confined to economic and individual progress and did not radically alter other aspects of society, especially in regard to the relationship between Church and State.[36]

The advent of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty marked a period of profound administrative reform and centralization that would transform Spain and its overseas territories. Bourbon reforms aimed to build up the material and human resources of the state. To advance administrative reform, decision-making had to be centralized in the hands of the king and his ministers, in effect a Spanish form of enlightened despotism. With power centralized in Madrid, the king and his ministers would be better able to uniformly implement laws and royal decrees. Across Spain and its empire, local elites and officials, as well as ecclesiastical leaders, did not always appreciate—nor wholly accept—losing power to a new centralized government.[37]

A particularly thorny issue with Bourbon reforms concerned the relationship between Church and State. Historically, the Catholic Church was actively involved in Spanish politics, society, education, and the economy; therefore, "government attempts to exercise control in all of these spheres inevitably caused a conflict with the ecclesiastical establishment." In other

words, the Catholic Church in Spain was placed on the defensive for much of the eighteenth century in a perceived conflict between those upholding tradition and those advocating for change.[38]

Bourbon reforms and the growing popularity of certain Enlightenment ideals would set a combative tone in Spain that played out in domestic and overseas administration for the next two centuries. For example, disagreements over the secularization of education, traditionally the domain of the Catholic Church, would be magnified in distant colonies such as the Philippines, as ecclesiastic and civil authorities waged tit-for-tat battles far from the eyes—and oversight—of the Spanish court and Rome.

Philip V, and later his son Ferdinand VI (1746–59), appreciated many of the legislative and economic ideals originating from the Enlightenment. Indeed, the two Spanish kings surrounded themselves with ministers and advisors from France or individuals well-versed in the administrative rationalization that was a hallmark of enlightened modern reform. Government ministers were not the only "enlightened" figures within the monarch's immediate sphere. A regular fixture in Ferdinand's court was Benito Feijóo, a Benedictine monk and early Spanish Enlightenment figure.[39]

Feijóo's writings on scientific inquiry would garner admiration and criticism in the growing battle between conservatives (upholders of tradition) and so-called liberals (proponents of change). Feijóo encouraged scientific and empirical thought in Spain's schools as a means to debunk the superstitions that pervaded everyday life. His ideas sparked a larger debate about the content and purpose of education that rippled through the Spanish empire. Feijóo lamented Spain's pace of intellectual growth, especially compared to France and England. In a 1745 letter

to an unnamed recipient, he wrote at length about the causes of Spain's "backwardness" during the European Age of Enlightenment.[40]

Feijóo identified six interrelated obstacles that caused Spain to lag intellectually behind other European countries. First, university professors were not open to learning anything new since they believed there was nothing new to learn, which segued into the second obstacle that anything labeled "new" was automatically condemned as suspicious. However, Feijóo believed that "suspicion calls for examination, not derision" in all fields except faith. Further, he posited that in "the arts and sciences, there is no discovery or invention that was not once new."[41]

The third cause of Spain's backwardness was similarly grounded in the notion of "new." The general practice among Spanish scholars was to reduce the ideas of new philosophers to a few useless curiosities unworthy of examination. The writings of René Descartes were a particular weapon wielded against the teachings of modern philosophy, which was Feijóo's fourth reason: people who disliked Descartes tended to dislike all modern learning. As Feijóo explained, "Descartes sometimes argued in error, [but] he taught countless philosophers to argue correctly." No one need revere the ideas of Descartes *per se,* but there was much to be admired in his method.[42]

Feijóo concluded that Spain's backwardness also resulted from two other sources. Traditionalists who ruled over the religious establishment feared that the new philosophies would damage religion and Spanish scholars dismissed writers such as Descartes simply because they were French. Feijóo had no time for such concerns, which revealed the vanity of church leaders. "To close the door to all new doctrines is a remedy that is, above all, unnecessary and very violent. It is to place the soul in a very hard condition of slavery. It is to tie down human reason

with a very short chain. It is to place an innocent mind in a very small jail cell, simply to avoid a remote possibility that someone will eventually commit some excesses."[43]

Feijóo's letter aptly represented the issues at the heart of the conflict between traditional and new knowledge and the role of the Church in determining what knowledge was worth learning in the schools. Feijóo envisioned a world in which scientific inquiry, centralized state authority, and religious canon could coexist, something historian Jonathan Israel would coin "moderate Enlightenment." However, for the gatekeepers of tradition, the new philosophies emanating from Europe, and especially France, threatened religious authority.[44]

In the halls of the Bourbon court, government ministers promoted the idea that education produced individual and national progress. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos regularly wrote about the need for universal primary education if Spain was to modernize as a nation. His *Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza* [*Theoretical-practical treatise on education*] (1802) was grounded in the idea that universal free public education featuring practical subjects taught in Castilian was essential for a stable, prosperous society. In a world wracked by political and social unrest, the school would inculcate "love of country, hatred of tyranny, subordination to lawful authority, beneficence, a desire for peace and public order, and all the social virtues which form good and generous citizens and which raise public morality, without which no state can be secure or free and prosperous." Similarly, Jovellano's mentor and fellow government minister, Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, wrote that equal and free access to education would help identify those best able to serve the modern state: "God distributes great souls among the lower classes and upper classes alike, and a great general or a great minister can just as easily come from the chisel and the hammer as from gold and purple. Education is the only thing that

influences us, giving us clear or twisted ideas of things." Schools could contribute to what was later known as a "meritocratic" society, a society that was peaceful and prosperous.[45]

Economic reforms were also necessary to build a more stable, prosperous Spain. Bourbon government ministers in Charles III's court "viewed agriculture as the basis for a prosperous economy and used government power to expand farming" and discontinue traditional privileges that undermined the workings of the marketplace. Luckily liberal ministers had assistance in their ongoing fight against tradition. As Enlightenment ideals spread, "a wide swath of educated Spaniards well versed in the best new ideas" joined the court in urging agrarian reforms and promoting industry and commerce. In turn, to further "encourage elite opinion in favor of the reform program, the government supported universities and philanthropic societies such as the *Amigos del País* [Friends of the Country], a movement with enthusiastic groups of local reformers all over Spain. Like similar movements throughout enlightened Europe, the *Amigos* met to discuss the latest books about agriculture, commerce, science, and culture. With royal support, they also established schools for both boys and girls, with comprehensive curricula that included artisanal skills as well as standard academic subjects." The *Amigos* spread beyond the Iberian Peninsula. It had chapters in all of Spain's overseas colonies, including the Philippines.[46]

Bourbon policy to centralize power and modernize administration remained the most contentious in traditional, Catholic Spain. In the name of centralization, Charles III and his ministers, including Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, pushed for royal authority over its main power rival, the Catholic Church, thereby challenging the power of the pope. The Jesuits fought in support of papal authority. Charles III and other Catholic monarchs, however, "viewed the Jesuit opposition as disobedient at best and potentially traitorous at worst." In the ultimate show of royal authority, Charles III expelled the Society of Jesus from Spain and its dominions in

1767. The almost century-long expulsion of the Jesuits had devastating consequences on the development and expansion of universal primary education in Spain and its colonies.[47]

Spain spent much of the eighteenth and nineteenth century in conflict, participating in everything from petty disputes to major wars. For the latter, it would have preferred to stay on the sidelines. The Seven Years War (1756–63) was one example; Spain was reluctantly pulled into the global conflict as part of a "family pact" with Bourbon France. The weakened naval power temporarily lost control over Manila and Havana to England in 1762 as a result.[48]

Spain also fell victim to the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), which would have far-reaching consequences for Spain and its empire. Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808, detainment and forced abdication of Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, and subsequent installation of his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, as the king of Spain set the stage for yet another protracted domestic battle. No longer was Spain waging an internal war between conservatives and liberals, since it now fought for independence from France. Without a clear, accepted head of state under which to unite, local juntas formed around their support for the hereditary Bourbon heir to the Spanish throne, Ferdinand VII. These juntas fought in the Peninsular War (1808–14) against France and the newly crowned Joseph I (1808–13).[49]

Simultaneously, Spain's American colonies were reeling from the lack of a legitimate Spanish king and therefore the metropole's inability to govern itself and its empire. Local elites, or *creoles,* began forming their own juntas in an effort at temporary self-governance during this unprecedented time of political instability in Spain. As the war against France dragged on, *creoles* in the Americas began to weigh their options. Independent self-governance seemed the most viable long-term solution to ensure consistency in (elite) leadership/power and to protect economic relationships with other European nations. With Spain embroiled in its own domestic

fight and hemorrhaging cash, its American colonies declared independence, beginning with Venezuela in 1811. Spain's once enviable, lucrative, and massive American empire quickly fell like a house of cards over the next decade.[50]

Meanwhile, back in Spain, the fight for independence from France continued. With Napoleon's brother on the throne, most Spaniards considered themselves leaderless. The local juntas operating across the country soon formed a central junta to govern Spain until Ferdinand VII could be restored as king. By 1809, military defeats drove the centra junta from Seville to Cádiz. Now settled in Cádiz, the central junta gave way to a Cortes, or temporary government, which wrote a constitution and passed legislation in the name of Ferdinand. A large contingent of Enlightenment-minded individuals at Cádiz, including Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, set the stage for one of the most liberal documents to come out of Spain at that point in time.[51]

The Cádiz Constitution of 1812 outlined Spain's ideal of enlightened despotism. The king remained head of state and Catholicism the official religion, but the constitution limited the power of both. The monarch's primary purpose, along with an elected parliament, was to protect the well-being of his subjects at home and abroad. Article 13 of the constitution stated, "The goal of the government is the happiness of the nation, given that the end of any political society is nothing other than the well-being of the individuals who make it up." In other words, the Enlightenment ideal of individual well-being, or contentment, would contribute to economic progress (via agrarian and manual labor), which would enable Spain to better defend its domestic and international interests.[52]

A crucial part of ensuring the well-being of individuals residing within Spain and its dominions was a uniform system of public instruction. An entire section of the constitution was devoted to education. Article 366 outlined "Grammar schools shall be established in all the

towns of the monarchy, where children shall be taught to read and write, arithmetic, and the catechism of the Catholic religion, in which shall be included a short explanation of the duties of a citizen." Furthermore, Article 368 noted "the general plan of instruction shall be uniform."[53]

Perhaps most representative of prevailing enlightened ideals was that public instruction be separated from the Catholic Church and administered by the government. Article 369 addressed administrative secularization: "There shall be a general administration of public learning, composed of persons of known merit, who, under the authority of the government, shall be entrusted with the superintendence of public instruction." According to Article 370, an elected body, not the Church, would determine what takes place inside the schools. "The Cortes shall, by special statutes, regulate all that belongs to the important object of public education." Benito Feijóo and other Spanish Enlightenment figures saw no religious conflict of interests in administrative rationalization. Church and State could coexist, but in the name of centralization and uniformity, the State should oversee public matters once the exclusive purview of the Church, such as education.[54]

The 1812 Constitution was an ephemeral document, quickly renounced with the restoration of the conservative Ferdinand VII (1813–33) and absolutist rule. Nonetheless, to the chagrin of the traditionalists, the more liberal members of leadership had an opportunity to publicize their enlightened agenda and ideals. The document may have existed in law for only a moment in the grand scheme of history, but the Cádiz Constitution had a lasting impact on those who aspired to scientific investigation, administrative reform, and equality, including those living and serving in Spain's most distant overseas colony, the Philippines.[55]

The political dramas and intellectual developments of the eighteenth century inevitably reached the shores of Spain's easternmost colony. The revolving door of governors-general ensured the arrival of the latest ideas from Europe, especially those regarding administrative centralization, agrarian reform, and universal primary education. Many of the educational reforms coming out of Charles III's court had local counterparts in the Philippines.

During his reign, Charles III issued several educational decrees dealing especially with the establishment and expansion of primary education in Spain and its colonies.[56] In turn, some Philippine governors-general issued ordinances that reinforced Bourbon educational policies and proposed measures for more efficient implementation. On 19 October 1752, Governor-General José Francisco de Obando (1750–1754) signed *ordinanza* no. 52, which directed that teacher salaries be paid directly from a town's public treasury. Obando's ordinance was a significant moment in the history of Philippine education. Up to that point, primary education was mostly financed by the Church and private donations, and occasionally supplemented by short-term government grants. Now, a fixed and specific public fund, the *caja de comunidad* [community chest], was designated to subsidize local public instruction. Therefore, beginning in 1752, primary schools would theoretically have teachers paid by the local government; the parish priest continued to supervise the schools, provide teacher housing, and supply equipment.[57]

Obando's 1752 ordinance instructed towns to pay educational expenses from a public treasury. Yet this was an untenable task for most rural locales. Residents often declared their incomes too meager to support public primary education. If the prestigious schools in Manila struggled to secure financial support, relying on alms and private donations, it seemed a fanciful notion to expect the average rural farmer to somehow find surplus funds to contribute to the

community chest. Therefore, despite Obando's directive, the parish priest most often continued to maintain a town's school and teacher well into the nineteenth century.[58]

Governor-General Jose de Raon (1765–1770) believed he had a solution to scarce public funds. He issued *ordinanza* no. 93 in 1767, which dictated financial measures such as the investment of municipal funds in promising enterprises and the cultivation of public lands by the people of a needy municipality so that the proceeds could help maintain schools. Provincial governors, with assistance from parish priests, should establish schools in every town and appoint a teacher capable of teaching Castilian and Christian doctrine. Raon urged local civil and ecclesiastical officials to cooperate in the promotion of the enterprise, following the Enlightenment ideal that universal primary education would support individual well-being and national economic prosperity.[59]

However, funding any school in the archipelago remained a constant problem, and a burden that often fell on the shoulders of parish priests. In a letter dated 17 September 1775, a Recollect from the monastery-church of San Nicolas in Manila reported to an official in the Spanish government: "In a majority of the towns confided to [Recollect] care, the parish pastors pay the schoolteachers without receiving anything from the community chest."[60]

The tension between civil and church authority reflected in Bourbon reforms also found its way to the archipelago. Missionaries always outnumbered Spanish civil officials and residents in the archipelago; more so than in peninsular Spain, Catholic Church officials enjoyed a level of power and authority over the workings of the distant colony. And just like in the metropole, missionaries viewed Bourbon reforms as a threat to the Church's traditional role in public affairs.

Therefore, when a 1794 decree from Charles IV reassigned certain administrative powers over Philippine schools, it was met with consternation within the religious community. Charles

placed education more directly in the hands of provincial officials. *Alcaldes* [mayors] were given the power to enforce educational laws, especially those concerning the establishment of new schools, the duration of the school year and school day, and the appointment of teachers after they had been nominated by the parish priest and passed an examination. Teachers were exempted from paying taxes; after three years of successful service, they were raised to the rank of *principalia* [native elite class]. Salaries were determined by the cost of living in a town. Each town of 1,000 inhabitants or more was to have at least two teachers. Education was free, attendance was compulsory, and instruction in Castilian was mandatory. Every teacher was responsible for their pupils' regular attendance under penalty of eight days imprisonment. If a teacher was caught speaking in a dialect, they had to pay a fine of one peso. The money thus acquired entered a school fund for the purchase of equipment and materials. While the 1794 decree still left the parish priest as school supervisor, secular civil officials would now wield administrative power over the schools.[61]

Despite the growing push for administrative secularization, primary education—especially in the countryside—remained the sole responsibility of missionaries. An eighteenth-century Augustinian manual for parish priests in the Philippines insisted that all villages within the order's missions should have primary schools. "For in addition to the schools being so necessary, as is attested by ecclesiastical and secular laws, the absence of schools occasions many spiritual and temporal losses [on the part of the indigenous population]. Among others is the great ignorance many suffer in what is necessary for confession in order that they may be Christians and may live like rational people."[62]

It was the duty of the parish priest to acquire two things by whatever means possible: teachers [and suitable salaries] and books and paper for the students. “When these two things cannot be obtained by other means than at the cost of the parish priests, they must not therefore excuse themselves from giving what is necessary.” Here, the Augustinians seemed to acknowledge the past difficulties in establishing and maintaining primary schools and perhaps also that some used these difficulties to shirk their responsibilities. However, the fate of Christianization and Hispanization depended on the success of primary schools: “If the end cannot be obtained without the means, so also the schools cannot be obtained without any expense, or the teaching of youth without the schools, or the spiritual welfare of souls without the teaching, etc.”[63]

Though Spain had occupied the Philippines for more than 200 years, by the dawn of the nineteenth century the passage of a royal decree still did not guarantee its implementation. Distance from the metropole, the inability to attract and retain competent leaders, ecclesiastic indifference, and scarce government assistance to help make these ideals a reality left the archipelago in an administrative dead zone. It also meant that there was little opportunity to challenge the status quo, even as enlightened Bourbon reforms continued to arrive from the Iberian Peninsula. With Spain in a perpetual state of political upheaval and economic instability throughout the eighteenth century, there was insufficient if any oversight in the administration of the archipelago.[64] What would become of the linchpin of colonial modernization, universal primary education?

[1] Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes al conde de Lerena, 13 de julio de 1789, in ed. Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *Cartas político-económicas escritas por el conde de Campomanes al conde de Lerena* (Madrid: Murillo, 1878), 217.

[2] William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 192–93. See also, John M. Headley, "Spain's Asian Presence, 1565–1590: Structures and Aspirations," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75:4 (1995), 623–46.

[3] John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 13–14.

[4] Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 53; William H. Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994). Augustinians first arrived in the Philippines with Legazpi in 1565. The first Franciscans followed in 1578, Jesuits in 1581, Dominicans in 1587, and Recollects in 1606. Domingo Salazar, OP, the first archbishop of Manila, accompanied by one other Dominican, arrived in 1581 to take up his bishopric.

[5] Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1959," *Philippine Studies* 7:1 (1959), 73–74. An Augustinian missionary exposed the violence that accompanied Philip II's "pacification" of the Philippines, writing of the process in 1573: "A captain with soldiers and interpreters goes to a town [which is to be pacified]. They tell the townspeople that if they want to be friends of the Spaniards, they must pay tribute at once. If the people say yes, they stop to work out what each man must give, and demand that he give it immediately. Sometimes the people refuse to give what is asked; then they sack the town. They also think they have a right to sack it if the people do not wait for them but abandon their houses. They do all this without performing any service for them in return, without telling them for what purpose they have been sent by His Majesty, and without giving them any religious instruction." He continued that any natives that did not wish to be "friends" with the Spaniards were killed or imprisoned and had their homes plundered and burned. "Memoria de los religiosos de las Yslas del Poniente de cosas que el Padre Fray Diego de Herrera ha de tratar con su Magestad o su Real Consejo de Indias," Colección Pastells, *Filipinas* I, 1–5, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter, AGI).

[6] Vicente Salazar, OP, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario de Philipinas, China y Tunking, de el Sagrado Orden de Predicadores.* Tercera parte (Manila: Universidad de Santo Tomás, 1742), 140–46.

[7] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 67–68. Jesuit Diego Garcia was tasked with inspecting his order's missions in the Visayas. In 1600, he described the treacherous terrain and difficulties of travel that hampered the Europeans' missionary efforts: "The climate of this land is excessively hot and oppressive. Mosquitoes and poisonous vermin abound; snakes as thick as a good-sized beam; vipers which, though small, are so venomous that few survive their sting; a great many crocodiles, here called *cayman* or *buaya,* which in some of the missions devour quite a number of people. Travel is mostly by water, with the usual attendant perils. Where one can go by land it must be on foot, because up to now there are no mounts to be had in the Visayan islands. And even if there were any, the roads are so steep that there is no going on horseback; one must clamber. Where the ground is level the mire is so deep, especially during the rainy season, which is the greater part of the year, that horses would simply get stuck without being able to move. In fact, our missionaries must do their traveling not only on foot, but barefoot." Diego Garcia, SJ, report to Claudio Acquaviva, SJ (Jesuit provincial in Manila), 8 June 1600, Archdiocesan Archives of Manila (hereafter, AAM).

[8] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 66–67. See also, Eva Maria Mehl, "Mexican Recruits and Vagrants in Late Eighteenth-Century Philippines: Empire, Social Order, and Bourbon Reforms in the Spanish Pacific World," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94:4 (2014), 547–79. Juan Delgado, SJ, remarked on the distinction between *indios* from Manila and its immediate environs versus those found in the countryside "where the Spaniards do not come nor ever treat with them." While he described rural inhabitants as "more rustic and uncultured" than their urban counterparts, he also believed the former to be more simple, sincere, and hardworking. Juan Delgado, SJ, *Historia general sacro-profana, politica y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: Eco de Filipinas, 1892), 270–71. NB: Manuscript completed in 1754, but not published until 1892.

[9] Map © Eva Maria Mehl, *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765–1811* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[10] Charles II (1665–1700) expressed in no uncertain terms that Christianization efforts in the Philippines should take place in Castilian. In a decree dated 20 June 1686, he ordered archbishops and bishops in the archipelago to require missionaries teach the indigenous population Castilian and that Christian doctrine also be taught in Castilian. He continued that his Royal Council of the Indies considered Castilian instruction "to be the most efficacious means for banishing idolatries, into which the *indios* generally fall at present, as they did in the beginning of their conversion. Moreover, by this means also it will follow that the vexations practiced on the *indios* will cease in whole or in great part, and they will be able to make their complaints directly to the superiors, without making use of interpreters, who, being bribed, change the translation." *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias,* Tomo primero. Segunda edicion. (Madrid: Antonio Balbas, 1756), libro VI, titulo I, ley XVIII.

[11] John N. Crossley, "Dominican and Jesuit Formal Education in the First Years of Spanish Manila (c. 1571–1621)," *Journal of Religious History* 42:2 (2018), 186; Eufronio M. Alip, "Background of Education in the Philippines, 1521–1861," in ed. Dalmacio Martin, *A Century of Education in the Philippines, 1861–1961* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1980), 5. Early Spanish missionaries actively worked to destroy texts in native orthography in an attempt to propagate Romanized writing. By the seventeenth century, a cadre of Spanish missionary linguists had developed dictionaries for every major Philippine language. See, e.g., Pedro de San Buenaventura, OSA, *Vocabulario de lengua Tagala* (Pila: Tomas Pinpin, 1613), and Alonso de Méntrida, OSA, *Vocabulario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiligueina y Haraya de la isla de Panay y Sugbú* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1637).

[12] Philip IV (1621–40) believed proficiency in Castilian would serve the dual mission of spreading Catholicism and civilization, as well as aid in pacification and governance. He issued two royal decrees, on 2 March 1634 and 4 November 1636, urging ecclesiastical leaders in the Philippines to "order" parish priests and missionaries in their respective dioceses to teach the inhabitants "Castilian, and to learn in it the Christian doctrine, so that they may become more capable of the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, may profit for their salvation, and obtain other advantages in their government and mode of living." While noncompliance of his decrees was punishable by law, Philip did not allot additional funds to cover the associated expenses of education such as buildings, books, equipment, and personnel. Without proper monetary support, his educational plans could never be implemented. In short, his decrees, however well-intentioned, were dead letters upon arrival in the archipelago. *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias,* libro I, titulo XIII, ley V, folio 55.

[13] Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565–1930* (Manila: University of the Philippine Press, 1932), 22.

[14] Gaspar de San Agustín, OSA, *Conquista de las Islas Philipinas, 1565–1615* (Madrid: Manuel Ruiz de Murga, 1698); Francisco Colín, SJ, *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Joseph Fernandez de Buendia, 1663), 332.

[15] Colín, *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesús en las Islas Filipina*s, 128–30.

[16] Annual Letter from the Philippine Province 1595–96, 27 June 1597, in Colín, *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas,* 278–281.

[17] Pedro Chirino, SJ, *Relacion de las islas filipinas y de lo que en ellas an trabaiado Los Padres de la Compañia de Jesús* (Rome: Estevan Paulino, 1604), 135–38.

[18] Alonso Fernández, OP, *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1611), libro II, titulo XXXIII.

[19] Valentín Marin y Morales, *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las corporaciones religiosas españolas de Filipinas,* Tomo II (Manila: Universidad de Santo Tomás, 1901), 573–82; Eduardo Navarro, *Filipinas. Estudio de algunas asuntos de actualidad* (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1897), 123–67.

[20] Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "Church and State in the Philippines during the Administration of Bishop Salazar, 1581–1594," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 30:3 (1950), 314–35. Fray Plasencia's proposal for a system of student monitors came more than 200 years before Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell founded the first monitorial schools in Britain and India, respectively. Evergisto Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines, Spanish Period 1565–1898* (Manila: University of Santo Tomás Press, 1953), 50, fn11; Alip, "Background of Education in the Philippines, 1521–1861," 10.

[21] *Manila Synod of 1582: The Draft of Its Handbook for Confessors,* trans. Paul A. Dumol (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014), 92–96.

[22] Given the location of the Philippines along the Pacific "Ring of Fire," it is regularly subject to earthquakes and volcanic activity. The tropical climate contributes to seasonal typhoons. The archipelago also suffered immeasurable devastation during World War II as well as during earlier regional conflicts.

[23] Original map, utilizing data from: Juan de Medina, OSA, *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden de N. gran P.S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Chofré, 1893); Juan Francisco de San Antonio, OFM, *Crónicas de la Apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio de los Religiosos Descalzos de N.S.P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japon* (Manila: Juan del Sotillo, 1738–41); Colín, *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas;* Diego Aduarte, OP, *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon y China* (Zaragoça: Domingo Gascon, 1693); Gregorio F. Blas de la Asuncion, OAR, *Labor evangélica de los PP Agustinos Recoletos en las Islas Filipinas* (Zaragoza: Pedro Carra, 1910); Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines.*

[24] Miguel de Pareja, SJ, letter to Francisco Atienza y Vañes, 15 April 1689, quoted in John N. Schumacher, SJ, *Readings in Philippine Church History,* second edition (Quezon City: Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1987), 153.

[25] In addition to unregulated catechism schools of varying quality and content in the countryside, some of the first educational institutions in the archipelago were schools of higher learning located in Manila. Much like Europe, formal education in the Philippines developed from the top down. The University of Bologna, the oldest university in Europe, was established in 1088; however, primary education was not made compulsory in Italy until 1859. The University of Salamanca, the oldest university in Spain (1134) predated compulsory education in the nation by more than 700 years (1857). America had a similar, if not quite as drastic educational trajectory: Harvard, the oldest university (1636), was well established before primary education was made compulsory in Massachusetts in 1852. The Philippines followed the same path, with the oldest university, the Universidad de Santo Tomás, established in 1611 and primary education not made compulsory until 1863.

[26] Archbishop García Serrano, letter to the King of Spain, 31 July 1622, *Filipinas,* 74, AGI.

[27] de la Costa, "The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1959," 73.

[28] Costumbres del colegio de nuestro P. San Ignacio de Manila, 1752, ms, Archives of the Province of Aragón (now Tarragona), quoted in Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "Jesuit Education in the Philippines to 1768," *Philippine Studies* 4:2 (1956), 139–40. Another description of educational activities from a Franciscan missionary around the same time confirms much of a catechism school's daily activities, as well as a few additional details. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, OFM, wrote of his mission's educational activities, "Every day without exception, at the sound of the bell, all the school children promptly assemble in the church." Children sing, hear mass, and recite the rosary, after which they "file out in order, following a small processional cross and reciting a prayer, to go to the schoolhouse." Fray Juan Francisco also noted that children of both sexes met for mass on Saturday and recited the catechism afterward "to prevent their forgetting what they had committed to memory in childhood, and to enable them to grow in understanding and appreciation of it at an age when they begin to possess discourse of reason." The parish priest presided over the exercise "with fatherly solicitude to ask them questions and to clear up any points which their immature minds may have difficulty in grasping." San Antonio, *Crónicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio,* 14–15.

[29] Archbishop García Serrano, letter to the King of Spain, 31 July 1622, AGI; Christine Doran, "Spanish and Mestizo Women of Manila," *Philippine Studies* 41:3 (1993), 285. See also, Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, "Woman's

Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 55:1 (2007), 58–60. The *beaterios* of Manila resembled a typical girls' education in Madrid. A Bourbon-era law on girls' education noted the "goal and principal objective [of girls' education] is to promote throughout the entire kingdom the proper education of young girls in the rudiments of the Catholic faith, in the rules of good behavior, in the exercise of the virtues, and in the labors appropriate to their sex." Book VIII, Title I, Law X, Article I (1783), in *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* (Madrid: Impresa en Madrid, 1805).

[30] Pedro Murillo Velarde, SJ, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus: Segunda parte, que comprende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616, hasta el de 1716* (Manila: Compañía de Jesus, 1749), 156–57.

[31] Historian Eugen Weber described revolutionary-era French primary schools as "ramshackle," where untrained educators taught whatever they taught with "limited competence." Catechism comprised primary education, "the teaching of even elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic was rare." *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 308. Carl Kaestle described a similarly dismal situation in the primary schools of the early American republic. Schools were often located on land unsuited for cultivation or habitation; attendance was haphazard, and children ranged from 2 to 16 years old. Students brought whatever books they had at home from which to learn and teachers therefore relied on rote memorization to impart the 3Rs and corporeal punishment to maintain order. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 14–19.

[32] Karl Schwartz, "Filipino Education and Spanish Colonialism: Toward an Autonomous Perspective," *Comparative Education Review* 15:2 (1971), 203–04.

[33] William S. Maltby, *The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 149; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Penguin, 1963, 2002), 374.

[34] Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* 227.

[35] Ibid., 228; Elliott, *Imperial Spain,* 375.

[36] For a comprehensive overview of the European Enlightenment, see Ritchie Robertson, *The Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness, 1680–1790* (New York: HarperCollins, 2021). Specifically on the Enlightenment in Spain, see Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[37] Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* 232; Jacques A. Barbier, "The Culmination of the Bourbon Reforms, 1787–1792," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57:1 (1977), 54–55.

[38] Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* 235.

[39] Ibid., 235–242.

[40] Benito Feijóo, OSB, "Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden á las Ciencias Naturales," in *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*, Tomo segundo (Madrid: Gaceta, 1773), 215–34.

[41] Ibid., 215–18.

[42] Ibid., 219–221.

[43] Ibid., 224–26.

[44] Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[45] Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, "Memoria sobre educación pública o sea, tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza, con aplicación a las escuelas y colegios de niños" (1802), in *Obras publicadas é inéditas de D. Gaspar Melchor de*

Jovellanos. Tomo primero (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1858), 230; Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, "Bases para la formación de un plan general de instrucción pública" (1809), in *Obras publicadas é inéditas,* 268; Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes al conde de Lerena, 13 de julio de 1789, in *Cartas político-económicas,* 216–17.

[46] Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* 252, 253; Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire,* 142–45. On Charles' Enlightenment-influenced economic reforms, see Alejandra Irigoin and Regina Grafe, "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire Building," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88:2 (2008), 199–200; and Allen J. Kuethe and G. Douglas Inglis, "Absolutism and Enlightened Reform: Charles III, the Establishment of the Alcabala, and Commercial Reorganization in Cuba," *Past & Present* 109 (1985), 118–43. An enthusiastic advocate of Bourbon economic reforms, Governor-General José Basco y Vargas (1778–87), organized the first *Amigos del País* society in the Philippines in 1781. During his address at the inaugural session, Basco y Vargas outlined the tremendous, untapped natural and human potential of the islands, which the society would promote as a "center of research, a clearing house of development projects, a patron of the arts, a stimulus to agriculture, and a repository of scientific discoveries. By giving direction to our efforts and rewarding our achievements, it will assure peace in our time, and as the nation's best friend be the creator of her prosperity." José Basco y Vargas, 6 May 1781, in José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestros dias,* vol. 2 (Madrid: Tello, 1894), 291–93.

[47] Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* 256. Historian Eufronio Alip wrote the expulsion of the Jesuits "had very destructive effects, especially on the schools which they had founded. These schools were either directly closed or their administration turned over to the Dominicans." Scholars of Cebuano history called the Jesuit expulsion "a day of disaster for Philippine education." Former Superintendent of Philippine Schools, Camilo Osias, went so far as to argue in 1917: "Primary schools were not only the latest to develop but were also the worst in the system of education in the archipelago as organized by Spain. Had the Jesuits remained continuously in the Philippines, it is probable that the establishment of a primary school system would not have been so long delayed. Judging from the initiative and interest in educational matters that these fathers had manifested in the islands before they were expelled in 1768 and after they were reinstated by the decree of 1852, it is reasonable to believe that the whole history of Philippine education would have been very different had their expulsion never occurred." Alip, "Background of Education in the Philippines, 1521–1861," 16; Frederick Fox and Juan Mercader, "Some Notes on Education in Cebu Province, 1820–1898," *Philippine Studies* 9:1 (1961), 24; Camilo Osias, *Education in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish Regime* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1917), 94–95.

[48] On the British attack, capture, and occupation of Manila, see William Draper, "A Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Forces on the Expedition against Manila" (1762), in eds. Emma Blair and James Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898,* vol. 49 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1907), 81–103. For the Spanish perspective of the same, see *Expediente formado en punto de la irrupción anglicana,* III, 130, AGI.

[49] Charles J. Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, Bandits, and Adventurers in Spain, 1808–14* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Jesus Cruz, *Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural Persistence Among the Spanish Dominant Groups, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Mark Lawrence, "Penninsularity and patriotism: Spanish and British approaches to the Peninsular War, 1808–14," *Historical Research* 85:229 (2012), 454–56.

[50] Daniel Florencio O'Leary, *Bolívar y la emancipación de Sur-América: Memorias del general O'Leary,* Tomo primero, 1783–1819 (Madrid: Sociedad española de libería, 1915), 104–10.

[51] Jaime Aragón Gómez, *La vida cotidiana durante la Guerra de la Independencia en la provincia de Cádiz* (Cádiz: Norma Editorial, 2005); "Introduction," in *Modern Spain,* ed. Jon Cowans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 1–2.

[52] Titulo II, Capitulo III, Art. 13, *Constitucion politica de la monarquia Española, promulgada en Cádiz á 19 de marzo de 1812* (Cádiz: Imprenta Real, 1812), 7.

[53] Titulo IX, Capitulo I, Art. 366 and 368, *Constitucion politica de la monarquia Española,* 120–21.

[54] Titulo IX, Capitulo I, Art. 369 and 370, *Constitucion politica de la monarquia Española,* 121.

[55] Ferdinand VII, "Declaración sobre la Constitución, 4 de Mayo de 1814," *Gaceta extraordinaria de Madrid,* 12 de mayo de 1814.

[56] For example, decrees from 1765 and 1766 required that all village schools should have a *maestro* [teacher] in addition to student monitors (4 August 1765) and that Christian doctrine should not be taught in the dialects (26 February 1766). In 1772, Charles issued a decree outlining the qualifications and salaries of teachers (28 November 1772); in 1774 he again ordered the establishment of schools for boys and girls with instruction in Castilian, going so far as to forbid Filipinos from holding local government posts if they did not read and speak Castilian (9 November 1774). Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines,* 55; Vincente Barrantes, *La Instrucción primaria en Filipinas, desde 1596 hasta 1868* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1869), 80–83.

[57] *Ordenanzas de buen gobierno,* ordenanza no. 52 de Obando (19 October 1752), in Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *El municipio filipino,* Tomo I (Manila: Ramirez, 1894).

[58] Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas. Compilación de lo legislado sore este ramo, comentada, anotada y concordada* (Manila: Chofré, 1894), preface.

[59] Felipe del Pan, *Las ordenanzas de buen gobierno de Corcuera, Cruzat, y Raon. Documentos para las historia de la administración de Filipinas* (Manila: Oceanía Española, 1891), 109.

[60] Quoted in Frederick H. Fox, "Primary Education in the Philippines, 1565–1863," *Philippine Studies* 13:2 (1965), 223–24.

[61] Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines,* 56.

[62] Tomás Ortiz, OSA, *Práctica del Ministerio, que siguen los religiosos del Orden de NPS Agustín en Philipinas* (Manila: Convento de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, 1731), 53–54.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Spaniards were needed for the Christianization, Hispanization, and now modernization of the Philippines, but there were never enough numbers to make these ecclesiastical and administrative goals a reality. Spaniards found little to attract them to the islands let alone keep them there long enough to effect meaningful social or economic change. Jesuit missionary Pedro Murillo Velarde adroitly observed in the mid-eighteenth century: "The Spaniards have settled and populated America because of its productivity. On the other hand, since there is not here a stable economy of agricultural estates and basic industries, those who migrate to these islands are, as it were, in an inn; they do not look upon it as a home where they intend to settle permanently. They come as transients, they marry by accident, and they die in expectation of leaving. … Wealth has no roots in this country, and the logical consequence is that the settlers are few, the islands unpeopled, and their temporal and spiritual conquest unfinished." Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus,* 644.

Chapter Two: Universal Primary Education and the Pursuit of Colonial Modernization (1815–1863)

Uniformity of language acts both as a source and as a carrier of those ideas and attitudes which characterize nations.[1]
Patricio de la Escosura, 1863 (Spanish politician and journalist)

The last galleon, a trade route that commercially and administratively linked Manila and Acapulco for almost 250 years, sailed in 1815. Spain's American colonies had either acquired independence or were in the process of acquiring independence. With the regular galleon trade, little had been done to develop the archipelago's domestic economy. The Philippines suddenly faced an uncertain future: it was no longer administered or financially supported by Mexico; it would now be the direct responsibility of a decidedly unstable Spanish state. The Spanish Enlightenment and Bourbon reforms offered guidance for fashioning a modern colonial state, with universal primary education as a central component. In this period of transition, some major issues emerged. Could colonial modernization effectively take place in an archipelago half a world away from the metropole? Were colonization and enlightened modernization compatible? In other words, would the processes of modernization—and specifically universal primary education—undermine Spanish attempts to maintain the Philippines as a "modern" colony?

In much of the world, the long nineteenth century was a time of intense political, economic, and social change. The world suddenly seemed unfamiliar: the innovations of the Industrial Revolution, the transition from rural to urban livelihoods, increased immigration, nationalist movements, and domestic instability naturally led policymakers (especially those inclined to embrace Enlightenment ideals) to look toward administrative reforms to address societal ills. Commenting on U.S. history, the scholar Robert Wiebe referred to this period as a

"distended society, consumed by the search for order" in a rapidly modernizing world. As he and other scholars have recognized, universal education would play an outsized role in the endeavor.[2]

For Spain, the "search for order" took an even more urgent tone following the loss of its American colonies within the first quarter of the nineteenth century.[3] Incessant, costly domestic and international conflicts left many Spanish ministers and intellectuals looking for ways to retain its remaining colonies, pay its debts, encourage national unity, and start down the path of administrative modernization. Enlightenment ideals—especially those that favored the separation of Church and State and diminished church authority—were a hard sell in conservative, Catholic Spain. But at the turn of the nineteenth century, Enlightenment notions of state modernization via domestic economic development and expanded educational opportunities gained traction in Spanish political circles.[4]

Agrarian economic reforms were a hallmark of Bourbon Spain. In the Iberian Peninsula, reform-minded Spaniards rediscovered the advantages of farm labor and endeavored to make the most efficient use of limited land and resources. The Spanish Philippines, on the other hand, had abundant land and resources that had thus far been underexplored and underexploited. The loss of the galleon trade and the Philippines' financial dependence on Mexico as well as a growing call for economic self-sufficiency among enlightened Spanish reformers led to a logical conclusion. The Philippines had to enter the global market for raw goods, with cash-strapped Spain earmarked as the primary financial beneficiary.[5]

In the early nineteenth century, six export cash-crops developed from the fertile land: sugar, tobacco, abaca (hemp fiber), indigo, coffee, and cotton. Massive tracts of forestland were cleared to cultivate enough cash crops to profitably participate in the global economy. To further encourage economic prosperity, in 1834, a royal decree opened the port of Manila to unrestricted

global trade. In the following decades, more ports across the archipelago similarly opened to foreign commerce, including Iloilo, Zamboanga, and Pangasinan in 1855 and Cebu in 1860.[6]

As more Philippine ports opened to foreign trade, cash crop agriculture spread, stimulating material wealth and social stratification, especially in the countryside. This led to the growth of an indigenous and *mestizo* landed elite. According to historians Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso, the production of export crops resulted in "small plots in outlying provinces controlled by [indigenous] and *mestizo* elites, the new producers of wealth." This new, rising class of native elites later pushed for increased educational access and professional opportunities for their children, often sending them to Manila.[7]

As small farmers transitioned from subsistence farming to cash crop production, they had an increasing need for money. In the modernizing economy, farmers now had to purchase rice to feed their families. Births, marriages, funeral expenses: everything required cash to pay the bills. The growing population was accompanied by a further subdivision of land within families, which made it more difficult to turn a profit. Soon, small farmers approached local elites for loans to make ends meet. Local elites in turn would purchase a family's land and agree to resell it to the family within a specific period of time in a system called *pacto de retroventa* [agreement of repurchase].[8]

Pacto de retroventa loans started a vicious cycle. As scholars have documented, the loans were "difficult to repay and were usually renewed and increased until the amount owed was far more than the plot of land was worth. Eventually dispossessed of their land, most families stayed on as sharecroppers or tenants." In short order, "the evolving colonial elite used the capital earned in retail trade to accumulate the best land for export crops and a labor force to which it was linked by kinship or by networks of personal relationships." Economic modernization aimed

to fashion a self-sufficient colony that could financially contribute to the metropole. However, without accompanying administrative reforms to protect farmers and promote new production methods to improve yields, economic modernization created a generation of dispossessed laborers often beholden to a powerful, wealthy indigenous elite.[9]

In addition to exacerbating social stratification in the countryside, increased cash crop exports brought more foreigners to the archipelago, and especially to Manila. Traders from China, India, Britain, and the United States set up commercial houses in the city, which needed educated, multilingual employees to assist in business transactions. Following independence movements in Spanish America, a surge of Spaniards migrated to the Philippines, too, looking for fresh opportunities in commerce and administration. Manila's population swelled from 100,000 in 1822 to approximately 150,000 in 1850.[10]

However, economic transformations were uneven in the Philippines. In his study of nineteenth-century economic change in the islands, Benito Legarda found in "the absence of government direction, [commercial] firms conveyed demand information from foreign markets, guiding producers' planting decisions." Foreign firms rather than the metropole directed the archipelago's transition to commercial agriculture; the Philippine economy developed to serve the needs of countries other than Spain. The reason for this situation was simple and familiar: "The Spanish supplied neither private capital for export production nor legal infrastructure to manage the key resource." Therefore, according to historian Alfred McCoy, the archipelago "emerged as a series of separate societies that entered into the world economic system at different times, under different terms of trade, and with different systems of production." The processes of colonial modernization had only just begun, and the needs of the metropole had

already taken a backseat to foreign interests. Overseeing the administration and modernization of the colony would indeed prove even more difficult than Spanish reformers anticipated.[11]

Nineteenth-century economic transformations in the archipelago put the necessity for universal primary education in stark relief. A modernizing colony warranted an educated indigenous populace to fill the new positions required in an increasingly bureaucratic, centralized administration. Not everyone would need the same level of education. First and foremost, universal primary education would promote cultural stability (Hispanization) and loyalty to Spain and to the Catholic Church. Spain was not alone in turning its attention to the stabilizing benefits of universal primary education during the long nineteenth century. Beginning with Prussia in 1763, leaders around the world began to recognize that schools could instill a sense of national and cultural unity as well as support a broader state project of administrative and economic modernization.[12]

Like Spain, the Seven Years War marked a domestic turning point for Prussia. In 1763, Frederick II issued "General Regulations for Village Schools," which required compulsory attendance in the primary grades, organized the school day and year, prescribed a standard curriculum, and established administrative guidelines and supervision procedures. Along with the general regulations, Frederick promised state funds to support universal primary education. By the turn of the century, the Prussian school system had secularized and was under state (not church) control.[13]

Being on the winning side of a global conflict did not guarantee national unity or stability or continued progress. Universal education, on the other hand, could be a more reliable means of economic and social improvement for Prussia. With state-directed education, "all children were

taught to identify with the state and its goals and purposes rather than with local polities (estates, peasant communities, regions, etc.).” Frederick recognized that centralization and administrative rationalization would be impossible without a general diffusion of knowledge, including the ability of his subjects to read and write in German, the official language of Prussia. In Prussia, universal primary education would unify the people under a common identity, which in turn would contribute to overall political, economic, and social improvement.[14]

Spain, too, needed to find a way to instill national unity and economic progress among its populace at home and abroad. Universal primary education seemed the way forward. In 1802, before he contributed to the articles on public education for the 1812 Cádiz Constitution, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos wrote a treatise on public education. In his treatise, Jovellanos posed and answered questions about public education. The first question was “Is public education the first source of social prosperity?” His two-word response: *Sin duda.* [Undoubtedly.] Jovellanos added that the “sources of social prosperity are many; but all are born from the same origin, and this origin is public instruction.” Ignorance and superstition contributed to domestic instability and stunted progress, but “good instruction” could protect the people and, consequently, support national prosperity. The remainder of Jovellanos’ treatise built upon his first question and the Enlightenment ideal that “good instruction is the first and highest principle of the prosperity of the peoples.”[15]

The relationship between universal education and individual and national prosperity played into Jovellanos’ next major work on the subject, “Bases para la formación de un plan general de instrucción pública” [“Basis for the formation of a general plan of public instruction”] (1809). Here, he reemphasized his belief that free primary schools, open to all youth and located in even the smallest villages, were necessary for a stable, prosperous society. In addition to a

uniform curriculum (including the 3Rs, morals, and drawing) delivered by trained teachers, Jovellanos proposed schools be funded and regulated by the government and, most significantly for Catholic Spain, secularized. Towns were responsible for teacher salaries, but the government should provide and maintain a building, instructional materials, and other necessities. For Spanish Enlightenment figures, standardized universal primary education and linguistic uniformity were necessary for cultural unity, responsible citizenship, and national progress.[16]

Spain's occasional ally France may have emerged from a successful revolution (1789–99), but its people were by no means united at the turn of the nineteenth century. Again, reformers looked to primary schools as sites of acculturation to unite disparate rural communities under a common French language and identity. The year 1833 marked the first concerted attempt to implement a universal system of primary education. François Guizot, then minister of public instruction, supported a school law that required all towns to establish and maintain at least one primary school. He also advocated for normal schools to train teachers to, among other things, provide students instruction in French. Four score into the nineteenth century, especially in the countryside, it was common for teachers to have little or no knowledge of the French language; it was also common for teachers to lack any sort of professional training.[17]

Language was the Achilles' heel in the spread of universal primary education with a standard curriculum in France. As in Prussia, a common language could unite France. However, for many communities within the nation's borders, French was not the local language. Even if youth had the opportunity to attend school in which French was the medium of instruction, they returned to their mother tongue once at home, often undermining academic progress. Therefore, language acquisition remained a central goal in the growing school system, grounded in the belief that French was the mother tongue of all those who lived within the nation's borders. A

1880 French reformer characterized this ambitious nationalizing mission: Teaching French "is the chief work of the elementary school—a labor of patriotic character." The vice-rector of the Academy of Paris similarly wrote in 1882, "To teach French is to strengthen national unity." But the process of acculturation via universal public primary schools would be painfully slow. As historian Eugen Weber observed, "until a large enough segment of the population had been reached to shift the balance in favor of French, the pressures of environment worked to protect and enforce the use of local speech" much to the chagrin of educators and reformers alike.[18]

European ideals and educational developments deeply influenced Horace Mann's 1848 report to the Massachusetts Board of Education. Mann was especially impressed with Prussia's universal, state-supported school system where children learned a uniform curriculum aimed at social stability and national progress. In his role as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann laid out a plan for a statewide system of tax-supported public, or common, schools in his 1848 report. Like his European contemporaries, Mann believed the key to a stable, prosperous society was a common education to prepare youth to be virtuous, responsible citizens. In other words, Mann borrowed from the Enlightenment ideal that the well-being of the individual was inextricably tied to the well-being of the nation.[19]

The hallmark of Mann's proposed common school system was first and foremost that it be tax-supported and held accountable to the state. Professionally trained teachers would lead age-graded classrooms using standard textbooks and a sequenced curriculum. There would be a structured school year as well as common rules and regulations. Children across all social classes would have access to these free, co-educational public primary schools where they would learn the 3Rs, geography, history, and nondenominational morals. And for those who wanted to pursue further education, there would be free high schools.[20]

An important point of convergence between American common school reformers and enlightened European thinkers such as Jovellanos was the importance and purpose of girls' education. As future wives and mothers, women had a crucial role to play in ensuring cultural unity and national stability. Writing in the midst of the Peninsular War and within the broader context of the Napoleonic Wars, Jovellanos viewed educated women as a unifying, civilizing influence in their respective households. While he did not write in-depth about the content of girls' education, his message was clear: within the domestic sphere, women held sway over their families. An educated mother could instill early moral and civic lessons necessary for responsible citizenship and long-term national stability.[21]

In many nations in the nineteenth century, then, universal primary education was the panacea for any and all social ills across space and time. Universal, standard education would acculturate youth and adults alike. But, while there may have been general recognition among policymakers and reformers that state-supported universal primary education could promote social stability and economic growth, the gulf between rhetoric and implementation was often stymied by conflict, apathy, prejudice, fear, and broken promises. Universal primary education faced universal hurdles; the hurdles would be compounded by the colonial context.

Domestic turmoil continued to rock Spain well into the nineteenth century and reverberated throughout the remnants of its overseas empire. The First Carlist War (1833–39) was another power struggle over succession, this time between representatives for Ferdinand VII's young daughter Isabella and his adult brother Charles. The conflict marked a 40-year period of oscillating power shifts [*pronunciamiento*] between conservative Carlist absolutists who supported a traditional monarchy and church and more liberal constitutionalists.

Constitutionalists were further divided into *moderados* [moderates] and *progresistas* [progressives]. Moderates supported the continuation of royal authority and Church privileges while progressives were pro-republic and anti-clerical.[22]

As Spain reeled from cycles of *pronunciamiento,* the Philippines experienced a similar whiplash effect. The archipelago became a favored exile site for political opponents. Depending on who was in power in Spain, a set of rivals might be shipped off to the Philippines only to be recalled once power shifted again in their favor. One result was the introduction of liberal ideals from the peninsula. However, there was little time to spread those ideals let alone implement them. Between 1838 and 1856, nine Spaniards served as governor-general of the Philippines. The high turnover of governors-general meant none truly gained the appropriate background knowledge or insight to tackle the monumental task necessary for successful colonial modernization: planning and implementing a universal primary school system in the archipelago. In addition, each governor-general had his own ideas about administration and legislative priorities, which often meant universal primary education was left by the wayside.[23]

Spanish ministers and intellectuals collectively began to recognize the necessity of universal primary education in the early nineteenth century for national stability and economic progress. Actually moving forward with implementation, especially in its distant colony, took much longer. The call for universal primary education in the Philippines first appeared in a decree dated 3 November 1839. It called for the formation of a commission, with instructions to:

1. Draft a course of study for the schools of both sexes, paying particular attention to the teaching of Castilian; and provide for uniform teaching in the schools.
2. Determine the number of male and female teachers necessary for the public schools and estimate the amount of revenue required for their support.
3. Report upon the necessity of a normal school, the advantages to be derived therefrom, and the advisability of undertaking the establishment of such a school.

4. Draft a plan for a school in Manila from which trained teachers suitable for teaching in the provinces might graduate.

Slow communication channels, personnel shortages, ecclesiastical opposition, and exceptionally high turnover among civil leadership meant the decree was not acted upon until approximately 15 years later.[24]

It might have been even longer before a governor-general acted upon the 1839 decree if not for a petition by two teachers from Laoag, Ilocos, requesting an increase in their salaries, which was three pesos per month. The petition brought the longstanding problems of unregulated and underfunded primary education to the attention of Governor-General Manuel Crespo (1854–1856). Shortly after receiving the teachers' petition, on 7 February 1855, Crespo appointed a commission to formulate a plan for universal primary education in the archipelago. He charged the commission with organizing a uniform system of primary schools with a common curriculum in Castilian and, after determining how many teachers would be needed for such a system, devising a plan for teacher training.[25]

In the first five years of its existence, the commission only held a few meetings and accomplished little. Progress on a plan stalled as commission members came and went, juggled multiple administrative roles, and bickered over the purpose and content of primary schools in the colony. Some points of debate included the need for a normal school, access to the necessary funds to support a universal primary education system, and the resolution of a key sticking point of the educational reform: Castilian as the medium of instruction.[26]

In the meantime, Spain passed its first Law of Public Instruction (1857) in the ongoing effort at domestic administrative modernization and national progress. Under Isabella II's moderate-leaning court, the so-called Moyano Law made primary education universal, compulsory, and linguistically uniform. The law also divorced the church from the nation's

schools; public *and* private schools would be under government control. The state would set the curriculum, oversee examinations, and award degrees. The power balance remained precarious in Spain; therefore, to appease the traditionalists, the Moyano Law did not remove Catholic doctrine as the basis for education at all levels. In trying to please multiple political factions, the 1857 law actually upset many outside political and church circles. Progressive intellectuals wanted a more clear-cut separation of church and state, while university professors bristled at losing the right to control curriculum, oversee examinations, and freely express their opinions.[27]

It was not until 1860, under yet another governor-general, Ramon Solano, that the commission was pressed into action.[28] Frustrated by the lack of progress on the part of the commission in implementing the decree, on 10 August 1860, Solano appointed Felipe del Pan to draft a plan for universal primary education. Del Pan worked in the office of the Secretariat of the Insular Government and was director of the daily government bulletin, the *Gaceta de Manila*. He submitted his plan to Solano after just 11 days, on 21 August 1860.[29]

Del Pan's plan was clear and concise (and, perhaps most importantly, complete). The most noteworthy recommendations included the establishment of a normal school in Manila, an emphasis on "practical knowledge of the useful arts and trades" in its curriculum, and the creation of a practice school, staffed by pre-service teachers. Just as Solano hoped, the swift submission of del Pan's proposal spurred members of the commission to finish the task assigned to them more than five years earlier.[30]

A newly reorganized and reenergized commission submitted its own plan in January 1861, which bore a striking resemblance to del Pan's earlier recommendations. It proposed a primary school curriculum centered on practical knowledge and the creation of a normal school to train indigenous and *mestizo* teachers to staff the primary schools. In explaining their delayed

process, commission members pointed to their thorough deliberations on all aspects of their plan. "Thorough deliberations" was an understatement since each aspect of the commission's plan was a source of heated debate.[31]

No issue was more contentious or more thoroughly debated than the medium of instruction in the primary schools. The tensions underlining the debate reflected the ideological conflicts of the metropole as well as the perceived dangers associated with educational expansion in a colonial context. Francisco Gainza, OP, then vice-rector of the *Universidad de Santo Tomás,* was one of the most active and influential members of the commission. He was also the most vocal in his opposition to Castilian as the medium of instruction in the archipelago's primary schools. When the commission submitted its proposal, Gainza remained the lone dissenting voice; he wrote an opinion that was attached as an appendix to the commission's proposal.[32]

Gainza's argument against teaching Castilian in Philippine primary schools was rooted in religion and politics. With improved communication and transportation, the flow of ideas from Europe—especially enlightened anti-clerical tracts—could now reach the archipelago. He wrote, "If we spread the knowledge of Castilian, if we allow it to penetrate into every corner of this country, however laudable may be our intentions in theory and objective, this step of ours will not be lacking in lamentable consequences." If Castilian became the national language of the Philippines, Gainza posited, it could open the door to Protestantism; all involved directly or indirectly in education would be complicit in sowing the seeds of anti-Catholic propaganda.[33]

If the indigenous population lost their connection with Spain's dominant religion, it would only be a matter of time before they also lost their loyalty to the metropole. According to Gainza, the spread of Castilian had alarming political implications. "A people without faith or morals greedily devours those ideas which arouse its passions and flatters its vanity. It lends its

ears to insinuations of independence; and since the reading of theories of equal rights casts a fascination over superficially minded men and the proletarian masses, once the chain of submission forged by a religious conscience is broken, the snapping of that forged by brute force becomes a mere question of time."[34]

Furthermore, the close to 200 dialects and myriad cultures found across the archipelago's more than 7,000 islands contributed to regionalism, which was beneficial to Spain. By maintaining regionalism, it was easier for the colonial administration to isolate and crush the many separate sources of insurrection. If the colonized gained a sense of commonality—in this case, an education grounded in Castilian—they might become emboldened to not only break their religious allegiance to Spain but also their political allegiance.[35] Gainza predicted "the day which sees the realization of national solidarity, when to the unity of language shall be added the unity of aspiration, may also see the arising in the midst of some determined leader who shall be able to sway countless multitudes, because it shall be possible then for an inflammatory proclamation to be read and understood" across the archipelago. Castilian could unite linguistically disparate regions and ultimately put an end to Spain's 300-year colonial rule.[36]

Around this time, another change in administration threatened to slow progress toward adopting a plan for universal primary education in the Philippines. In February 1861, José Lemery became the latest in a quick succession of governors-general. He was brand new to the job and had two proposals for universal primary education on his desk: del Pan's and that of the commission, which included Gainza's fatalistic dissent to widespread Castilian proficiency. With the Jesuits recently returned to Manila after their century-long expulsion, Lemery turned to the provincial of the Philippine province, José Fernández Cuevas, SJ, for guidance.[37]

Lemery asked Cuevas to review the commission's proposal and submit a memorandum that addressed Gainza's concerns about Castilian as the medium of instruction. Cuevas disagreed with Gainza. The respective positions of both men on a universal primary education system centered on language. What should be the language of the Spanish Philippines: of the government, courts, church, military, commerce, schools? A seemingly simple question on the surface was littered with landmines that could alter the course of Philippine history.

Cuevas' argument in favor of Castilian as the medium of instruction in Philippine primary schools reflected the Spanish Enlightenment interest in administrative rationalization and individual progress. Without a common language, administration at all levels would be crippled. Cuevas noted that when missionaries first arrived in the archipelago, their work was handicapped by the language barrier and the common practice of learning the local language instead of teaching Castilian to the indigenous population. Therefore, newly arrived missionaries spent two or three *years* in language study instead of in Christianization efforts.[38]

The refusal to have Castilian as a common language also hampered the administration of justice. The language of the courts was Castilian, yet few locals had knowledge of it. When the accused appear in court, "he is, as far as legal procedure is concerned, no better than a corpse, a dead body which neither hears nor understands nor speaks, because he does not know the language of the judge, nor does the judge know his." When someone appeared in court for a civil case, he relied on a translator, who had inordinate power over his fate. How could Spain label itself a modern state if those under its charge were not guaranteed the right to a fair trial?[39]

While Gainza feared Castilian would encourage a break in political and religious allegiance, Cuevas thought otherwise. Effective administration of the army, for example, was continually undermined because indigenous recruits could not understand their officers' orders.

It would be impossible to instill loyalty to Spain when indigenous soldiers only knew their Spanish officers by sight. Castilian would not be fatal to religion either: if the colonized wanted to revolt, they did not need to speak Castilian in order to understand each other. In other words, "conspirators will always have some means of communicating; if a conspiracy is feared, then let the causes of conspiracy be removed."[40]

The question remained: Were the processes of enlightened modernization, including universal primary education in Castilian, compatible with colonialism? Would the former necessarily lead to the downfall of the latter? Gainza answered unequivocally yes. He "believed that the Philippines could be cut off from the modern world indefinitely and allowed to work out gradually, under the watchful eye of Spain, its own culture." Universal primary education in Castilian was dangerous—dangerous for civil and church authority and dangerous for the "intellectually underdeveloped" peoples of the Philippines.[41]

Cuevas would agree that universal primary education in Castilian was a dangerous experiment in the Philippines; however, it was an experiment that should be pursued for cultural uniformity and overall progress. "He believed that sooner or later, the modern world would break through whatever fences Spain could put up around its colony; believed, therefore, that it would be wise if Catholic Spain itself initiated the modernization, so to speak, of the Islands, under the guidance of Catholic principles." Modernization was inevitable; it might as well be Catholic.[42]

The memorandum that Cuevas submitted to the governor-general on 20 April 1861 reflected his views on the purpose and content of primary schools for a modern colonial state. He recommended a state-supported system of primary schools, supervised by the religious orders. He also recommended the establishment of a normal school in Manila to provide professional, uniform training for indigenous and *mestizo* teachers.

The majority of indigenous youth needed an education suited to their needs. Cuevas wrote that schools should instill the "principles and practices of religion, love of country, respect for authority, love of work, dedication to one's family, an awareness of the importance of social life, and the dignity of the human person, i.e., true Christian civilization." His observations were reflective not only of the Enlightenment ideal that all individuals were deserving of an education, but also of the more pragmatic administrative needs of a modern colonial state.[43]

In defining a model education, Cuevas' report highlighted what was currently lacking in the schools. He feared that youth received little opportunity for intellectual or spiritual growth in the catechism and primary schools. Students were taught to memorize but not to analyze. Religious instruction was learned by rote without explanation. Students recited the catechism but could not explain its meaning nor the obligations of a Christian life. Rare was the primary school that taught writing and arithmetic; geography and history were completely absent.[44]

Letters, reports, and travelogues from the first half of the nineteenth century support Cuevas' observations on the dismal state of primary education in the archipelago. An unnamed, Manila-based Spanish businessman wrote to a cabinet minister in Madrid on 15 July 1827 about the "cruel disposition seen among the schoolmasters who are paid by the government to teach the youth in the villages." In 1835, the bishop of Cebu reported after a series of visitations within his diocese: "We noticed that in some towns only a few boys and girls were present at school. Our pastors must bend every effort seeing to it that all the children attend class daily and that the men and women teachers perform competently their task of instructing the young in reading, writing, and Christian doctrine."[45]

Sir John Bowring, former governor of Hong Kong and honorary member of the Manila chapter of the *Amigos del País,* published a memoir in 1859 of his time traveling in the

Philippines. Bowring described Manila's schools as "little changed from the monkish ages." Institutions established two or three centuries ago, such as the *Colegio de Santo Tomás,* "pursue the same course of instruction which was adopted at their first establishment." Bowring decried, for example, the absence of the natural sciences; practical instruction was also missing, which seemed problematic in an increasingly commercial, rapidly modernizing world.[46]

German ethnologist and naturalist Fedor Jagor spent just under two years observing the physical environment and culture of the Philippines (1859–60). He described *mestizas'* education in Manila as comprising the "elementary doctrines of Christianity." Jagor was likely referring to *beaterios*; there were four in Manila that offered elementary instruction at the time. Of primary education in the Bicol region, he wrote: "On average, half of the children go to school, usually from the seventh to their tenth year. They learn to read a little, a few even write a little. But they soon forget it again." Here, Jagor, like Cuevas, alluded to the linguistic and curricular disconnect between home and school life.[47]

Efforts at primary education had long been a problem in the archipelago due to the physical environment, scattered indigenous population, miniscule Spanish presence, lack of resources, and instability in the metropole. Nonetheless, universal primary education was also seen as a solution for a European nation looking to strengthen its national and economic standing and retain its remaining overseas possessions. An official commission, del Pan, Gainza, and Cuevas had now weighed in on a plan for universal primary education in the Philippines. Soon, a progressive Spanish politician and journalist, Patricio de la Escosura, joined the growing cacophony of voices expressing views on the content and purpose of education in the colony. While serving as Royal Commissioner of the Philippines (1861–63) Escosura completed a

survey of the colony's civil administration. His "Memoria sobre la enseñanza del idioma castellano" ["Report on the teaching of Castilian"] arrived in Madrid on 5 July 1863.

Escosura's report featured many of the same observations and recommendations as Cuevas' memorandum two years prior. Language was first and foremost on his mind. Escosura began, "Uniformity of language acts both as a source and as a carrier of those ideas and attitudes which characterize nations." He added that all "ancient and modern governments have always tried to standardize the language of their subjects," Spain included. Unity in language, Escosura argued, was necessary to establish loyalty between the metropole and its colonies.[48]

In Manila, the administrative, commercial, cultural, and educational center of the colony, Escosura found many did not speak Castilian; those considered fluent in the language actually spoke a form of crude pidgin. Outside of Manila, "hardly one individual is found among one hundred who understands and speaks more or less imperfect Castilian." Furthermore, there "are no schools outside the capital where [Castilian] is taught, nor do the parish priests take care to do so." Christian doctrine was taught exclusively in local dialects, despite almost three centuries of laws from the metropole requiring conversion take place in Castilian.[49]

Without universal Castilian proficiency, Escosura believed the indigenous population to be at the "mercy of the whole world," reliant on court translators, civil administrators, lawyers, doctors, and priests who may or may not have their best interests in mind. To deny access to Castilian was to deny the opportunity for individual progress, a key tenet of the Enlightenment. The reason for the widespread ignorance of Castilian among the indigenous population was not because they were incapable of learning, but, rather, "as painful as it is to confess, in ourselves, that we neglect his education."[50]

Like Cuevas, Escosura dismissed the argument that uniformity in language naturally leads to rebellion. Fair governance and universal education were key to a successful, modern colony: "Govern yourself well so that the country may prosper; there is vigor, economy and morality in the administration; public instruction be proportionate to the capacity and conditions of these natives; teach them to respect the laws, make them understand that they are decreed for their good, protecting them with its shield against all kinds of abuses and humiliations."[51]

Universal primary education would only succeed with trained, state-supported indigenous and *mestizo* teachers. "In the Philippines, capable and honorable schoolteachers [are needed], but at the same time of such modest condition as is required for all the peoples of the archipelago to enjoy the benefits of elementary education, without overly taxing your municipal funds."[52] Without question, Escosura concluded, Manila needed a normal school.

Following his general observations, Escosura presented 23 recommendations for a universal primary education system in the archipelago. More than half of the recommendations dealt with teachers: their training, responsibilities, and renumeration. He proposed each town establish a primary school under the administration and supervision of a secular school committee. Attendance should be compulsory for children of both sexes up to age ten. A teacher's salary, school building, and related materials should be covered by a municipal fund. To reinforce the spread of Castilian, Escosura recommended that six years after the establishment of a school in a town, Christian doctrine could no longer be preached in the local dialect. Furthermore, fifteen years after the establishment of a school, no one could hold local office without the ability to speak, read, and write Castilian.[53]

The recommendations of Cuevas and Escosura formed the basis for a royal decree on universal primary education in the Philippines that Isabella II signed on 20 December 1863.[54] Under the decree, each town must establish at least one primary school for boys and one for girls. School buildings should be well-lit and ventilated and located in or near the center of a town. Education was compulsory for children between the ages of seven and twelve, unless they already had some other recognized form of schooling such as a tutor or private school. Parents who failed to send their children to school would be fined. Primary education was free to all except those who could afford to pay a fee. Every student should receive free paper, ink, pens, and exercise books.[55]

A secular Superior Commission of Primary Instruction was formed to oversee the establishment of the universal primary school system and ensure system-wide uniformity. Members of the commission included the archbishop of Manila, the governor-general, and seven others "of well-known ability" appointed by the governor-general. Some of the Commission's duties—besides supervision of schools—were to approve textbooks, assign teachers to posts and determine their salaries, and classify schools on a four-level scale, from *escuela de entrada* up to *escuela de termino de primera clase*.[56]

While the decree did call for the secularization of the education system and the replacement of parish priests with trained teachers, religion did not lose its influence in the schools. The parish priest shifted from teacher to local school inspector. He also supervised religious instruction in the schools and provided evening religion classes for adults.[57]

Schools would be sex segregated, but the curriculum was fairly similar: all students would learn Christian doctrine, morals, and sacred history; reading; writing; Castilian language, grammar, and orthography; arithmetic; rules of courtesy; and music. Boys would also learn

Spanish geography and history and practical agriculture while girls would learn needlework. The plan of study was loosely divided into five elementary grades. Teachers could use their discretion to assign students to grade levels and instruct according to a student's ability.[58]

Though the decree transferred responsibility for public schools to the state, religion still formed the core of the curriculum. The school day began with mass, students prayed before their midday break, the afternoon session started with prayers, and Christian doctrine and morals comprised part of the afternoon's lessons. At the end of the school day children returned to church for prayers before being dismissed. Sunday afternoons provided additional opportunities for lessons in Christian doctrine, morals, sacred history, and music.[59]

One of the most significant provisions in the 1863 educational decree was the establishment of a normal school to prepare indigenous and *mestizo* educators to teach in the nascent universal primary education system. Teacher responsibilities and privileges were woven throughout the decree. Every teacher had to be a native of Spain or one of its possessions, have a history of good religious and moral conduct, speak and write Castilian, and be in good physical health and at least 16 years old. Like schools, teachers were placed into categories according to their performances on examinations; these categories determined salaries and school assignments (i.e., higher scores meant higher salaries and school assignments in more desirable locations such as Manila and provincial capitals). Communities were responsible for providing a school building, supplies, and the funds for a teacher's salary.[60]

The decree included several incentives for individuals to become *and remain* teachers. Teachers would receive free housing, and aside from his or her salary, were also entitled to the school dues paid by wealthy families. Teachers were exempt from paying taxes or working on community infrastructure projects such as building roads and bridges. After five years of duty,

teachers in good standing could become part of the *principalia.* In the long-term, teachers were eligible for retirement benefits after 25 years of service or at age 60, whichever came first.[61]

Spanish monarchs continually expressed their desire for conversion efforts to take place in Castilian. Yet, by the mid-nineteenth century, as observed by Cuevas, Escosura, and others, only a fraction of the indigenous population had any proficiency in the language. Historically, missionaries found it easier to learn local languages and dialects than to teach community members Castilian. But government ministers in the metropole still wanted to spread Castilian, thereby instilling Hispanized religious and cultural norms and loyalty to Spain. As such, the 1863 decree provided that any community member that could not speak, read, and write Castilian 15 years after the establishment of a school in their town would not be eligible for local government positions or inclusion in the *principalia* class unless by right of inheritance.[62]

Isabella II's 1863 decree establishing universal primary education and a normal school in the Philippines was one of the most visible, symbolic acts in support of enlightened colonial modernization. However, Spanish civil and ecclesiastical officials remained wary. Many would continue to associate colonial education with political action. Whether their fears were justified was yet to be determined. But some members of the indigenous population were already well-aware of the debates within Spanish political and religious circles about their supposed intellectual deficiences and limited future aspirations.

In 1821 a pamphlet made the rounds in Manila that exposed Spanish insecurities about an educated, bilingual indigenous population. The author, writing under the penname "El indio agravado," mockingly addressed his readers: "If we allow the *indios* to learn Castilian, some of them may turn out to be satirists and scholars who will understand what we say, dispute with us

and write things against us." The anonymous writer continued, "And so, that they may never rise from their miserable condition, that they may always be poor, that we may have them to serve us always, let us not teach them Castilian; let us leave them in their ignorance." By denying access to education, and education in Castilian, "we will always be the masters and they will always be poor, miserable, and ignorant, bearing all injuries, unable to defend themselves. We will possess all, and all will have need of us." The author then switched to a more serious tone. What was to fear from an educated people? Especially if Spain meant to pursue an enlightened program of reform in which the mother country and its colonies were to "be one and the same family, one and the same nation, one and the same monarchy embracing East and West." To deny the rights of individual happiness and prosperity that one gains through education was not enlightened modernization but rather "oppression, despotism, arbitrary rule, and egoism."[63]

By 1837, language was used in part to deny the Philippines representation in the Spanish Cortes, or parliament. The commissioners charged with drafting a moderate constitution in 1837 decided it imprudent to allow delegates from the Philippines to participate in the proceedings of the assembly. They reasoned the majority of inhabitants "do not know the Castilian language, and it is easily seen that if the delegates were *indios* we would not understand them nor they us in our assembly." Furthermore, any delegate ran the "risks and discomforts of a voyage of 5,000 leagues only to arrive too late" to take his seat in the Cortes. Distance could not be helped, but advances in transportation in the coming decades would eventually make that a moot point. Language, on the other hand, was an issue that could be addressed immediately in the schools.[64]

Around the time of Gainza's portentous warnings of universal Castilian proficiency and indigenous activism, the Spanish civil government established a permanent board of censors in 1856 to stem the flow of written material from Europe. The civil and ecclesiastic officials that

comprised the censorship board had peremptory powers to confiscate any material considered dangerous to Catholicism, morality, and political order. Anticlerical tracts, nationalist propaganda, and the works of Enlightenment authors such as Rousseau, Voltaire, Dumas, and Hugo, were especially targeted.[65]

The board of censors was woefully ineffective and even more so after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made the movement of people, ideas, and publications easier and more efficient. “Dangerous” works regularly found their way into the Philippines, often via a circuitous journey that included a stop in Hong Kong. A Spanish observer wrote of the censorship board in 1882: “The board of censors, by adopting an attitude at times which can only be called puerile, does nothing but direct the attention of the public [to what it forbids] with the result that more than one importer, taking advantage of the demand created, has gone into the enormously profitable business of supplying contraband literature, thus contributing to the harm which a book read on the sly is bound to inflict.” In other words, the more a written work was suppressed, the more the people wanted to read it.[66]

Across the nineteenth century, Spanish opposition to universal primary education in the Philippines grew and became more racist in tone. A Spanish journalist and longtime resident of Manila advocated against providing more than a basic education for the indigenous population. “Being able to read is like acquiring a tool. A tool is of no advantage to anyone who does not know how to use it. I despair of being able to convey how slight an impression the written word makes on the literate *indio*.” The journalist played on popular fears, such as those expressed during the debate over universal primary education, that widespread literacy in Castilian and improved means of communication between and travel to Europe could act as a tinderbox for a colony such as the Philippines.[67]

Too much education was dangerous, but so was too little education. Most indigenous students, observed the same journalist, did not finish their secondary education, which left them in a volatile condition: “The profit they derive from their studies is negligible. True, they learn a little Castilian; but they learn along with it much that they ought not to learn. Back in their towns, a certain air of smartness marks them out from the rest, and they are made much of. But since they have learned nothing of practical value in their state of life, and their wants are greater, they become an element of disturbance rather than of culture or advancement in their communities.” Education was necessary for colonial modernization; no one disagreed. According to the Spanish journalist, however, education should be bare bones and practical, focused on agriculture and production. This kind of education suited Filipinos’ inherent capabilities and was the safest route for the maintenance of Spanish hegemony in the colony.[68]

The official rhetoric of colonial modernization called for universal primary education in Castilian to promote national and individual progress. As Patricio Escosura and other enlightened reformers espoused around the time of the 1863 decree, “Uniformity of language acts both as a source and as a carrier of those ideas and attitudes which characterize nations.” Yet, Spaniards fought the educational reforms of colonial modernization while supporting the economic reforms that contributed to their personal financial growth. Meanwhile, despite official attempts at censorship and unofficial attempts to limit Castilian language acquisition, indigenous inhabitants became increasingly aware of Spanish xenophobia and their willingness to embrace some aspects of enlightened colonial modernization while eschewing others. This growing awareness of colonial prejudice and repression would lead many young people to embark on a journey of self-discovery. Identity formation and the quest to shape one’s own destiny would start in the schools.[69]

In 1869, Vicente Barrantes, a former diplomat in Spain's overseas ministry, wrote a history of education in the Philippines (1596–1868). In his book, he proffered that before 1863 "there hardly existed in the whole archipelago a single primary school worthy of the name … the educational institutions there exist only in embryonic stage." In his eyes—and the eyes of liberal Spanish reformers—the 1863 decree was a turning point in the individual and collective development of the archipelago. At long last was a clear, comprehensive plan for universal primary education reflecting the enlightened ideals of centralized, administrative rationalization and collective progress. A universal primary education system staffed by trained indigenous and *mestizo* teachers offering a uniform, sequenced curriculum in Castilian would allow the Philippines to become a thoroughly modern and profitable colony of Spain. In the colonial context, nineteenth-century modernization relied on the willingness of indigenous teachers to act as Hispanized agents of the colonial administration. The dangerous language experiment at the crux of Gainza and Cuevas' universal primary education debate was about to begin.[70]

[1] Patricio de la Escosura, "Memoria sobre la enseñanza del idioma castellano" (5 de julio de 1863), in *Memoria sobre Filipinas y Joló, redactada en 1863 y 1864* (Madrid: Simón y Osler, 1882), 1.

[2] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 57–58, 118–19; Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, eds., *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization, *Sociology of Education* 60 (1987), 2–17; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education since 1789: A Social and Political History of Modern Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

[3] Former Spanish American colonies and dates of independence: Venezuela (1811), Paraguay (1811), Argentina (1816), Chile (1818), Colombia (1819), Mexico (1821), Santo Domingo (1821), Guatemala (1821), Ecuador (1822), Peru (1824), Bolivia (1825), Uruguay (1828).

[4] Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Antonio Viñao, "Republicanism and Education from Enlightenment to Liberalism: Discourses and Realities in the Education of the Citizen in Spain," in eds. Tröhler, Popkewitz, and Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century,* 94–110.

[5] Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "Beyond Inevitability: The Opening of Philippine Provincial Ports in 1855," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25:1 (1994), 70–90; Jonathan Fast and Jim Richardson, *Roots of Dependency: Political and Economic Revolution in 19th Century Philippines* (Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1979).

[6] Benito J. Legarda, Jr., *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change, and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 93, 115; Aguilar, "The Opening of Philippine Provincial Ports in 1855," 70–71.

[7] Alfred McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly: The Rise and Decline of Iloilo City," in eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus, *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), 307–26. See also, Michael Cullinane, "The Changing Nature of the Cebu Urban Elite in the Nineteenth Century," in eds. McCoy and de Jesus, *Philippine Social History,* 271–76; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 80; David E. Gardinier and Josefina Z. Sevilla-Gardinier, "Rosa Sevilla de Alvero and the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila," *Philippine Studies* 37:1 (1989), 32.

[8] Onofre D. Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997), 112.

[9] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 81; David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840–1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 40.

[10] Daniel Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," in eds. Daniel Doeppers and Peter Xenos, *Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 169–71.

[11] Legarda, *After the Galleons,* 103, 126–130; Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines,* 108; Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 83; Alfred W. McCoy, "The Social History of an Archipelago," in eds. McCoy and de Jesus, *Philippine Social History,* 8.

[12] Bruce Cruikshank, "Continuity and Change in the Economic and Administrative History of 19th Century Samar," in eds. McCoy and de Jesus, *Philippine Social History,* 238; J.D. Blanco, *Frontier Constitutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Ramirez and Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling," 2–3.

[13] Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789,* 121.

[14] Ramirez and Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling," 4; Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789,* 122.

[15] Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, "Memoria sobre educacion publica, ó sea tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza, con aplicacion á las escuelas y colegios de niños" (1802), in *Obras publicadas é inéditas de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos.* Tomo primero (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1858), 230–32. See also, Angeles Galino Carrillo, "Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811)," *Perspectivas: revista trimestral de educación comparada* 23:3–4 (1993), 808–21.

[16] Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, "Bases para la formación de un plan general de instrucción pública" (1809), in *Obras publicadas é inéditas*, 268–76.

[17] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen,* 307.

[18] Ferdinand Buisson, ed., *Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire,* vol. 2 (Paris: Hachette, 1882–87), 1499; Alexis Léaud and Émile Glay, *L'école primaire en France,* vol. 2 (Paris: La Cité française, 1934), 153; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 310–12.

[19] William J. Reese, *America's Public Schools: From the Common School to "No Child Left Behind"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 10–11; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 91, 100.

[20] Horace Mann, *The Massachusetts System of Common Schools; Being an Enlarged and Revised Edition of the Tenth Annual Report of the First Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1849), 33–146. On the inclusion of free, public high schools in American common school reform, historian Carl Kaestle wrote in *Pillars of the Republic*, "The public high school cause paralleled the drive to make elementary education free and publicly supervised. Reformers argued that free public high schools were part of the democratization of education" (118). See also, William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[21] In turn-of-the-nineteenth-century America, girls' education was crucial for success in their future role as wives and mothers. Historian Margaret Nash argued that since many common school reformers believed women had a strong moral influence over their families, education was of "paramount importance to ensure women used their power well." *Women's Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 56–57. Similarly, in "Bases para la formación de un plan general de instrucción pública" (1809), Jovellanos wrote: "The education of girls … should have as its object the formation of good and virtuous mothers" (*Obras publicadas é inéditas*, 274).

[22] Willard A. Smith, "The Background of the Spanish Revolution of 1868," *The American Historical Review* 55:4 (1950), 789–90; William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 282–85.

[23] Vicente Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas, desde 1596 hasta 1868* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1869), 100–01. During the height of *pronunciamiento* in Spain, a Spanish official in the Philippines, Juan Manuel de la Mata, wrote to a colleague in support of enlightened administrative reforms to stabilize the nation's hold on its colony: "We may still manage to retain this precious portion of the Spanish monarchy provided we lose no time in taking preventative security measures and exercise the keenest foresight in planning judiciously and promptly putting in motion the administrative reforms demanded by a new and different age. Equal justice, prudent firmness, and government ability have now become indispensable to the preservation of these important possessions." Juan Manuel de la Mata to Minister of Finance, Manila, 24 March 1843, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter, AHN).

[24] Real órden de 3 de noviembre de 1839, cited in Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 101–02. See also, Camilo Osias, *Education in the Philippines under the Spanish Regime* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1917), 94.

[25] Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Historia de Filipinas* (Manila: La Pilarica, 1916), 449.

[26] Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 100–05; Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565–1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932), 48–50.

[27] Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* 291–92; Mario Santana and Antonio Pérez García, "Education and citizenship in the construction of the Spanish state: From the Constitution of Cádiz to the creation of the Ministry of Public Education (1812–1900)," in ed. Elisa Martí-López, *The Routledge Hispanic Studies Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spain* (London: Routledge, 2020).

[28] Roman Solano was governor-general for less than a year, from 12 January 1860 until his death from illness on 29 August 1860. He had only just replaced Fernando Norzagaray (1856–1860), who had resigned as governor-general late the previous year due to illness. Norzagaray died in Spain on 12 September 1860 of dysentery.

[29] Vincent R. Catapang, *The Development and the Present Status of Education in the Philippine Islands* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1926), 52–53; Carmen Diaz Tañedo, "Education in the Philippines, 1863–1896," in ed. Dalmacio Martin, *A Century of Education in the Philippines, 1861–1961* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1980), 40; Horatio de la Costa, SJ, *Light Cavalry* (Manila: Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, Peimon Press, 1997), 54.

[30] Jose S. Arcilla, SJ, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria, 1865–1905," *Philippine Studies* 36:1 (1988), 16–17; de la Costa, *Light Cavalry,* 54.

[31] José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas,* Tomo III (Madrid: Tello, 1895), 314–15fn; Tañedo, "Education in the Philippines, 1863–1896," 40. The newly reorganized commission included the governor-general, the archbishop of Manila, Francisco Gainza, OP, Juan Felipe de Encarnacion, OAR, Pedro Bertran, SJ, Felino Gil, Cesar Lozana, and Pablo Ortiga y Rey, with Felipe del Pan as secretary.

[32] Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 109; "Voto particular sobre estudio obligatorio para los Yndios de la lengua castellana, emitido del infrascrito en la Junta de educacion primaria, por Francisco Gainza" (1861), Folleto 17.5b, Archives of the University of Santo Tomas (hereafter, AUST).

[33] Francisco Gainza, OP (1861), cited in de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 55–56. See also, Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 110–11; Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines,* 50. It is interesting to note that Gainza viewed universal Castilian proficiency as antithetical to national and religious unity when the Enlightenment ideals underlying colonial modernization considered linguistic uniformity essential for national unity and progress.

[34] Francisco Gainza, OP (1861), quoted in de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 55–56.

[35] Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 110–12.

[36] Francisco Gainza, OP (1861), quoted in de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 56–57. See also, Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 19. Gainza's argument about Castilian proficiency and the ability to read anti-Spanish and anti-clerical tracts came soon after the creation of a censorship board in the archipelago in 1856.

[37] Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas,* 314–15. See also, Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 109; Tañedo, "Education in the Philippines, 1863–1896," 39.

[38] Tañedo, "Education in the Philippines, 1863–1896," 41; de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 57–58.

[39] José Fernández Cuevas, SJ (1861), cited in de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 58. See also, Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 20.

[40] de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 59; Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581–1959" *Philippine Studies* 7:1 (1959), 87.

[41] de la Costa, *Light Cavalry*, 63. Spanish writers continued to support Gainza's line of reasoning into the second half of the nineteenth century. One Spaniard compared educated indigenous priests to "political dynamite" in 1880. According to Francisco Cañamaque, it was best to suppress the educational and professional ambitions of natives and *mestizos* and steer them toward skilled labor. "Given the religious fanaticism of the Filipino people, [indigenous priests] constitute political dynamite which is bound sooner or later to explode." Providing Filipinos with too much education before they were ready could prove disastrous. "The governors and bishops ought to give weighty consideration to this matter and direct the inclinations of the natives along more useful lines, until conditions in the Islands shall permit the employment along other lines of a part of its resources without fatal injury to the general interest of the country." The specter of imminent disaster was a common thread in Spanish writings on the connections between colonial education and political action. Francisco Cañamaque, *Las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1880), 59–65.

[42] Ibid., 63–64.

[43] Plan de Instrucción Primaria por el P. Jose Fernandez Cuevas, SJ, Manila, 20 de Abril de 1861. *Coleccion Pastells*, CX, document 11, Archivo de la Provincia Tarraconense (San Cugat del Valles, Barcelona).

[44] Ibid.

[45] Letter, signed P. de S.M., Madrid, 15 July 1827. Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library Chicago (hereafter, NLC); Obispado de Cebu, *Pastorales y demas disposiciones circuladas a los párrocos de esta Diócesis de Cebu por los señores obispos o sus vicarios generales,* Tomo I (Manila: Universidad de Santo Tomás, 1885), 20.

[46] Sir John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), 194.

[47] Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), 32–33; 156. There were at least six known intuitions in Manila that offered primary education during the years 1859–60: Colegio de Santa Potenciana, Colegio de Santa Isabel, Colegio de Santa Catalina, and Colegio de Santa Rosa for girls, which enrolled a combined 231; Colegio de San Juan de Letran and the Escuela municipal for boys, which enrolled a combined 381. *Guia oficial de Filipinas, 1860* (Manila: Chofré, 1860), 99–104. See also, Pablo Pastells, SJ, *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX,* Tomo I (Barcelona: Editorial Barcelonesa, 1916), 14.

[48] Escosura, "Memoria sobre la enseñanza del idioma castellano" (5 de julio de 1863), 1–2.

[49] Ibid., 5–6.

[50] Ibid., 10–11.

[51] Ibid., 15.

[52] Ibid., 19, 22–23.

[53] Ibid., 25–30.

[54] See Appendix A for the entire text of the 1863 decree. The accompanying regulations for schools and teachers, passed on the same day, 20 December 1863, are in Appendix B.

[55] Art. 3 and 4, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863; Art. 2, 4, and 9, Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas. Compilación de lo legislado sore este ramo, comentada, anotada y concordada* (Manila: Chofré, 1894), 1–7; 117–28.

[56] Art. 15, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas; Art. 34, Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 6; 127.

[57]Art. 10, Reglamento interior de las escuelas de instrucción primaria, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 128–32.

[58] Art. 3, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas; Art. 1, Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 3–4; 117.

[59] Art. 8 and 9, Reglamento interior de las escuelas de instrucción primaria, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 130.

[60] Art. 7, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas; Art. 12, 16, 20, and 22, Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 4–5; 121–23.

[61] Art. 7, 12, 13, and 14, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas; Art. 23 and 24, Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 4–6; 123–24.

[62] Art. 16 and 17, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 6–7.

[63] "El indio agraviado" (Manila: Imprenta de Sampaloc, 1821). See also, W. E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas,* vol. 2 (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906), 510.

[64] Quoted in José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestros dias,* vol. 2 (Madrid: Tello, 1894) 564–65.

[65] Francisco Gainza, OP, "Proyecto para la creación de una Junta de Censuras sobre la introducción de libros, redactado a nombre del Sr. Fiscal de lo civil: historia de la misma hasta su instalación definitive" (1857), Folleto 126.7, AUST.

[66] Francisco Javier de Moya y Jiménez, *Las Islas Filipinas en 1882. Estudios históricos, geográficos, estadísticos y descriptivos* (Madrid: El Correo, 1883), 216–19.

[67] José Felipe del Pan, *Las Islas Filipinas: Progresos en 70 años* (Manila: Oceanía Española, 1878), 403–05.

[68] Ibid. Many Spanish criticisms of colonial education and the intellectual capabilities of Filipinos following passage of the 1863 decree were grounded in social Darwinism. A typical social Darwinist argument for why Filipinos were and always would be inferior to Spaniards came from writer Pablo Feced in 1888. Feced believed the way for Filipinos to improve materially and intellectually was through a massive infusion of Spanish blood. Spanish (white) immigration was the only hope for the development of "inferior and backward peoples." Therefore, Feced wrote, "*indios* must desire, encourage, and pay for the settlement of many Spaniards in this Spanish territory; Spaniards who, thanks to the mysterious laws of genetics, will introduce into your inbred psychosomatic organism that other mystery of natural selection which extends the divine law of progress into the deepest springs of life itself." His proposal for a prodigious influx of Spaniards to the Philippines never materialized. However, by 1897, another Spanish writer, Manuel Sastrón, argued that a delayed plan (seemingly Feced's) proposing to bring peninsular Spaniards to populate and develop the Philippines would have prevented many of the social ills facing the archipelago. In short, more Spaniards in the Philippines could have prevented a revolution. Pablo Feced, *Filipinas. Esbozos y pinceladas por Quioquiap* (Manila: Ramirez, 1888), 219–226; Manuel Sastrón, *Colonizacion de Filipinas immigración peninsular* (Manila: Asilo de Huérfanos, 1897).

[69] Escosura, "Memoria sobre la enseñanza del idioma castellano" (5 de julio de 1863), in *Memoria sobre Filipinas y Joló,* 1.

[70] Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 7.

Manila in 1870, with locations of several schools, including the *Escuela Normal*, *Ateneo Municipal, Colegio de Letran*, *Universidad de Santo Tomás*, and *Beaterio de Sta. Catalina*. Source: Agustin de la Cavada, *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas,* Tomo 1, Isla de Luzon (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876).

Chapter Three: Indigenous Agents of Modernization and the Professionalization of Teaching in the Philippines (1863–1872)

The normal school should offer, as far as possible, instruction in the holy Catholic faith, the national language, and all the basic skills and information necessary for life.[1]
Francisco Baranera, SJ, 1865 (first director of the Escuela Normal de Manila)

Successful implementation of a universal primary education system in the Philippines hinged on a trained indigenous and *mestizo* teaching force. The first article of the educational decree, signed by Isabella II on 20 December 1863, addressed the establishment of a normal school, reflecting the importance of trained teachers to promote national and individual progress in the primary schools. "A normal school for primary teachers is to be established in the city of Manila, in charge of and under the direction of the fathers of the Society of Jesus. The normal school is to serve as a seminary for religious, obedient, and trained teachers for the management of schools of primary instruction for the natives throughout the whole archipelago." The normal school, like much of Spain's modernization efforts, occupied a precarious space between secular and religious: it would be subsidized by the government but operated by the Jesuits.[2]

Upon word of the decree, the Jesuits wasted no time in beginning their task. On 28 December 1863, José Fernández Cuevas, SJ, received a communication from Fermin Costa, SJ, provincial of Aragon: "Father General has given his approval to our taking charge of the Escuela Normal which the Government has offered to us, to be run according to the plan submitted by your Reverence. Please send copy of said plan to me so that I may use it in the selection of the men for the new group I am forming." With a politically unstable Spain on the cusp of another power shift, the time to act was now.[3]

Cuevas had devoted almost three years to crafting a plan for universal primary education in the Philippines, including responding to criticisms about the need for a normal school and

Francisco Gainza's fatalistic views on Castilian as the medium of instruction. Working on this task was just one of his duties since the order returned to the archipelago after almost a century's absence. Cuevas was also occupied with re-establishing the Jesuit mission in Mindanao. In addition, he took charge of a failed Manila primary school, the *Escuela Municipal de Niños de Manila,* and soon transformed it into a premier elementary–secondary institution, renamed the *Ateneo Municipal de Manila.* Cuevas would not live to see his contributions to universal primary education and teacher training come to fruition; he died in April 1864 of cholera.[4]

In December of the same year, the Jesuits who were to take charge of the normal school arrived in Manila from Cádiz, Spain. The five men included Fathers Francisco Baranera, Jacinto Juanmarti, and Pedro Llausas, and Brothers Gabriel Pujol and Segismundo Berengueras. After a few days' rest, the new arrivals began preparations to open the normal school. The building earmarked for the school was located on Calle Palacio within Manila's walled city [*Intramuros*]. School expenses would first be covered by the central treasury and later through local funds.[5]

An itemized account of the expenses incurred to establish the normal school reveal the scope of the project, which was unlike any educational endeavor previously attempted in the Spanish Philippines. The initial expenses also reflect the hope liberal reformers pinned to the educational institution as an essential component of colonial modernization. The normal school would be equal parts school, dormitory, and chapel at an estimated 6,000 pesos (more than 460,000 USD in 2021). The itemized account, divided into 12 categories, contained detailed lists of equipment and associated expenses (see Table 1).[6]

Table 1. Account of installation expenses for the Escuela Normal, 1865

Category	Items
Reception room	3 sofas, 3 armchairs, 12 black chairs, 12 small chairs, 2 small tables, 1 image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with bell, 1 picture
Classrooms	16 writing tables with 16 railings, 4 extra tables, 1 small revolving table, 2 tables with low benches, 2 armchairs for the teachers, 1 large blackboard mounted on 2 supports, 4 easels, inkwells, blotting paper, pens, ink, chalk, and eraser
Chapel & sacristy	1 box for ornaments, 1 cupboard for the sacristy, 2 confessional boxes, 1 crucifix, 1 laver, 6 altar coverings with 6 sets of small cloths, 1 tabernacle, 6 small brass candlesticks, 2 gilded candlesticks, 1 chalice, lamps, vinegar cruet, carpets, wax tapers, and holy water basin
Study room	5 large double tables, 5 dozen *sillas americana*, 4 lamps, maps with chains and frames, pictures, charts, and 1 wall clock
Gym & bathrooms	1 trapeze, 2 ninepin sets, 6 large and 4 small earthen jars, and bath towels
Kitchen	1 cooking range capable of providing meals for 100 people, 3 heaters, 17 saucepans, 1 colander, 5 baking pans, 2 stewpans, 1 funnel, 2 coppers, 4 knives, 3 ladles, 3 skimmers, 12 jars, and 30 dishes
Dining room	6 large tables, 2 dozen chairs, 2 couches, 12 benches, 3 cupboards, 12 dozen plates, 8 dozen pieces of a dinner service, 8 large spoons, 24 dozen serviettes, 8 dozen glasses, 8 dozen cups, 6 pepper shakers, 5 coffee sets, 20 water bottles, 5 servers, 8 soup tureens, 8 preserve dishes, table linens, and oilcloth covers
Infirmary	1 cupboard with glass door, 1 large table with 10 drawers, 2 armchairs with stands, and 1 complete medicine chest
Student dormitories	50 iron bed frames, 50 mattresses, canvas, thread, rope, 60 *narra* [wood] screens, 18 pieces of rough dimity, 50 chests and small cupboards for the rooms, 20 pieces of coconut fiber for curtains, 45 commodes, and 17 dozen towels
Rooms of the director, fathers & lay brothers	5 bed frames, 5 mattresses, 5 mosquito nets, 2 large tables, 2 small tables, 24 chairs, 7 washstands, 7 shoeboxes, 4 writing desks, 6 armchairs, 6 commodes, and 3 cupboards
Servants' room	8 bamboo beds, 8 pillows, 8 *petate* [woven mats], 12 coverings, 4 small tables, 2 benches
Various furniture & equipment	Altar, cross, chalice, eucharist set, missal, incense, bread, wine, rochets [white vestments], 3 wardrobes, 2 bookcases, pictures for the corridors, 1 clock, 40 flowerpots, 9 bulletin boards, 6 curtains, 14 table lamps, 4 copper candlesticks, 8 benches, brooms, and feather dusters

Until this point in the Spanish Philippines, educational institutions cobbled together funds from a hodgepodge of sources—private donors, local taxes, tuition and associated fees, mutual aid societies—to meet operation expenses. Schools at all levels struggled to supply students with adequate instructional material and equipment, let alone provide for teachers. The establishment of the Escuela Normal marked a significant shift in tangible government support for universal education in the colony. But would the government subsidies continue beyond 1865?[7]

On 23 January 1865, Governor-General Rafaél Echagüe (1862–1865) presided over the inauguration and opening exercises of the first normal school in the Philippines. Regarding its purpose, Fr. Baranera highlighted the religious *and* secular goals of the institution. The normal school needed to "bring to all points of the archipelago the light of a genuine and properly understood civilization which consists, above all, in raising the spirit above the earthly."[8]

To meet the spiritual and material needs of a modern colony, the school should offer "as far as possible instruction in the holy Catholic faith, the national language [Castilian], and all the basic skills and information necessary for life." Only a uniform curriculum delivered by professional teachers could meet Spain's goals for its colony: Christianization, Hispanization, administrative rationalization, and economic progress. At the time of Baranera's speech, no one questioned the ability of the Jesuits to meet the challenge of cultivating in the inhabitants of a distant 7,000-island archipelago a love for the Catholic Church, Castilian, and Spain.[9]

The following day, Baranera, as the first director of the normal school, appointed Fathers Juanmarti and Llausas as professors, and Brothers Pujol and Berengueras as day-to-day domestic support. The regulations for a normal school that accompanied the 1863 educational decree provided for a director, at least four professors, as many brother coadjutors [assistants] as might

be necessary, one porter, and "indispensable subordinates." The initial—and continued—understaffing of the normal school foreshadowed a fatal oversight in the framers' ambitious plans to successfully execute a universal primary education system in the Philippines.[10]

As director, Baranera exercised absolute authority over all professors, employees, and students. He also maintained the curriculum and oversaw students' training. Outside of his academic duties, Baranera presided over literary ceremonies, visited students' rooms, maintained discipline, and, when necessary, expelled students. The Jesuit professors had similarly broad responsibilities.[11]

Of the "four or more" professors at the normal school, one acted as spiritual adviser, presided at all religious ceremonies, and taught sacred history, morals, and religion. Another professor focused on students' manners, accompanied students on their walks, and attended all general ceremonies related to students' lives inside the school. The remaining professors handled other subjects of the curriculum. Outside of school duties, Jesuits juggled other ecclesiastical and civic responsibilities. For example, the normal school director was also a member of the Superior Commission on Public Instruction and regularly advised on the number and location of primary schools. Those who taught calligraphy at the normal school often appeared in the courts as handwriting experts in forgery cases.[12]

There were two types of normal school students: scholarship and self-funded. Students on scholarship, called *pensionados,* were selected by the civil government and either boarded at the school (*alumnos internos*) or lived with parents or guardians in or close to Manila (*alumnos externos*). *Pensionados* did not pay tuition but were required to teach in public schools for 10 years upon graduation; if they left the profession beforehand, they had to repay the government

the cost of their education. To ensure a geographically representative cadre of teachers, the civil government set quotas for *pensionados* based on a province's population.[13] Provincial commissions examined candidates and forwarded the names of successful applicants to the normal school for the final admission decision.[14]

Youth not selected as *pensionados* could apply to be boarding students (*alumnos supernumerarios*) and pay tuition, which was 8 pesos per month in 1863. While difficult to enforce, the Jesuits preferred students to reside within the school so youth could be immersed in Castilian and better develop self-discipline and a morally upright character under constant supervision of their professors.[15]

Before being admitted, prospective normal school students had to meet several criteria. Men had to be natives of Spain or one of its possessions; have a history of good religious and moral conduct; speak, read, and write Castilian; and be in good physical health and at least 16 years old. As part of the application to the normal school, students included baptism certificates and character statements from their parish priests, letters attesting to their age and residency signed by their town's local leaders, and, if available, secondary school records.[16]

While the entrance requirements to the Escuela Normal might appear rudimentary to an outside observer, they were no different than the requirements for admittance to normal schools elsewhere in the world during the same time period. In America, prospective normal school students had to be in good physical health and have a strong moral character. Academically, they needed to speak, read, and write English, know basic arithmetic and grammar, and have a grasp of physical and political geography. French normal school requirements were similar: one must speak, read, and write French, know basic arithmetic and the elements of drawing, and be in good physical health. Normal school entrance requirements reflected the needs of the global

nineteenth-century modernization mission, namely national identity, duties of citizenship, linguistic unity, and basic skills to operate in the new, industrializing world.[17]

Sixty students—50 *pensionados* and 10 *alumnos supernumerarios*—were admitted in the first class at the Escuela Normal. Not all were present for the first day of school on 23 January due to travel delays from remote provinces. The normal school initially offered a two-year program to ensure a prompt supply of indigenous and *mestizo* teachers for the nascent public school system. However, almost immediately, the Jesuits realized that they would need to add a series of remedial courses to prepare students for the actual normal school coursework. They also added a third and final year to the normal course.[18]

The coursework and texts were based on the original recommendations of Cuevas and covered what educators would be expected to teach in the primary schools. Teacher candidates studied religion, morals, and sacred history; the theory and practice of reading and writing; Castilian with exercises in analysis, composition, and orthography; arithmetic; Spanish geography and history; geometry; physics and natural sciences; agriculture; rules of courtesy; vocal and instrumental music; and pedagogy. All lessons were in Castilian.[19]

The normal school director maintained and updated the curriculum. As a teaching order, the Jesuits recognized that schools were only as good as the teachers. A standard, rigorous curriculum would legitimize Spain's colonial modernization efforts and reflect the value attached to the new primary schools and those who would lead them. Indeed, the program of studies at the Escuela Normal closely mirrored the training offered at normal schools in America and Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, including primary school subject matter, pedagogy, classroom

management, and time spent student teaching. As with the entrance requirements, the normal school curriculum mirrored the perceived needs of a modern society.[20]

The school year was approximately nine-months long, from June through late March. Students had classes every day except Thursdays, Sundays, and certain religious and civil holidays. The longest religious holiday was Christmas, which ran from 24 December through Epiphany on 6 January. The school year was dictated by tropical weather patterns; the hottest months of the year, April and May, comprised the summer vacation, which students typically spent at home with their families.[21]

Normal-school students' lives were strictly regimented, often described as monastic (see Table 2). On a daily basis, boarding students heard mass, spent time in spiritual reading, and recited the rosary together. On a monthly basis, students attended confession and received communion.[22]

Table 2. Student schedule at the Escuela Normal de Maestros de Manila

Morning	Afternoon	Evening
5:00AM Wake up	12:30PM Lunch, recess	6:00PM Rosary & spiritual lecture
5:30AM Mass	1:45PM Rest	6:30PM Study
6:00AM Bathe, study	2:15PM Study	8:15PM Supper, rest
6:55AM Breakfast, recess	2:45PM Recess	9:00PM Inspection, bed
7:25AM Recitations	2:55PM Recitations	
10:00AM Recess	5:00PM Classes dismissed	
10:10AM Drawing, music		
11:10AM Study		

When school was in session, students spent six hours in class and five hours in independent study. Long hours of recitations and study were necessary to achieve one of the prime objectives of the school (and of the colonial administration): mastery of Castilian. Reflecting on the composition and organization of the program of studies in 1887, the Escuela

Normal director wrote: “Among the courses which compose the teacher training program, Castilian grammar, or rather, the Castilian language, the theory and practice of teaching, and the theory and practice of reading and writing, rank first in importance and should be treated as fundamental. Arithmetic holds second place.” This train of thought aligned with the Spanish Enlightenment figures and liberal politicians who championed a modernization agenda built on national identity, cultural stability, and linguistic uniformity.[23]

Students at the Escuela Normal remained relatively insulated from the political and social events happening around them. The insularity was by design. Jesuit institutions of higher education purposely resembled cloistered communities so students could focus on their intellectual and spiritual development. The *Ratio Studiorum,* first published in 1599, outlined Jesuit pedagogy. According to the *Ratio Studiorum,* if one was to attain knowledge, he should strive for mastery; mastery came from systemic learning in an environment devoid of obstacles that might hinder mastery.[24]

The goal for students in Jesuit institutions of higher education was to live and learn with minimal outside distractions; in other words, school was to be a temple of learning, not a “political club.” A packed, regimented schedule of academics, recitations, Castilian, religion, pedagogy, and exams, always under the watchful eyes of Jesuit professors, was designed to leave little opportunity for idleness. On the other hand, cloistered tertiary institutions in Manila provided like-minded individuals, and increasingly young indigenous and *mestizo* youth, a built-in community in which to develop their identities and share ideas and aspirations, especially about their place within the machinations of colonial modernization.[25]

Many Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials sensed the dangers presented by the expansion of educational opportunities, especially higher education, to indigenous and *mestizo* inhabitants in a colonial context. Schools—and an educated populace—were necessary for colonial modernization. Yet, as access opened to more youth, schools were increasingly attacked for failing to keep indigenous and *mestizo* students in line. In 1869, a liberal student movement, *Juventud Escola Liberal,* emerged at the Dominican *Universidad de Santo Tomás* in Manila. The movement culminated in an 1870 student protest that officials quickly used to illustrate the dangers of Enlightenment ideals infiltrating Philippine educational spaces.[26]

The protest centered on a series of anonymous leaflets circulated by students, between the ages of 16 and 23, "criticizing the methods of instruction of the Dominicans and petitioning that new chairs be endowed for more competent professors, that education be given the breadth and scope that it has in the mother country, and that if possible the university be withdrawn from the control of the Dominicans and placed directly under the government." These students of civil and canon law argued that if education was a national concern necessary for the progress of all, then it was too important to be entrusted exclusively to a single religious order, which might have objectives "contrary to the established policy of the duly constituted civil authorities."[27]

Gregorio Sancianco, who attended the university at the time of the protest, reflected back on the incident in 1881. He asserted there was "nothing in this movement promoted by adolescents that could threaten even remotely the national security. They were guilty of no breach of discipline within the university. There was no disturbance or interruption of classes. The letter writers remained anonymous. They made no public pronouncements nor any attempt to secure a following, the best proof of this being that the residents of the walled city, which is no more than four square kilometers in area, remained blissfully ignorant of the whole affair."

And yet, officials interpreted the students' demands as an attempted separatist movement, which led to the arrest of a 23-year-old law student, Felipe Buencamino, accused of masterminding the protest. Civil officials then charged a number of parents residing in the provinces who did not even understand Castilian. After nine months, "the case was closed because no one was found guilty of the crime of conspiracy against the state, which was how the affair was qualified at first, nor, indeed, of anything more serious than circulating those anonymous letters confiscated in the university." Officials' overreaction revealed civil and ecclesiastic insecurities about their potential inability to maintain authority over an ambitious, educated native populace.[28]

Meanwhile, at the Escuela Normal, students sometimes caused problems. As teachers, they were expected to be morally upright, exemplary representatives of the colonial administration once dispatched to primary schools around the archipelago. In other words, they were expected to behave in ways that would support—and not embarrass—Church and State. In describing the qualities of teacher-graduates, Article 1 of the *Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros* [Regulations of the Normal School for Male Teachers] emphasized the importance of personal character as well as academic skill. Teachers should be *religiosos, morigerados é instruidos* [religious, even tempered, and well instructed] in order to be effective indigenous agents of colonial acculturation in school and community settings throughout the islands.[29]

Indigenous and *mestizo* teachers were servants of the colonial administration. Their jobs were not only to educate the populace but to support the metropole's project of Christianization, Hispanization, and colonial modernization. In preparation for this heady responsibility, normal school students were closely monitored by their Jesuit professors and punished or expelled for infractions such as laziness, disrespectfulness, bad conduct, and "depraved morals."[30]

While students were expected to exhibit good conduct inside and outside of the school grounds, the director of the normal school still regularly dealt with behavioral incidents. Since most normal school students were teenagers, trouble was bound to happen. One of the more serious incidents took place in 1872, not long after the student unrest at nearby *Santo Tomás*. On 29 July, the commander of the *Escuela de Cadetes* [Military Academy] submitted a complaint to the governor-general against a group of normal school students.[31]

The commander accused the normal school students of converging near the military academy, causing disturbances, and insulting some cadets of the Infantry Regiment. According to the commander, one of the cadets had a brother at the *Ateneo Municipal de Manila* who had insulted the normal school students. As such, the cadet was an unwitting victim of a growing student rivalry between the Escuela Normal and the Ateneo. Two weeks later, on 13 August, Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo wrote to the normal school director requesting an inquiry into the hostilities between the cadets and normal school students. Specifically, he told the director to "warn the guilty parties according to the prescriptions" of the normal school charter and assign punishments accordingly.[32]

This incident between students of the Escuela Normal and *Escuela de Cadetes* (and, by association, the *Ateneo Municipal*) reflected more than the enduring "boys will be boys" trope. Indeed, at the Escuela Normal—and the *Universidad de Santo Tomás* and other elite Manila schools opening admission beyond *peninsulares* in the second half of the nineteenth century—indigenous and *mestizo* youth shared common bonding experiences with their peers inside and outside the classroom. And these common bonding experiences contributed to their identity formation as indigenous collaborators in the colonial modernization project: whether as teachers, military members, civil servants, or commercial house clerks. By capitalizing on educational

opportunities expanded through the processes of administrative and economic modernization, indigenous and *mestizo* youth began to fashion personal identities and foster "old school ties" that would link them to their peers well beyond graduation.[33]

Another essential aspect of a normal school student's training was putting theory into practice. Students could not graduate without spending six months in the adjacent *Escuela práctica* [practice school], where they taught neighborhood boys ages 6 to 15 under the watchful eye of a master teacher. While in the *Escuela práctica*, the master teacher submitted regular reports to the Escuela Normal director on the quality of a student teacher's work and their ability to manage a school.[34]

A graduate of the Escuela Normal, Mariano Padilla, recounted his experience in the *Escuela práctica*: "The practice school, supervised by a graduate of the normal school, furnished the students an illustration of how to teach, as well as how to organize and manage a large school. … The pupil teachers were not only required to master the lessons and practical exercises assigned but were also expected to be able to present and explain each subject in such a way that it could be understood by the children."[35]

Padilla described the four pedagogical approaches studied at the Escuela Normal as individual, simultaneous, mutual, and mixed. Individual instruction allowed for one-on-one time with students, but it was not practical for large schools. Simultaneous instruction called for dividing a school into classes and having teachers focus on certain subjects. However, a perennial teacher shortage meant that more often than not, teachers were compelled to teach all subjects to all classes. Padilla's description of the mutual system was more commonly known as the monitorial or Lancastrian system in America and Europe. Students were divided into groups

and taught by more advanced students, called monitors. The teacher supervised the work of the monitors and instructed the monitors outside of regular school hours. Padilla described the system as practical and "in vogue" for larger schools but ultimately exhausting for the teacher on account of the "arduous duties."[36]

The *Escuela práctica* operated on the "mixed system," a combination of simultaneous and mutual instruction. The teacher created ability groups of approximately 15 students. From the most advanced group, the teacher formed two groups of monitors (first and second monitors). One first monitor and one second monitor were assigned to teach an ability group in turns. According to Padilla, "the teacher divided his own time into three equal parts, one of which was devoted to the instruction of the first monitors, one to the second monitors, and the remainder was given to the general supervision of the school." Padilla favored this system since it combined direct teacher supervision with assistance from the student monitors.[37]

Similar to the monitorial schools spreading across New York, London, and other cities, the *Escuela práctica* in Manila made liberal use of bells to alert students to the start, end, and transition between classes. In the rapidly industrializing West, bells were utilized to train young minds for work in factories and for lives in a new world dictated by formal timekeeping. In the Spanish Philippines, the emphasis on bells was less on preparation for factory work, but the self-disciplining theory of bells was much the same. At the end of one grammar lesson in the *Escuela práctica,* "the teacher rang two bells, indicating a change in subjects. At once the whole school became very quiet in order to hear what the teacher was about to announce."[38]

The *Escuela práctica* was rather unique among the primary schools emerging around the 7,000-island archipelago in the second half of the nineteenth century. Given its connection to the Escuela Normal and location in the colonial capital, the *Escuela práctica* was one of the colony's

best equipped primary schools. Third-year normal school students spent six months out of the nine-month school year working in the *Escuela práctica*. Upon graduation, newly minted teachers likely expected to arrive at schools similarly equipped and supported by the local communities. Law dictated that local communities were responsible for a school's physical structure, instructional materials, and teacher salary. Unfortunately, Escuela Normal graduates would be in for a rude surprise once dispatched to locales far removed from the cosmopolitan administrative center. It was rare to find the ideal conditions of the *Escuela práctica,* nor the ability to focus solely on teaching, replicated elsewhere.[39]

Normal school students endured regular examinations. Written and oral examinations were held at the end of each month and at the conclusion of each academic quarter. A final public oral examination marked the end of each academic year. For the final public examination, the school director would pull a numbered ball from a box; the ball's number corresponded with a question or exercise that the student had to immediately complete (see Table 3).[40] Public examinations afforded prizes for exceptional performances. Peers used the opportunity to size up their competition for teaching posts while supporters of universal primary education relied on the public examinations as evidence of their sound plan for colonial modernization. The academic competitions became the highlight of the year for students, faculty, civil officials, and community members alike.[41]

Table 3. Sample public examination questions

Subject	Sample questions
Religion and Morals	1. What is religion and in how many ways can it be considered? What is the natural and what is the true one? 2. What is morality and how is it divided? What is duty? What are good or meritorious actions? What are bad actions? 3. What are the chief duties of children to their parents? After the parents who has preference? To whom do we owe respect and submission?
Pedagogy	1. What is the use of imagination? What contributes to its development and what things tend to mislead it? 2. What does a moral education include? What should the teacher do in order that the children may receive a good moral education? 3. What are methods of teaching? Explain the most important of these.
Castilian Grammar	1. Definition of grammar; its division; object of each. 2. What is the accusative construction? The nominative? The relationship of each to the verb. 3. Principles that will be used as standards of good orthography with respect to the use of the letters.
Arithmetic	1. Entire numbers, fractions, mixed, abstract and concrete, homogeneous and heterogeneous numbers. 2. Approximation of the quotient in an inexact division. Reduction of ordinary fractions to decimal and from decimal to ordinary fractions. 3. Rule of three and its division. Way of solving it. When is it simple and when is it compound?
Geography and History of Spain	1. Figure and dimensions of the earth. Continent, island, peninsula, coast, cape, isthmus, mountain, mountain range, desert. 2. Political divisions of Europe. States of the north and their respective capitals. 3. Who were the Romans? Divisions they made of Spain. Resistance of the Spaniards and their glorious deeds.
Natural Science	1. Instruments for measuring humidity, on what they are based, and what are their uses? How is the electromotive force valued? 2. Colors that a ray of the sun is composed of and how to decompose it. 3. Simple and compound bodies. Metals and metalloids, properties of the former and the latter.
Elementary Agriculture	1. Purposes to which the agriculturalist should aspire and conditions necessary to his success. 2. How many ways are there to water and how are they varied? 3. Usefulness of animals to the farmer; work animals in the field and their general characteristics.

The popularity of public examinations was almost immediate. Newspapers featured laudatory accounts of the normal school's first ever public examinations, held in December 1866. An unnamed author in the *Diario de Manila* on 23 December raved over the ease with which the normal school students passed their final public examinations in religion, ethics, arithmetic, geography, calligraphy, grammar, and urbanity. The author was especially impressed since many of the students were from remote provinces and sometimes started the school year late due to travel delays. To emphasize the monumental accomplishment of professors and students alike, the author concluded, "We suppose that the biggest obstacle which the professors have had to combat has been the ignorance of Castilian, in which tongue all the student are now able to express themselves. The student body includes Spaniards, *mestizos,* and pure *indios*. Among the day scholars are several Army sergeants and corporals, two of whom have finished the year with flying colors." In 1867, a reporter from *El Porvenir Filipino* expressed awe at the accomplishments of the normal school students, calling them "highly promising" based on their public examination performances. Public examinations soon became a highlight of individuals' social calendars, with ecclesiastical and civil officials, as well as regular community members, filling the audiences, and play-by-play commentary spread via print and word-of mouth.[42]

Teacher certification examinations took place at the end of the three-year course. Students' performances on these exams determined their school assignments and salaries. There were five possible grades: *sobresaliente* [outstanding], *notable* [noteworthy], *bueno* [good], *aprobado* [pass], and *suspenso* [fail]. Students that achieved a *sobresaliente* or *notable* result on their certification exam were assigned to schools ranked *de ascenso* [advanced]. *Escuelas de ascenso* were typically located in Manila and other provincial capitals. Students that achieved a *bueno* result on their certification exam were assigned to schools ranked *de entrada* [basic].

Escuelas de entrada were most often located outside provincial capitals and in rural locales. An *aprobado* score led to an assistant teacher certificate.[43]

Students that completed the normal school course but failed the teacher certification exam had the option to take one of the quarterly exams for an assistant teacher certificate. Like the teacher certification examinations, the director and professors at the normal school conducted the quarterly assistant teacher exams. Individuals who did not graduate from a normal school could only obtain positions as *ayudantes,* or assistant teachers.[44]

When vacancies occurred in the teaching service, especially in the highly desirable *escuelas de término* (the highest classification of public schools, with a salary to match, located in Manila), the positions would be filled by competitive examinations. Anyone with a teaching certificate could take part in these competitive examinations for an opportunity to improve upon their position, salary, and social status. If ever there was a tie in the examination results, a teacher's experience or record from the *Escuela práctica* might be used to break it. The nineteenth century was an age of exams and standardized tests. A preponderance of tests would therefore help ensure administrative order and uniformity in the modernizing colony.[45]

In a Hispanized society, as in much of Catholic Europe, schools would be sex-segregated. Indeed, the 1863 decree called for this arrangement in primary schools whenever possible. Therefore, the universal primary school system not only needed trained male teachers, but also trained female teachers. At first, young women prepared for teacher certification exams in girls' *colegios* (often former *beaterios*), including the Colegios de Sta. Catalina and Sta. Rosa in Manila. While these two-year normal courses were an effective short-term solution, they could not take the place of a dedicated women's normal school.[46]

The first women's normal school had a surprising advocate: Francisco Gainza, OP. By 1862, Gainza had moved from his teaching position at the *Universidad de Santo Tomás* to assume the bishopric of Nueva Cáceres. Nueva Cáceres, in the Bicol region of southern Luzon, encompassed Tayabas, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Masbate, Burias, and a few other small islands. The diocesan seat, Naga, Camarines Sur, was approximately 170 miles south of Manila; Nueva Cáceres itself covered approximately 5,250 square miles of territory.[47]

Despite Gainza's strong objections to Castilian as the medium of instruction in primary schools, he nonetheless supported education. Gainza held more conservative justifications for universal primary education: Christianization and individual moral reform.[48] In the debate over what would become the 1863 education degree, Gainza believed offering the indigenous population too much too soon—in the form of widespread Castilian proficiency—would prove disastrous for the ultimate mission of the archipelago, namely conversion and Hispanization. Slow and steady dissemination of knowledge would be the safer route to ensure success.[49]

Now settled in his bishopric, Gainza set to work on advancing the spiritual and material progress of his flock. In an 1863 pastoral letter Gainza wrote that a parish priest in the Philippines should "be a determined and selfless assistant of the government, a conciliating intermediary between the authority and the peoples. … A zealous, enlightened, and determined parish priest is an element of morality, order, and religious and material progress." Parish priests in the archipelago promoted spiritual and temporal well-being by occupying religious and civic spaces, especially in the countryside. Primary schools, staffed by trained indigenous and *mestizo* teachers, could assist missionaries in evangelization and Hispanization.[50]

The *Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria* would provide trained educators for boys' schools across the archipelago, but what about girls' schools? Systematic

acculturation could not occur by ignoring half the population. Following the nineteenth century trend of the feminization of teaching, Hispanized indigenous women could more likely be central to spreading moral reform as teachers and mothers. Women were perfectly positioned to cultivate an environment conducive to universal primary education. With that in mind, Gainza petitioned for a women's normal school in Nueva Cáceres.

Gainza received his wish in the form of the *Escuela-Colegio de Sta. Isabel de Nueva Cáceres*, established by royal decree on 5 November 1868, under the direction of the Spanish nuns of the Daughters of Charity.[51] In advocating for a women's normal school, Gainza identified the main objective to "create a team of women, well-trained and taught in a Christian way, who could, in due course, take charge of the schools in their respective towns. This was the simplest and surest way to realize moral reform and profound [Hispanization] of the women in my diocese."[52] Gainza would acquire his indigenous, Hispanized female agents of acculturation from the normal school.

Three years later another royal decree, on 11 January 1872, elevated the *colegio* to the *Escuela Normal de Maestras de Sta. Isabel de Nueva Cáceres*.[53] The normal school was for young women residing within the diocese to serve its primary schools. It became the model women's normal school until the end of the nineteenth century. Gainza actively encouraged civil and ecclesiastical support for the normal school. As he wrote in 1877, "It is incumbent on [all to cooperate] so that this grand project may be fruitful, and the largest possible number of young women may receive a solid Christian education; some, in order to be good mothers and others, zealous promoters of [Hispanization] that may advance the happiness of the peoples, the peace, the joy, and the charm of their homes." In advocating for the happiness of the peoples, Gainza

somewhat surprisingly evoked Enlightenment sentiments that connected individual happiness with social stability and national prosperity.[54]

In the process of advocating for a women's normal school to maintain and spread Hispanized womanhood, Gainza may have unintentionally pushed beyond traditional, conservative boundaries. A Hispanized woman within the domestic sphere could now, by virtue of a normal school education, gain entrance into the male-dominated public sphere as a professional teacher. This profession allowed women a measure of geographic and cultural mobility both inside and outside their home provinces. Gainza wanted to control the pace at which the indigenous population received knowledge in an effort at cautious modernization. However, as his fellow ecclesiastics learned during Luther's Protestant Reformation in Europe three centuries earlier, once you open the floodgates of literacy, one can no longer control what people read or think nor the speed at which they acquire new ideas.[55]

Since the normal school in Nueva Cáceres was intended for young women in that particular diocese, the *Escuela Municipal de Niñas de Manila* became its counterpart in the administrative center of the colony. Both schools were under the auspices of the Spanish branch of the *Hijas de la Caridad* [Daughters of Charity]. Like the Jesuits, the Daughters of Charity were a teaching order from its inception. When St. Vincent de Paul and St. Louise de Marillac founded the order in Paris in 1633, one of its principal activities was providing religious instruction to impoverished girls. The Daughters of Charity were relatively new to the Philippines; 15 sisters arrived in 1862 and another 16 in 1863, following a 19 October 1852 royal decree that established their mission in the archipelago.[56]

Unlike the *Escuela Normal de Nueva Cáceres,* the *Escuela Municipal de Niñas de Manila* was exclusively a day school. The latter started as a hybrid primary–secondary school before adding a normal course in 1868. At its inauguration on 16 March 1864, the *Escuela Municipal de Niñas* enrolled 200 girls; four years later, enrollment (and public interest) remained steady with around 210 students. During the school's opening ceremony, Manila civil governor Estanislao de Vives spoke of the sacred purpose of girls' education. Girls' education was good for society: it would "convert the women into an unshakable shield of the principle of the family." A solid foundation in the 3Rs, religion, morals, and "womanly arts" (needlework, embroidery, crochet, pattern making) would forge young women capable of being the moral pillars of their families. Later, these duties would extend beyond the domestic sphere and into the classrooms of the nascent universal primary education system.[57]

Both the *Escuela Municipal de Niñas de Manila* and *Escuela Normal de Maestras de Sta. Isabel de Nueva Cáceres* offered a three-year course of studies for teacher certification. To be admitted to the normal course, young women had to be between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three; in good physical health; able to read, write, and speak Castilian and know some grammar; understand the four rules for whole numbers in arithmetic; and be well versed in the catechism and responsibilities of a good Christian.[58]

The course content and school organization closely resembled that of the *Escuela Normal de Maestros de Manila,* with some adaptations based on gender norms. All *normalistas* studied religion, morals, and sacred history; the theory and practice of reading and writing; Castilian with exercises in analysis, composition, and orthography; arithmetic; Spanish geography and history; rules of courtesy; pedagogy; needlework and "other labors appropriate for their sex."

Missing from the curriculum that featured at the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* was geometry, physics and natural sciences, agriculture, and vocal and instrumental music.[59]

The goal of women's education, whether in primary, secondary, or normal schools, was to "inculcate in the girls good religious and moral habits that would prepare them to govern the home as mothers. Love for work, simplicity, and modesty were valued in particular." These were Hispanized ideals of womanhood transferred from the metropole to the Philippine context by means of a sound Christian education.[60]

Just like at the *Escuela Normal de Maestros, normalistas* had a regimented schedule. Students heard mass and spent time in prayer every day. On a monthly basis, they attended confession and received communion. The day started at 5:00AM and ended at 8:45PM. *Normalistas* spent approximately seven hours in class or study. Part of each day was also devoted to performing practical domestic arts, such as housework and needlework.[61]

The women's normal schools featured adjacent practice schools where *normalistas* could learn from and observe each other as well as hone their craft. *Normalistas* spent at least three months of each academic year in the practice school, acting as observer, assistant, or lead instructor. In the practice schools, *normalistas* gained valuable experience under ideal conditions and young girls of the surrounding area received access to free primary education.[62]

By 1870, the *Escuela Normal de Maestras de Sta. Isabel de Nueva Cáceres* had 75 boarding students and 100 day students. The faculty comprised seven sisters and one priest; the latter served as chaplain and professor of religion and ethics. The *Escuela Municipal de Niñas* had a staff of nine sisters. The *Escuela Normal de Maestros de Manila* boasted similarly impressive numbers with 60 students in its first class (1865) and 127 enrolled students by March

1869. Between 1865 and 1869, 216 teachers and 2 assistant teachers graduated from the *Escuela Normal de Maestros*.[63]

In the midst of these educational milestones, Spain once again underwent a series of domestic shockwaves. The Glorious Revolution of 1868 saw Isabella II removed from power and replaced with a liberal government and a new constitution. The revolutionaries wanted to establish a republic and were decidedly anti-clerical. As such, the first task of the new Minister of Education, Segismundo Moret, was to secularize education. On 6 November 1870, his so-called Moret Decree required the secularization of all educational institutions in the Philippines. This decree reflected the metropole's continual lack of contextual knowledge about its most distant overseas colony. Historically, religious orders were inextricably involved in the establishment and spread of schools in the archipelago because there was no one else available to do so. Even by 1870 there were nowhere near sufficient secular, civil personnel to truly assume the educational reins from the religious. Therefore, like so many previous decrees, the Moret Decree arrived in the Philippines a dead letter; even if civil authorities wanted to completely divorce the Church from the schools, they did not have the personnel to do so… at least not yet.[64]

In a little less than a decade, a universal primary education system staffed by trained, indigenous and *mestizo* teachers was gaining momentum. The mid-nineteenth century marked not only a global turn toward universal primary education but also the professionalization and feminization of teaching. In this matter, the Spanish Philippines was on track with other modernizing nations. Indigenous and *mestizo* men and women would have key roles to play as agents of colonial modernization, yet Hispanized gender norms dictated they learn slightly different subjects and receive unequal pay (see Table 4).[65]

Table 4. Teacher salaries per 1863 decree

Men	Women
First class (*de término*): 15–20 pesos	With official title: 8 pesos
Second class (*de ascenso*): 12–15 pesos	
Third class (*de entrada*): 8–12 pesos	Without official title: 6 pesos

Poor unequal pay would not be the only harsh reality facing the new indigenous agents of modernization. Once outside the confines of their respective cosmopolitan normal schools, teachers would begin another form of practical education, one that did not reconcile with what they had been previously taught.

At the end of the nineteenth century, there were eleven state-recognized normal schools, mostly located in Manila: one for men and ten for women. While not all new teachers were graduates of normal schools *per se,* they had to have studied at the secondary level—a normal school, a normal course, or a private school—to take the certification examination. Outside of formal normal schools, a growing number of private secondary schools offered a normal course meant to prepare students for the teacher certification examination.[66]

Private schools were increasingly opened to indigenous and *mestizo* youth, whose parents were beneficiaries of economic reforms, in the second half of the nineteenth century. These private schools were typically operated by indigenous or *mestizo* university graduates; tuition and associated fees covered the costs of operation. Many of the founders opened private schools as it was one of the few open avenues in which to earn a living, despite the promises of professional opportunities through colonial modernization. The denial of opportunities based on race often motivated educated individuals to open schools on political and economic grounds.[67]

Like the Escuela Normal and other Manila tertiary institutions, private secondary schools were places where students could form lasting bonds grounded in similar backgrounds, experiences, and aspirations.[68] Guided by instructors who were sometimes radicalized by their own personal experiences and inimical observations of the processes of colonial modernization, youth began to develop identities and worldviews that increasingly pushed against their predetermined destiny of Spanish dominance and indigenous subservience.[69]

Whether at the Escuela Normal, the *Universidad de Santo Tomás,* a Manila *colegio,* or a provincial private secondary school, students "kept close company, socialized, confided in each other, and, boys being boys, participated in pranks together." And whether taught by Jesuits, Dominicans, or lay instructors, many of the underlying Christian (or Enlightenment) ideals in these institutions were the same: equality of all men before God and inalienable rights based on human dignity. How far educators pushed those ideals to their logical conclusions depended upon the institution and the individual. However, once exposed to these ideals, students could work through what it might mean for them with their peers, especially given the cloistered settings of their schools. In other words, education, expanded to support the processes of colonial modernization, was a formative, shared experience for youth. And for those who would become teachers, they would pass on these informal lessons to their own students.[70]

Colonial modernization required universal primary education. Universal primary education required trained indigenous and *mestizo* teachers. Thus, the success of colonial modernization in the Philippines hinged on the continued willingness of teachers to be agents of Spanish acculturation. But could the processes of "enlightened" modernization, and especially universal primary education, backfire in a colonial context? And could the experiences of

indigenous and *mestizo* teachers in the field sow the seeds of anti-colonial resistance instead of the gospel of Hispanization?

[1] Francisco Baranera, SJ, "Speech at the Inauguration of the Escuela Normal de Manila, 23 January 1865," *Libro copiador,* folio 3, V-14-047, Archive of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus (hereafter, APPSJ).

[2] Art. 1, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas. Compilación de lo legislado sore este ramo, comentada, anotada y concordada* (Manila: Chofré, 1894), 1–7.

[3] Fermin Costa, SJ, cable to José Fernández Cuevas, SJ, 28 December 1863, quoted in Horatio de la Costa, SJ, *Light Cavalry* (Manila: Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, Peimon Press, 1997), 90. In the mid-nineteenth century, cables were sent from Spain to Singapore, then relayed to Manila by mail.

[4] José S. Arcilla, SJ, "The Escuela Pia, Forerunner of Ateneo de Manila," *Philippine Studies* 31:1 (1983), 58. Jesuit historian Horatio de la Costa noted that "the Escuela municipal was a public school for Spanish boys, since the city council which supported it represented at that time the Spanish residents of Manila." However, the Jesuits from the very beginning of their administration opened the school to "Filipinos and boys of other nationalities, so that by the end of the nineteenth century nine-tenths of the student body [of the Ateneo municipal de Manila] were Filipinos or mestizos." Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581–1959" *Philippine Studies* 7:1 (1959), 84–85.

[5] Art. 1, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 3; James J. Meany, SJ, "Escuela Normal de Maestros," *Philippine Studies* 30:4 (1982), 493–94; Carmen Diaz Tañedo, "Education in the Philippines, 1863–1896," in ed. Dalmacio Martin, *A Century of Education in the Philippines, 1861–1961* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1980), 45.

[6] "Cuentas de gastos de instalacion de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción primaria en de esta Capital" (1866), APPSJ.

[7] The schools of Manila typically had one or more patrons; patrons could be private citizens or the Church. See, e.g., Arcilla, "The Escuela Pia, Forerunner of Ateneo de Manila."

[8] Baranera, "Speech at the Inauguration of the Escuela Normal de Manila, 23 January 1865," APPSJ.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Art. 17, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 14; Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565–1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932), 71.

[11] Art. 16, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 14; Camilo Osias, *Education in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish Regime* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1917), 63.

[12] Art. 15, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 14; Francisco Baranera, SJ, "Historia de la Escuela Normal de Manila, 1865–1872," ms, 12pp, APPSJ; Meany, "Escuela Normal de Maestros," 498–99.

[13] Art. 11, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 13; "Creacion, objeto, organización, resultados del Escuela Normal," *Libro copiador,* vol. II, folios 245–95, APPSJ; Evergisto Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines, Spanish Period 1565–1898* (Manila: University of Santo Tomás Press, 1953), 262–63.

[14] The 50 *pensionados* in the first Escuela Normal class came from the following provinces: Abra (1), Albay (2), Antique (1), Bataan (1), Batanes (1), Batangas (3), Bohol (1), Bulacan (2), Cagayan (1), Calamianes (1), Camarines Norte (1), Camarines Sur (1), Capiz (1), Cavite (1), Cebu (3), Ilocos Norte (1), Ilocos Sur (2), Iloilo (4), Isabela (1),

Laguna & Infanta (1), La Union (1), Leyte (1), Manila (3), Mindoro (1), Negros Oriental (1), Negros Occidental (1), Nueva Ecija (1), Nueva Vizcaya (1), Pampanga (2), Pangasinan (2), Romblon, Masbate, Burias (1), Samar (1), Surigao (1), Tayabas (1), Zambales (1), and Zamboanga (1). Decreto del Gobierno Superior Civil en que se Dictan Algunas Disposiciones preventivas para la instalación de la Escuela Normal, 24 de noviembre de 1864, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 17–21.

[15] Art. 11, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 13; "Creacion, objeto, organización, resultados del Escuela Normal," *Libro copiador,* vol. II, folios 245–95, APPSJ; Jose S. Arcilla, SJ, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria, 1865–1905," *Philippine Studies* 36:1 (1988), 18–19.

[16] Art. 9, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 12–13; Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines,* 261–62.

[17] Art. 9, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 12–13; William F. Phelps, "Report on a Course of Study for Normal Schools," Convention of the American Normal Association (Cleveland, 1870), reprinted in *Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1870* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1871), 404; *La législation de l'instruction primaire en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours, Tome IV de 1863 à 1879* (Paris: De la Lain Frères, 1887), 11–16. On the early history of American normal schools, including efforts at standardization and entrance requirements, see Christine Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[18] Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 20–21; Tañedo, "Education in the Philippines, 1863–1896," 46. The under-preparedness of normal school students was a common phenomenon during the worldwide push for teacher professionalization in the nineteenth century. See, e.g., Patrick J. Harrigan, "The Development of a Corps of Public School Teachers in Canada, 1870–1980," *History of Education Quarterly* 32:4 (1992), 483–521; Christine A. Ogren, "Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870–1920," *History of Education Quarterly* 35:1 (1995), 1–26; Pieter Dhondt, "Teacher Training Inside or Outside the University: The Belgian Compromise, 1815–1890," *Paedagogica Historica* 44:5 (2008), 587–605.

[19] Baranera, "Historia de la Escuela Normal de Manila, 1865–1872," APPSJ; "Creacion, objeto, organización, resultados del Escuela Normal," *Libro copiador,* vol. II, folios 245–95, APPSJ.

[20] The three-year program of Florence State Normal School (Ala.) in 1872 included: mathematics (algebra, plane and spherical geometry, trigonometry, surveying); English (literature, logic, rhetoric, elocution); science (botany, physiology, physics, chemistry, geology, astronomy); mental and moral science; pedagogy and classroom management; common school subjects (3Rs, geography, history, etc.); student teaching. Similarly, the three-year curriculum outlined in *La législation de l'instruction primaire en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours* included: civics; ethics; pedagogy and school management; language and elements of French literature; history; geography; physics; chemistry; natural sciences; agriculture and horticulture; foreign language (modern); writing; drawing; chant and music; calisthenics and military exercises; farm and manual work; student teaching. Susan K. Vaugh, "The South's Oldest State Teachers College," *Peabody Journal of Education* 13:6 (1936), 283–84; *La législation de l'instruction primaire en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours,* 11–16.

[21] Art. 19, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 15; Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 21.

[22] Estados de la Escuela Normal, ms, n.d., APPSJ.

[23] Importancia relativa que se de á las diferentes signaturas, in "Creacion, objeto, organización, resultados del Escuela Normal," *Libro copiador,* vol. II, folio 264, APPSJ.

[24] For more on Jesuit pedagogy, see Miguel A. Bernad, "The Ignatian Way in Education," *Philippine Studies* 4:2 (1956), 195–214. Jesuit pedagogy, grounded in sequenced, systemic, and focused learning, has remained fundamentally unchanged since the *Ratio Studiorum* was first published in the sixteenth century. One can favorably compare, for example, *Ratio Studiorum. Seu facilis et compendiosa ad scientias capessendas strata via, in gratiam meorum, cui que etiam alij utilis ac profutura* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1639) and *The* Ratio Studiorum: *The Official Plan for Jesuit Education,* trans. Claude Pavur, SJ (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005).

[25] Bernad, "The Ignatian Way in Education," 208–09. See also, de la Costa, *Light Cavalry,* 224–25; Glenn May, "Filipino Revolutionaries in the Making: The Old School Tie in Batangas," in *A Past Recovered* (Quezon City: New Day, 1987), 53–65.

[26] Gregorio Sancianco y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas. Estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos* (Madrid: J. M. Perez, 1881), 110–11; Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Los sucesos de 1872. Reseña histórica bio-bibliográfica* (Manila: La Vanguardia, 1911), 55–57; Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde su descubrimiento hasta nuestros dias,* vol. III (Madrid: Tello, 1895), 502–05; Pablo Pastells, SJ, *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX,* vol. 1 (Barcelona: Editorial Barcelonesa, 1916), 127. Native and *mestizo* youth were occasionally allowed entrance to study at *colegios* beginning in the late seventeenth century. They more regularly attended *colegios* and universities by the nineteenth century as part of the educational reforms accompanying colonial modernization.

[27] Sancianco, *El progreso de Filipinas,* 110; "Protestas de varios estudiantes contra ciertos anónimos y manifestaciones contra España y los Religiosos de la Universidad de Sto. Tomás," 1869, Libro 232, AUST.

[28] Sancianco, *El progreso de Filipinas,* 111.

[29] Del objeto de la Escuela Normal, Art. 1, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 11.

[30] Art. 21, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 15.

[31] Commandante jefe de estudios de la Escuela de Cadetes al Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo, 29 de julio de 1872; Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo al Director de la Escuela Normal de Manila, 13 de agosto de 1872, APPSJ.

[32] Ibid. The Escuela Normal was not the only prestigious Manila institution caught up in school rivalries. In 1886, the rector of the Dominican *Universidad de Santo Tomás* wrote to the rector of the Jesuit *Ateneo Municipal* regarding "certain acts of discord between students of the two schools." Carta del P. Echevarria al P. Rector del Ateneo sobre ciertos piques y desacuerdos entre la Universidad y el Ateneo de Manila, 29 de marzo de 1886, Folleto 97, AUST.

[33] May, "Filipino Revolutionaries in the Making," 58–60.

[34] *Libro de matricula y clasificacion de la escuela practica, 1866–1884,* APPSJ. See also, Meany, "Escuela Normal de Maestros," 499.

[35] Mariano Padilla, Memoria sobre la Escuela Normal, ms, n.d., cited in Andrew W. Cain, "History of the Spanish Normal School for Men Teachers in Manila, 1865–1905," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 9:2 (1914), 147.

[36] Ibid. On the Lancastrian, or monitorial, system see, Carl F. Kaestle, "Introduction," *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement: A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973); Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 40–44; David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 41.

[37] Padilla, Memoria sobre la Escuela Normal, cited in Cain, "History of the Spanish Normal School for Men Teachers in Manila," 148.

[38] Ibid., 148–49. On the development of monitorial schools in the context of timekeeping and factory work, see Kaestle, *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement*.

[39] Art. 7, Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 4–5.

[40] *Libro Copiador,* n.d., APPSJ.

[41] Art. 18, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 14. Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 21–22; Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines,* 265.

[42] *Diario de Manila,* 23 de diciembre de 1866; *El Porvenir Filipino,* 23 de julio de 1867. Public examinations were incredibly popular in American schools during the nineteenth century, too. See, William J. Reese, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools: A Forgotten History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[43] Osias, *Education in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish Regime,* 66–67; Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines,* 266.

[44] Art. 25 and 26, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 16. See also, Osias, *Education in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish Regime,* 66–67.

[45] For an insightful overview of the history of school assessments in the nineteenth century, see Reese, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools;* and for standardized tests in the twentieth century, see Nicholas Lemann, *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

[46] Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines,* 79–80; David E. Gardinier and Josefina Z. Sevilla-Gardinier, "Rosa Sevilla de Alvero and the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila," *Philippine Studies* 37:1 (1989), 38–39; Meany, "Escuela Normal de Maestros," 505.

[47] Gainza held the bishopric of Nueva Cáceres for almost twenty years, from 1862 until his death in 1879. Fidel Villaroel, *Francisco Gainza, Cruzada Española en Vietnam: Campaña de Cochincina* (Madrid: CSIC, 1972), 49–50.

[48] Francisco Gainza, OP, *Reseña de la Escuela Normal Diocesana de Nueva Cáceres* (Madrid: Aguado, 1877), 31–32.

[49] Francisco Gainza, OP (1861), cited in Horatio de la Costa, SJ, *Light Cavalry* (Manila: Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, Peimon Press, 1997), 55–56. See also, Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 110–11.

[50] Francisco Gainza, OP, *Carta Pastoral que el Ilmo. Y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Fr. Francisco Gainza, del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores, Obispo de Nueva Cáceres* (Manila: Universidad de Santo Tomás, 1863), 6.

[51] José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas,* Tomo III (Madrid: Tello, 1895), 483; Gainza, *Reseña de la Escuela Normal Diocesana de Nueva Cáceres,* 114.

[52] Gainza, *Reseña de la Escuela Normal Diocesana de Nueva Cáceres,* 31–32.

[53] Real Orden disponiendo que el colegio de niñas de Nueva Cáceres pudiera ergirse en escuela normal y seminario de maestras, 11 de enero de 1872, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 33–34.

[54] Gainza, *Reseña de la Escuela Normal Diocesana de Nueva Cáceres,* 20.

[55] Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, "Woman's Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 55:1 (2007), 53–87; Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640–1900," *Past & Present* 42 (1969), 77–83. On the newfound mobility of women teachers, see Ma. Luisa Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 66–67.

[56] Pierre Coste, *Life and Work of St. Vincent de Paul,* vol III (London: Burns, Oates, and Washburne, 1934), 65–69; Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, "Reforming Women's Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century Manila," in *Manila: Selected Papers of the 20th Annual Manila Studies Conference* (Manila: Manila Studies Association, 2012), 56; Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas,*163–66.

[57] Evaristo Fernández Arias, *Memoria histórico-estadística sobre la enseñanza media y superior en Filipinas escrita con motivo de la Exposición colonial de Amsterdam* (Manila: La Oceanía Española, 1883), Appendix [*Cuadro*] 27; Discurso que en la solemne inauguracion de la Escuela de Niñas a cargo de las Hijas de la Caridad leyó el Señor D. Estanislao de Vives. Manila Complex, SDS 19179, no. 17, Philippine National Archives (hereafter, PNA).

[58] Encarnacion Alzona, *Education of Women* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1939), 291.

[59] Art. 45 and 46, Estatutos para la Escuela-Colegio de Santa Isabel de Nueva Cáceres, 4 de agosto de 1868, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 174–86.

[60] Camacho, "Reforming Women's Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century Manila," 65.

[61] Art. 53, Estatutos para la Escuela-Colegio de Santa Isabel de Nueva Cáceres, 4 de agosto de 1868, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 174–86. See also, Sister Maria Carmen, "The Superior Normal School for Women Teachers in Manila, 1893–98," *Philippine Studies* 2:3 (1954), 222–24.

[62] Carmen, "The Superior Normal School for Women Teachers in Manila, 1893–98," 225.

[63] Agustin Cavada y Mendez di Vigo, *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de las islas Filipinas,* vol. II (Manila: Ramírez and Giraudier, 1876), 449; Hermenegildo Jacas, SJ, *Curso de legislación vigente de la instrucción primaria en Filipinas* (Manila: J. Marty, 1894). *Guia oficial de Filipinas* (Manila: Ramírez y Giraudier), annual volumes published between 1884 and 1896, feature complete faculty lists for all state-recognized schools, including the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* and *Escuela Municipal de Niñas* in Manila and the *Escuela Normal de Maestras* in Nueva Cáceres. While archival records allow for concrete graduation figures for the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* (between 1865 and 1894, 1,714 teachers and 183 assistant teachers), precise figures do not exist for female normal school graduates. Some scholars conservatively estimate 1,000 women graduated from Philippine normal schools during the same time frame. See, Gardinier and Sevilla-Gardinier, "Rosa Sevilla de Alvero and the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila," 33.

[64] de la Costa, *Light Cavalry,* 105. Following the Glorious Revolution, a provisional government under the leadership of General Juan Prim instituted several radical changes in Spain's constitutional monarchy. While the monarchy remained—much to the chagrin of those who favored abolishing the monarchy and instituting a republic—it was redefined in ceremonial and advisory terms. Elections to the new Cortes were based on universal male suffrage. All males age 25 and over could vote. Historians William D. Phillips Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips noted it was "the most inclusive electorate in the world at the time." *A Concise History of Spain,* second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 294.

[65] Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, eds., *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli. "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization, *Sociology of Education* 60 (1987), 2–17; Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Art. 22 and 28, Reglamento de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria de Indígenas de las Islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 15, 16.

[66] A follow-up to the 1863 education decree focused on secondary education. Issued in 1867, the decree placed secondary education under the supervision of the rector of the *Universidad de Santo Tomás.* The rector ensured secondary schools complied with standards and conferred degrees. The decree also permitted the first two years of secondary instruction could be completed under private, certified instructors (such as graduates of the Escuela Normal or another tertiary institution). However, to qualify for a degree, students had to finish their instruction at a government-recognized secondary school. These secondary schools were located in Manila, provincial capitals, and larger towns. Plan y Reglamento para el régimen de los Establecimientos de Segunda Enseñanza de las Islas Filipinas (1868), Libro 233, AUST.

[67] Karl Schwartz, "Filipino Education and Spanish Colonialism: Toward an Autonomous Perspective," *Comparative Education Review* 15:2 (1971), 214–15.

[68] Writing of secondary schools in Batangas, historian Glenn May emphasized that "the local secondary school assumed a social, as well as an educational, function in the life of Batangas in the late nineteenth century. The boys who attended these institutions did not come exclusively from the towns in which the schools were located; many were drawn from distant areas. The local secondary school operated, therefore, as something of a provincial melting pot: here the sons of the province's elite families had an opportunity to meet and to form friendships." "Filipino Revolutionaries in the Making," 58.

[69] E. Arsenio Manuel produced a series of 135 historical biographical sketches of noted Filipinos born between 1833 and 1890, including teachers, lawyers, and politicians. Educational background appeared in 76 of the entries, of which 40 attended private secondary schools. Of the 40 who attended private secondary schools and whose political activities were known, 20 fought against Spain in the 1896 Revolution and just two supported the colonial administration. Manuel's dictionary neglects to include some of the most well-known revolutionary figures, including José Rizal, Apolinario Mabini, and Emilio Aguinaldo, who also attended private secondary schools. Nonetheless, the connection between education—especially secondary and tertiary education—and revolutionary involvement appears quite striking. *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City: Filipiniana, 1955).

[70] May, "Filipino Revolutionaries in the Making," 62; John N. Schumacher, SJ, "Nationalist Student Activism in Manila in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Philippine Historical Review* 4 (1971), 199–200.

Chapter Four: Teachers on the Frontlines of the Colonial Modernization Mission (1872–1895)

The teacher is subject to the gazes of the children, the parents, the neighbors, and the authorities. Everyone watches over him, everyone inspects him, everyone considers himself entitled to judge him.[1]
Pedro Serrano, 1895 (*maestro de termino de primera clase,* Quiapo, Manila)

On 17 February 1872, a large crowd gathered at Bagumbayan Field in Ermita, Manila. Three secular, or indigenous, priests from nearby Cavite were to be publicly executed by garrote for their supposed involvement in a mutiny the previous month. There was no evidence to support the charges against the men. Each protested his innocence to the end. During a mock-trial, the governor-general relied on his personal convictions, hearsay, and anonymous denunciations to secure guilty verdicts. The insurrection grew out of a local protest by workers at a naval arsenal in Fort San Felipe, Cavite; the latest power shift in Spain meant they would lose their exemptions from annual tribute and forced labor on infrastructure projects, such as buildings, roads, and bridges. The Cavite Mutiny was quashed by colonial forces in a day. The trial records no longer exist, but among those arrested and tried in connection with the insurrection, Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora faced the ultimate, most gruesome punishment. The impact of these executions upon the inhabitants of the archipelago had far-reaching consequences for the success of Spain's modernization mission. For some beneficiaries of expanded educational opportunities, including indigenous and *mestizo* teachers, 1872 marked the start of their political educations.[2]

Meanwhile, life at the *Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria* continued as originally envisioned by José Fernández Cuevas, SJ, a decade prior. While the Jesuits did not want their students to be distracted by political or social events beyond the school walls, they ultimately could not control how and when students shared and developed their respective worldviews and sense of identity. The world did not operate in a vacuum, which was perhaps one

consideration at the heart of the contentious 1860s debate over universal primary education and educational expansion in a "modern" colonial context. How can one be sure that, once provided with the tools to think for oneself and pursue self-education, a colonized people will remain content with their circumscribed lives?

Following the Cavite Mutiny and the alleged involvement of secular priests, Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo proposed making native entrance requirements to seminaries more difficult. Institutions needed to be more selective in who was admitted and thereby allowed access to knowledge that, in the wrong hands, might undermine Spanish authority. Upon reading his proposal for the seminaries, Bishop Juan José Aragonés of Nueva Segovia (1865–1872) wrote a frank response to the governor-general: "It is not the seminaries, Your Excellency, from which the worst come; it is from those who study in the university [and colleges] there. Every student from Manila who returns to the town of his province is a rebel. Just look at where those have studied who took part in the past insurrection [Burgos was a graduate of the *Universidad de Santo Tomás*]; I do not know the facts, but without rashness I dare to assert that all or the great majority must have been students of the university, not of the seminaries. And if in the provinces there is any priest stigmatized as being anti-Spanish, it is one of those who have studied in Manila." In other words, Izquierdo should turn his attention to institutions of higher education in Manila. Aided by the recent opening of the Suez Canal and establishment of regular steamship service between Manila and Europe, universities cultivated environments conducive to learning and spreading knowledge (i.e., anti-clerical Enlightenment ideals) dangerous to Spanish aims in the archipelago.[3]

By the time the first normal school graduates entered their classrooms in the nascent universal primary education system, Spanish suspicion had moved beyond the ranks of the secular clergy. Now, any educated indigenous or *mestizo* individual could be a potential enemy of the state—even those trained to be Hispanized agents of colonial modernization, such as teachers. This environment of simultaneous distrust and opportunity, of resigned reliance on the part of civil and ecclesiastic authorities, was the world that indigenous and *mestizo* normal school graduates entered upon receipt of their teaching certificates.

The transition from cosmopolitan Manila educational institutions to the outside world of widespread economic oppression and racial discrimination was eye-opening for many new teachers. Years spent in insulated, focused study might prepare teachers for the intellectual labor of their profession under ideal conditions. However, the majority of teachers were headed for posts and conditions beyond the realm of ideal. Enter Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora. What could the fates of these men following the Cavite Mutiny possibly mean for the scores of indigenous teachers fanning out across the archipelago around the same time?

The Cavite Mutiny was a biproduct of colonial modernization, specifically Bourbon administrative and economic reforms. Modernization of the material and human resources of Spain and its colonies could not happen without profound administrative changes. Bourbon administrative reforms called for the centralization of authority in the crown in order to move away from old-world, traditional ideas and onto the path of enlightened modernization.[4]

The Philippines experienced some of the first effects of peninsular centralization when Charles III expelled the biggest perceived threat to his enlightened absolutism, the Jesuits, in 1767. The expulsion of the Jesuits meant that around 114 missions located across the archipelago

and a handful of institutions of higher learning mostly in Manila needed to secure ordained replacements fast.[5] There were not enough Spanish missionaries from the other religious orders operating in the region to adequately take the Jesuits' place. Therefore, the archbishop of Manila, Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa (1766–87), opened a seminary in the former Jesuit *Universidad de San Ignacio* that offered a crash course to train indigenous and *mestizo* men for the priesthood.[6]

There was no unified clergy in the Philippines but rather two distinct factions: regular and secular. While Spanish missionaries were to lay the groundwork of the *conquista espiritual* in the archipelago, church law provided that once missions had become stable parishes, they should be "secularized," or ceded, to native priests (thus the label "secular clergy"). But there was a problem. Until the late eighteenth century, there were very few native priests. This shortage was not for lack of interest. Seminaries and universities were mostly restricted to *peninsulares* [Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula] and *criollos* [Spaniards born in the Philippines] until the nineteenth century. As a result, Spanish missionaries remained at the helm of most parishes.[7]

The expulsion of the Jesuits brought a new sense of urgency to the archbishop of Manila as he surveyed the dwindling population of regular clergy, composed of peninsular Spaniards attached to religious orders. He believed the crash course would solve his immediate and long-term problems by training a home-grown secular clergy composed of indigenous and *mestizo* men answerable to crown-appointed bishops. A 1774 royal decree mandated the secularization of parishes in the Philippines, which further encouraged the accelerated training of native priests.[8]

The result of Sancho de Santa Justa's plan was disastrous, as wave upon wave of ill-trained secular clergy emerged from the endeavor. A Dominican chronicler recalled of the time: "To fill so many posts [following the Jesuit expulsion] it was necessary for Archbishop Sancho to ordain large numbers with all haste. One may easily imagine if those ordained in this fashion

could possess the virtues and qualities necessary to exercise the care of souls, especially if one takes into account the conditions of the natives. It seems very difficult to us, to tell the truth, to produce in one year from an insignificant secular clergy which was the laughingstock of men, sufficient and very suitable priests to exercise the care of souls." Nonetheless, the need remained, and secular priests were assigned to parishes around the archipelago, with a large number of secularized parishes located in Cavite and Pampanga.[9]

Not all secular clergy performed below expectations. However, in an environment of instability and growing discontent at home and in its colonies, Spanish civil and ecclesiastic figures capitalized on the opening to disparage the capabilities of natives to lead parishes. And while Spaniards claimed their accusations were grounded in facts, not prejudice, the nature of their criticisms often carried racist overtones. Instead of blaming the poor preparation provided to secular clergy for their failure to live up to the demands of the priesthood, Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials blamed their failure on not being European. In other words, natives were inherently unsuited for sacred orders based on their race.[10]

The secularization of Philippine parishes into the early nineteenth century was a necessity given declining numbers of regular clergy. The French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, Peninsular War, and concurrent wars of independence in Spanish America disrupted the supply of regular clergy to the archipelago. Therefore, more and more parishes were turned over to secular priests in an interim capacity, despite their qualifications. At the same time, according to Jesuit historian John Schumacher, "the lack of personnel caused a further decay in the level of training given in the seminaries, concomitant with the general decadence of education in this period." Priests were solely responsible for education up to—and even after—the 1863 decree mandating universal

primary education. Poorly trained priests meant that the dissemination of the 4Rs to children and adults alike was often neglected.[11]

The early decades of the nineteenth century brought new concerns about the secular clergy. Indigenous priests were at the frontlines of independence movements in Spanish America, especially in Mexico and Peru. This turn of events had consequences on the other side of the Pacific Ocean in the 1820s. Secular clergy were needed to fill the void created by the Jesuit expulsion and the continual shortage of regular clergy. But secular clergy were also "looked on as a potential danger, and Spanish policy moved more and more in the direction of neutralizing or annulling their influence."[12]

Spain could not afford to lose the Philippines, nor could it countenance a situation in which secular clergy used their pulpits to sway the devotion of the masses away from the metropole. Therefore, after another power shift in Spain, an 1826 royal decree reversed the policy of parish secularization in the archipelago. Ferdinand VII resolved "not only the Augustinians but also the religious of the other orders should be restored in the administration of the parishes and missions of those Philippine Islands of mine." In other words, all parishes turned over to secular clergy during the time of Archbishop Sancho de Santa Justa had to be restored to regular clergy as positions became vacant (typically due to the death or incapacitation of the incumbent parish priest). The process of desecularization took close to 50 years.[13]

The return of the Jesuits in 1859 dealt another blow to secular priests. When the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines, their parishes and missions in Mindanao were transferred to the Recollects. The restoration of the Jesuits came with the understanding they would return to the mission field in Mindanao. The Recollects had been in possession of former Jesuit missions

for almost a century and were loath to let go. Therefore, a decree dated 10 September 1861 offered a compromise: in compensation for the parishes handed back to the Jesuits in Mindanao, the Recollects would gain secular parishes in Cavite or elsewhere.[14]

In the midst of desecularization, racist rhetoric, and charges of disloyalty, some secular priests, including José Burgos, decided to take a stand. Burgos was three-fourths Spanish and, unlike most secular priests at the time, he held graduate degrees in philosophy and theology from the *Universidad de Santo Tomás.* Burgos' heritage and education could have led to a fruitful ecclesiastic career had he toed the line. But he could not sit idle while his fellow seculars were disparaged and denied placements based on race. The growing use of race-based arguments to deny inalienable rights was counterintuitive for an enlightened, modern European nation. Indeed, Christianity supposed equality of all men before God. Burgos wanted equal rights among clergy. But he also wanted something more: equality of Filipinos with Spaniards.[15]

To call widespread attention to the tactics that deprived secular clergy of their parishes on the basis of "native inferiority," Burgos submitted a manifesto to Madrid newspaper *La Verdad* in 1864. In order to divorce secular clergy from their parishes, Spanish civil and ecclesiastic authorities portrayed the former "in a disgraceful and unworthy fashion, which reveals a determined effort to downgrade and annul it, in order to [artificially] exalt the importance of the [regular clergy]."[16]

Racist and xenophobic rhetoric to denigrate natives had become more commonplace over the course of the nineteenth century. Burgos wanted to make clear that the indigenous population did not lack for potential but, despite educational expansion under the guise of colonial modernization, they were discouraged from pursuing advanced knowledge. His 1864 manifesto charged that the small number of learned natives should not "be attributed to their character nor

to their nature nor to the influence of the climate nor much less that of race, but rather to the discouragement which for some years now has taken possession of the youth, because of the almost complete lack of any incentive." Indeed, why would anyone apply themselves to higher learning "if he does not see in the future anything but obscurity and indifference? What Filipino will even aspire to be learned, will consecrate efforts to this purpose, seeing that his most noble aspirations wither away under the destructive influence of scorn and neglect, and knowing that honorable and lucrative offices are for him forbidden fruit?" Burgos criticized the subjugation of secular clergy as coadjutors to regular clergy based on false notions of racial inferiority. Members of the growing native educated class, soon to include teachers, reading Burgos' manifesto were left to wonder if they might encounter similar obstacles in achieving their own personal and professional aspirations.[17]

A few years later, in a letter published in Madrid's *La Discusión*, Burgos countered charges of disloyalty waged against the secular clergy: "The peninsular Spaniards resident on this soil are very few; they would have no means of defense, if they did not count with the natives themselves. The distance which separates us from our mother country is enormous; the occasions which tumultuous and rebellious sons would have been able to take advantage of have been many. Nonetheless, what has happened during the three centuries in which we have been respecting and obeying the Spanish government?" Here Burgos echoed an argument made during the previous decade by Cuevas in a debate over Castilian language instruction in the universal primary education system. If indigenous inhabitants wanted to revolt against Spain, they could do so at any time. Any yet, Burgos noted, the secular clergy remained on the side of Catholic Spain, going about their pastoral work in the name of Catholic Spain.[18]

Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez believed that the decades of discrimination, desecularization, and charges of disloyalty against the secular clergy would have devastating consequences for the future of Spanish administration in the Philippines. In 1870, the archbishop wrote a letter to the Regent of Spain, Francisco Serrano, warning that mistreatment of the secular clergy would ultimately undermine their loyalty to Spain. "Is there no danger in keeping the native clergy in the increasing state of exasperation in which it is at present?" And who was to say that their resentments against the regular clergy would not become wholesale anti-Spanish resentment, and "their resentments to be passed on to their parents, relatives, and to the whole Filipino people, with whom they are more in contact than the regular clergy. Thus, the evil will take on serious proportions." Melitón Martínez's repeated warnings of secular mistreatment fell on deaf ears and he eventually resigned his see in frustration in 1872.[19]

The same year of Melitón Martínez's resignation, José Burgos was executed. Burgos was a secular priest and vocal proponent of equal rights; he was also victim of a reactionary civil administration keen on silencing native dissent. His two colleagues, Mariano Gómez and Jacinto Zamora, were equally innocent and furthermore not involved in the growing call for equal rights. Nonetheless, all were collateral damage of Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo's crackdown on secular clergy, which he viewed as a danger to Spain.

In his 1872 memoir, Izquierdo elaborated on the threat of secular clergy to Spanish hegemony. The regular clergy "have their defects, their vices, and their difficulties, but in the Philippines, they have two qualities which from the political point of view are so great and so important that they oblige us [who profess liberal ideas] to prescind from whatever may be alleged against them. One of these qualities is their unshakable devotion to Spain; the other is their influence on the natives, which even in the weakened state in which it is today, is still

sufficiently great to consider it a preserving factor." If the regular clergy lost influence among the people, "it is because under that Spanish religious clergy the creation of a native clergy has been taking place. The latter, though short on education but not on ambition, has silently gone ahead undermining the religious, and must necessarily be anti-Spanish." Izquierdo believed the key to maintaining the Philippines was the regular clergy. Therefore, "it is necessary to sustain that remaining influence, and prevent at all costs the absorption of it by the secular clergy."[20]

And so, the secular clergy were deprived of their parishes and confined to positions as coadjutors, or assistants, to regular clergy. With the execution of Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora, and the exile of other outspoken secular figures, resentment against Spanish civil and ecclesiastic authority grew, silently boiling under the surface. Melitón Martínez warned the metropole in 1870 that if the mistreatment of secular clergy continued, trouble was certain. And, in 1883, Governor-General Fernando Primo de Rivera (1880–83; 1897–98) acknowledged the validity of the former archbishop's fears. He described the treatment of secular clergy by regular clergy as "generally bad." Furthermore, "the coadjutor is given little in the way of salary but is put constantly to work. He has no right to a pension on retirement and he has no security of employment. He is reduced to the condition of an outcast after having been given an education and made to understand his equality before the law and his consequent legal aptitude for all the positions open to the clergy."[21]

The loss of secular parishes served the political purpose of reducing the influence and advancement of indigenous and *mestizo* priests and the religious purpose of maintaining peninsular supremacy within the clergy. Desecularization served another, unintended purpose. Secular priests like José Burgos "reacted with resentment at the injustice and discrimination they were subjected to. This sharpened their awareness of their separate national identity, a

consciousness which was transmitted to their native parishioners." The precarious situation of the secular clergy could spell disaster for Spain's ambitious plans for the administration rationalization and economic transformation of the Philippines.[22]

Resentment toward Spain was not only spreading through the ranks of the secular clergy. While secular priests were deprived of their parishes and denied rights granted to their peninsular counterparts, Bourbon economic reforms had similar adverse impacts on farmers in the vast countryside. Colonial modernization via economic reforms transformed the physical, economic, and social landscape of the Philippines. These transformations were uneven, exploitative, and another source of indigenous discontent.

Economic reforms focused on agriculture and the development of cash crops for export, including tobacco, sugar, and abaca. The shift from subsistence to cash crop production left growers vulnerable to exploitation with many forced to live a hand-to-mouth existence. German ethnologist and naturalist Fedor Jagor, who traveled the archipelago in 1859 and 1860, had a generally positive impression of the islands and peoples. However, he was appalled by the treatment of indigenous tobacco farmers. His revulsion seeps from his description. The colonial administration, Jagor wrote, "appropriated the fields of the peasantry without the slightest indemnification—fields which had been brought under cultivation for their necessary means of sustenance; forced them, under penalty of bodily punishment, to raise, on the confiscated property, an article which required immense amount of trouble and attention, and which yielded a very uncertain crop; and they then valued the harvested leaves arbitrarily and without any appeal, and, in the most favorable case, paid for them at a nominal price fixed by themselves. To be paid at all, indeed, appears to have been a favor, for it had not been done in full now for

several years in succession." Jagor empathized with the indigenous growers' plight: "Spain regularly remains indebted to the poor unlucky peasants in the amount of the miserable pittance allowed, from one year's end to another. The government ordered the officials to exact a higher return from the impoverished population of the tobacco districts; and they even rewarded informers who, after pointing out to them fields already owned, but which were considered suitable to the cultivation of tobacco, were installed into possession of the proclaimed lands in the place of the original owners."[23]

Cash crops like tobacco operated on production quotas. If farmers did not meet their production quotas they were fined. As observed by Jagor, Spanish agents often undervalued farmers' crops, allowing them to cheat indigenous growers. Farmers received vouchers instead of currency, which they cashed at ruinous exchange rates. Spanish officials and merchants, as well as their *mestizo* collaborators, pocketed the proceeds generated by undervaluing cash crops, providing an unfair exchange rate for vouchers, and price gouging for necessities. Hunger was a constant among indigenous growers and their families. Growers had little recourse to push back and lacked the technology for efficient production. The sugar industry in Negros, for example, grew by "depressing wages and constantly acquiring new land, rather than investing capital in new technology for more intensive and efficient cultivation of existing plantations."[24]

In the "modern" cash crop economy, indigenous growers remained at a disadvantage. Economic reforms caused small landowners to lose their land to local *principalia* in *pacto de retroventa* loans; they were forced to work their traditional lands as tenants. Royal grants gifted massive haciendas to corporate (religious) entities or Spaniards, such as the Dominican-owned *Hacienda de Calamba* in Laguna and Lopez family hacienda in Sarabia, Negros. Haciendas often employed share-cropping systems under which growers struggled to survive. Hacienda

owners were typically absent, living in Manila or even overseas. Therefore, haciendas were often divided into smaller units run by *mestizos* who also operated as export middlemen.[25]

With the focus on cash crop production, once self-sufficient regions now became lucrative markets. Food stuffs such as rice were sold at inflated prices and cheap manufactured goods from Europe led to the collapse of traditional industries, such as the textile industry in the Western Visayas (the location of large sugar plantations). The export cash-crop economy diverted acreage away from subsistence rice farming. Food insecurity soon followed, as historian Renato Constantino concluded: "While export crops were certainly more profitable for large landowners and traders, rice shortages worked great hardship on the people. Self-sufficiency in the staple crop was a hedge against hunger. A poor tenant who planted something he could not eat and had to buy his daily rice was that much more at the mercy of the landowner and the trader." Without the ability to supply his own rice, a grower had few choices to feed his family. He could borrow money from a landowner at an outrageous interest rate, prematurely sell his crop to a *mestizo* middleman at a cut-rate price, or enter into a *pacto de retroventa* loan that would likely result in the loss of his land. Whatever choice a grower made to support his family in the new modern colonial economy, the outcome was sure to be grim.[26]

A new, indigenous and *mestizo* elite of landowners and export middlemen emerged from the economic reforms. Yet here, too, was another site of growing resentment. Their children were the beneficiaries of the 1860s educational reforms. New wealth opened the doors not just to Hispanization but also to higher education. The sons of provincial indigenous and *mestizo* elites now had the opportunity to study law, medicine, or pharmacy in Manila. Wealth and higher education brought about another goal: "a quest for social recognition."[27]

Native elite families envisioned successful civil and ecclesiastic careers for their sons, which would further enhance the families' wealth and prestige. However, these imagined avenues would be dead ends; indigenous and *mestizo* educational and professional advancement was purposefully stunted by reactionary Spaniards. Despite the attainment of university and graduate degrees, Filipinos rarely received government appointments and were relegated to coadjutor positions in the secular clergy. Governor-General Rivera observed the injustice of educational attainment without professional recognition in 1883 but offered no solutions: "It is undoubtedly a danger to our domination to give importance to the native secular clergy and to put them in a position to disseminate evil principles among the people; but it also seems prejudicial to the interest of Spain to maintain in a posture resembling the torment of Tantalus the persons who may be considered the most cultured among the natives, persons on whom we impose duties while denying them the rights which we taught them they possess."[28]

Sensing the roadblocks to educational and professional advancement, elite indigenous and *mestizo* families would use some of their new wealth to send their sons to Europe to study. It was in Europe that these young men gained firsthand knowledge and experience of enlightened ideas and modern reforms, including individual liberty, reason, and the rights of man. These young men would form an enlightened, educated elite class called *ilustrados*.[29] They were native paragons of Hispanization who imagined a Hispanized Philippines. To help realize their ideal, they would become "disseminators of Spanish culture and liberal thought" in the archipelago. However, despite their intellectual and professional achievements, *ilustrados* were discriminated against and looked down upon by *peninsulares* and *criollos.*[30]

Nineteenth-century colonial modernization had produced big promises and limited benefits to indigenous and *mestizo* inhabitants of the Philippines. Practically everyone across the

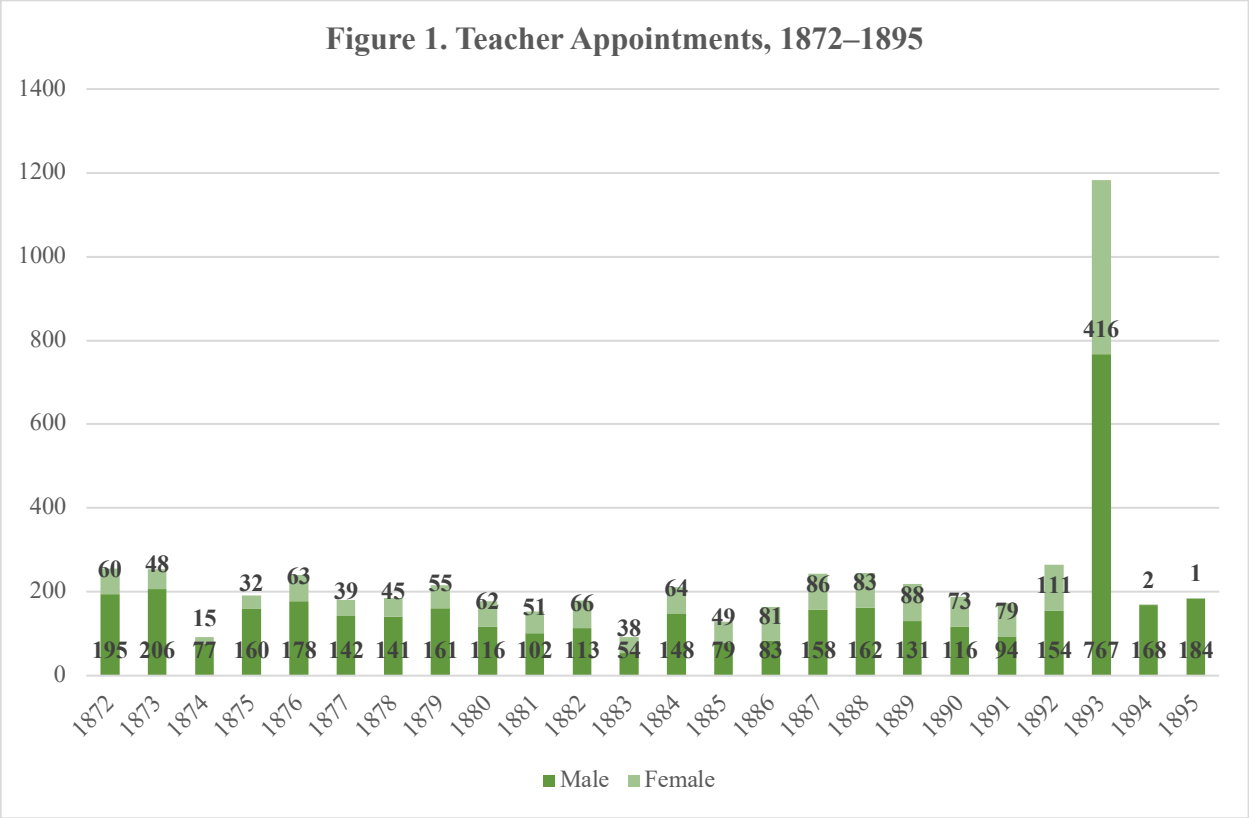
social spectrum had a grievance with the colonial administration. The new elite, along with secular priests, witnessed their upward mobility purposely restricted by colonial policy. Ambition was met with discontent. The masses suffered even more acutely at the hands of Spaniards. Their exploitation was compounded by bearing witness to the material prosperity of those around them. Injustice and discrimination stoked resentment and the seeds of a separate national consciousness. The Cavite Mutiny marked a convergence of grievances.[31]

This was the aggrieved environment in which most teachers found themselves beginning in the 1870s. Indigenous and *mestizo* teachers occupied a novel space in the modernizing colony: they did not belong to the new landed elite, but neither were they impoverished tenant farmers. Rather, teachers were part of a nascent native middling class; they were beneficiaries of expanded educational and professional opportunities that emerged from the processes of colonial modernization. It would be teachers' educational and professional experiences that would inform the ways in which they viewed their own participation in the processes of colonial modernization and how they understood the political, economic, and social transformations around them. Teachers would witness firsthand the social stratification, exploitation, and discrimination brought about by the processes of colonial modernization. Was it inevitable that teachers would be the next group subsumed by the convergence of native discontent?[32]

January 1872 was significant not only for the Cavite Mutiny; it was also the month in which individual records first appeared for new primary school teacher appointments. The director of the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* was responsible for assigning certified male and female teachers to primary schools across the archipelago. Examination results determined the

location and level of a teacher's appointment. Occasionally, other factors could contribute to the director's decision, such as a teacher's home province.[33]

In 1872, 255 indigenous and *mestizo* teachers were appointed to public primary schools. Just over twenty years later, in 1893, the Escuela Normal director appointed an unprecedented 1,190 teachers to primary schools spanning the archipelago, from Cagayan in northern Luzon to Cotabato in southern Mindanao, from an *escuela de termino de primera clase* in the capital of Iloilo to an *escuela de entrada* in the barrio of Corella, Bohol. Between 1872 and 1895, the director made 5,609 public school teacher appointments; of those appointments, 1,505 were *Escuela Normal de Maestros* graduates (see Figure 1).



Source: Teacher Appointments, 1872–1895, V-14: Normal School, Archive of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus (hereafter, APPSJ).

While not all new teachers were graduates of normal schools *per se,* they had to have studied at the secondary level—a normal school, a normal course, or a private school—to take the certification examination. The Superior Commission of Primary Instruction, based in Manila, held yearly teacher certification examinations at the Escuela Normal for men and women. There were also quarterly examinations for those wishing to become *ayudantes,* or assistant teachers. Only normal school graduates could obtain the title of *maestro titular* or *ayudante*.[34]

Not everyone who wanted to become a teacher could travel to Manila for normal school training or examination. Therefore, Provincial Commissions of Primary Instruction hosted certification examinations for *maestros habilitado,* or authorized teachers, and *sustitutos,* or substitute teachers. The title *maestro habilitado* was considered an assistant teacher position. Substitutes were hired in provincial schools only if no *maestro titular* or *maestro habilitado* was available for the post.[35]

By holding regular, standardized certification examinations in the capital and provinces, civil officials could ensure that the men and women entering the primary school system as teachers could deliver the common curriculum essential to colonial modernization. Specifically, "the participation of the Philippines in the global economy naturally demanded [a universal system of primary schools] in order to produce a trained workforce for the public and private bureaucracies, supporting industries, and professions."[36]

However, teacher shortages remained an issue through the end of the nineteenth century. It was not unusual to find uncertified individuals appointed teachers, especially in remote locales. Bicol was one such province that suffered from a perennial teacher shortage. While bishop of Nueva Cáceres, Francisco Gainza, OP, proposed substitute teachers in Bicol be paid a salary of ₱12 per month. He also thought substitutes should be recognized as *maestros* even if

they held no official title or had not passed the examination. If something along these lines was not done, Gainza warned, “there would be schools, but no teachers.” Obtaining a diploma in Manila took time; even if someone was interested, they likely did not have the money for fees. And who would want to go through all that trouble so they can return and “teach for the measly sum of two pesos a month?” Gainza acknowledged that many of those who were willing to teach as low-paid substitutes hesitated to take the examinations. Traveling from a rural area to Manila to undergo the tests could be difficult. Even if travel was not an issue, others might be dissuaded to make the trip for fear of a humiliating disqualification, and so give up teaching altogether.[37]

According to the 1863 educational decree and accompanying regulations, teachers could expect material and community support upon arrival at their post. Specifically, teachers would have access to a centrally located, well-lit and ventilated, one-room school building. Attached to the school would be living quarters for the teacher with a separate entrance. The school would be furnished with tables, chairs, blackboard, and a clock. There would be paper, exercise books, ink, pens, and textbooks for the students. Since primary school was compulsory for children ages seven through twelve, teachers may have assumed community support in ensuring regular attendance. The parish priest would continue to teach Christian morals and doctrine, but otherwise was relegated to school inspector. Therefore, the teacher may have also assumed there would be relative autonomy in the running of their school. A local budget was meant to cover the cost of maintaining the school building, purchasing supplies, and paying the teacher’s salary.[38]

After years of study and preparation, the promise of a teaching career, as idealized in their Manila classrooms and official edicts from the metropole, must have appealed to an aspiring native and *mestizo* middle class. However, teacher writings, official reports, resignation

records, disciplinary cases, and even fiction from the time period, reflect a disconnect between "enlightened" modernization rhetoric and educational realities. Most teachers found the actual conditions in the field did not match their expectations as purported in their normal school programs and outlined in royal decrees. Another subset of the native and *mestizo* population was set to be disappointed by the unfulfilled promises of colonial modernization.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Philippines remained a predominately rural colony. While urban trade centers grew alongside newly opened ports, the majority of land was mountainous, forested, and/or farmed. Therefore, most teachers were posted to rural locations. In rural provinces, nipa and bamboo structures prevailed. There were few stone buildings; typically, the church was the most solidly built structure in a town. It was not unusual for free-standing schools to be nonexistent in rural locations.[39]

In a circular from 1871, Governor-General Rafael Izquierdo provided a dismal assessment of the archipelago's primary education system: "There are an infinite number of towns without schools, there are entire provinces that do not have buildings to place them, there are also many schools, or rather, all those of the archipelago, with the exception of some of the capital, which lack the material means of education and teaching; the children have to sit on the floor and stay there for hours and hours, crammed together; books are not provided, they do not have writing tables, they are provided no paper, no pens, no ink, no books, and these schools do not deserve the name, they are not schools, sad to say." What passed for schools resembled "pernicious children's meetings, in which since they do not gain morally or intellectually, they lose a lot, a lot in their good physical development; in short, these schools cost and do not produce any results." Eight years after the 1863 degree that mandated universal, uniform primary

education, the state of primary schools, especially outside of Manila, had changed little. These were the school conditions most teachers faced.[40]

Almost twenty-five years later, there was little concrete progress in the provisions for primary education. This was not for lack of interest and desire on the part of teachers but due to a continued lack of financial and material support. An 1884 Escuela Normal graduate posted to an *escuela de termino de primera clase* in Binondo, Manila, reported in 1895 that there was an overall "lack of good buildings and the necessary equipment and material for the smooth running of education." Despite exceptions to his observation, "many teachers have complained to me about the poor conditions they run, either because [the schools] are in private homes, which in no way lend themselves to the object," or because the government-provided school buildings do not meet the needs that modern pedagogical methods demand.[41]

A non-existent or ill-provisioned school building was problematic on multiple levels. While attendance was compulsory, one teacher asked: "What attractiveness can a school have, what interest can it arouse among the neighbors so that they are encouraged to send their children to attend it?" A school not only inspired excitement among students and community members, but also among teachers. How could teachers maintain their own professional fervor, first stoked by "the idea of running a school similar to the *escuela practica* added to the Escuela Normal, or [a school] built according to the standard [outlined in law]"? And even if a teacher held onto their enthusiasm despite the challenging working conditions, there was the pedagogical question. "How will the teacher be able to unfold his lesson, how will he spread his knowledge, and how will he educate children in aesthetics, geography, gymnastics, practical agriculture, and other subjects, if you lack the means to do so, the elements of teaching?"[42]

The primary education system was meant to be a uniform system that would contribute to "an eminently religious, industrious and intelligent society." Yet, primary school provisions were dependent on location. In theory, a more prosperous town might have a better equipped school. But, if the idea was to have archipelago-wide uniformity, then government resources should be devoted to the construction and provision of schools, no matter the location. A teacher's request for provisions from the 1890s revealed what primary schools still lacked at the turn of the century despite all of the promises outlined in royal decrees. "If teachers are forced to follow the same teaching program, if we teach the same language, if we are given entirely the same instructional materials, even textbooks, pens, and other trifles, if we have to observe the same time table, because even in this the rule is meticulous, which obliges us all to the same teaching conduct; what reason is there not to oblige the peoples to have the same schools, the plans of which have been proposed by experts in the field and approved by the civil government?"[43]

In practice, a province's prosperity did not guarantee good primary schools. The primary schools of Pangasinan, a wealthy province with a port open to global trade since 1855, were insufficient for the growing native elite class. A Dominican missionary, Francisco Carrozal, OP, wrote in 1886 that education in Pangasinan was "as it used to be 25 years ago. Not one child can speak Castilian. Most children try to learn to read and write any way they can. If a father wants his child to learn to speak Castilian and the rudiments, he is forced to look for private teachers paid out of his own pocket, or send him to Manila." Furthermore, Carrozal noted, parents had little confidence in the teachers, who were "normally [unmarried] youths [and] strangers to the town." Locals considered these transplants "inexperienced, tactless in their social relations, and [tended to play] favorites of the children from wealthier families."[44]

Local *principalia* and parish priests often played an outsized role in the material and community support of a school. Problems of funding and absenteeism were common yet outside of teachers' control. Nonetheless, much like elsewhere in the world historically and today, teachers received the blame for the failings of public schools. Disciplinary records reveal how communities directed their ire at teachers. In 1884, the provincial governor accused Maximo Gatmaitan, a teacher in Quingua, Bulacan, of *abandono y negligencia* following a school inspection trip that revealed "no signs of progress" among the schoolchildren. In response, Gatmaitan claimed the visit coincided with the summer vacation when classes were suspended. On the charge of neglect, Gatmaitan faulted the lack of a school building and books, "for which reason the children were not attracted to attend class." He concluded his defense by arguing that it was a local inspector's duty (i.e., the parish priest), not a teacher's, to ensure daily attendance at school. Furthermore, "how could he provide the schoolbooks when he hardly received enough to support himself?" The Escuela Normal director could not argue with Gatmaitan's reasoning; he recommended the teacher be acquitted of the charges, reinstated, and provided with the appropriate school equipment.[45]

Absenteeism was often the result of children living in barrios far from the school, which was usually centrally located in a larger town or *población*. Pedro Nolasco, OP, a Dominican missionary working in Cagayan, wrote of primary education in the province in 1886: "There are towns where it is little less than impossible to maintain regular school attendance. In general, these contribute: the dispersal of the settlements (a primary cause), the parents' laziness, the negligence of the *gobernadorcillos,* the lack of teachers, on occasion the absence of school buildings but always their dilapidated condition, the dearth of books, paper, tables—everything,

in short, needed in a school." Nolasco cited distance as the primary cause for absenteeism, but he also acknowledged that a lack of school provisions was no inducement to regular attendance.[46]

A parish priest might compel children to attend school, but his duties were often as wide-ranging as the teacher. He could not be everywhere at once. In one Luzon province, a missionary observed, "The few children who attend [school] do so only at the urging of the parish priest. When the priest is gone [to make the rounds of his mission], the school is immediately deserted until the moment when the children calculate that the priest would be returning." When students did attend school, teachers were left on their own to deal with overcrowding. The law mandated one teacher for every 80 students. Once a student body exceeded 80, a teacher was promised an assistant. In reality, one teacher might be responsible for 250 or even 1,000 students.[47]

The community and parish priest could make or break a teacher. Fiction from the time period provides insights into the lives and struggles of teachers in the provinces. Franciscan friar Miguel Lucio y Bustamante published *Si Tandang Basio Macunat* [*Old Man Basio Macunat*] in 1885, which reflected a common belief of many parish priests (and school inspectors) that education, and especially Castilian, would expose "simple" Filipinos to dangerous and anticlerical ideas from Europe. One chapter revealed the derisive attitude and community opposition faced by Castilian-speaking graduates of the Escuela Normal. Of the town's previous schoolteacher, Basio remarked, "That old man was truly loved and respected by the whole people, even though he did not know the Castilian language—like these new-fangled teachers now, whom they call *Normal,* who even though they are just as dark as I am, or even darker, are wearing a frock-coat, or whatever they call that clothing they wear, and are making themselves equal to the *Capitanes* and to the parish priests (even though that is not so), just as if they were important people. That old teacher of ours that I mentioned had no will of his own, with regard to

teaching and directing our children. He is not making any move or giving any new command, unless he first got a question or advice from our honorable *Capitan,* and above all from our very reverent *Padre Cura.* Therefore, both the old and the young obeyed him, because everyone understood that he would not dare to command anything unless our parish priest knew it beforehand." In the fictional Basio's opinion, and indeed in the opinion of countless real-life parish priests, too much education produced in Escuela Normal graduates a "will of their own," leading them to behave above their station and to be less likely to blindly follow the old ways.[48]

In another chapter, Basio introduced the narrator to his seven living children requesting he not speak to them in Castilian since he forbade the children from studying the language. The narrator asked why Basio did this, since "Is it not better that, besides what your children already know, they should also add the knowledge of Castilian?" Basio replied with a firm *no*. "The Kastila is a Kastila, and the Indio is an Indio. The monkey," he continued, "is a monkey, and even if you put on him a shirt and trousers, he is still a monkey and not a man." The narrator pressed Basio, "But keep in mind that knowledge is not a hindrance to anything." Basio conceded the point, but relayed a saying from his own father, "The Tagalogs, the *indios,* who leave behind, or are taken away from, the carabao [water buffalo], generally become bad men and traitors to God and King." The author deftly employed a series of fictional interactions to argue that while *some* education was necessary for life, too much could lead to indolence. *Si Tandang Basio Macunat* and similar racist writings circulated widely. Educated Filipinos, especially those residing in Manila for school and work, would have been well aware of the derogatory ways in which they were being depicted by supposedly "enlightened" Spaniards.[49]

In the 1887 novel by the *ilustrado* José Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere* [*Touch Me Not*], the main character Juan Crisostomo Ibarra converses with his village schoolteacher after spending some

time in Europe. The experiences of the fictional schoolteacher as relayed to Ibarra must have hit close to home for real-life teachers struggling in their poorly provisioned provincial schools under hostile working conditions. The unnamed teacher had more than 200 students on his rolls but only about 25 attended school on any given day. Curious at the discrepancy, Ibarra asked the teacher to describe the obstacles to education. The teacher responded that he was forced to work alone against the prejudices of "certain influences" (i.e., the parish priest).[50]

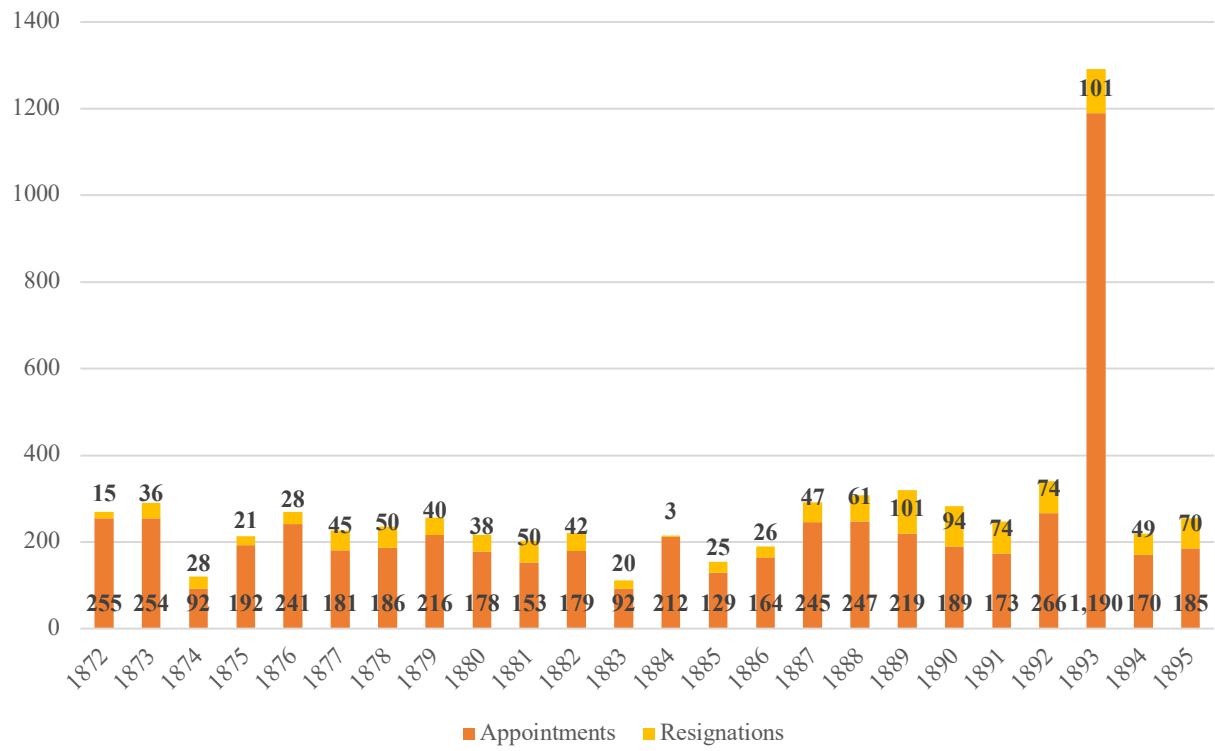
The teacher worked not in a standalone school, but beside the priest's residence. "There, the boys who like to read aloud, naturally bother the Padre. At times he would come down upset, especially when he has one of those attacks; he shouts at them and insults me at times. You understand that in this way one cannot teach or learn; the child has no respect for the teacher, whom he saw ill-treated, and who did not attempt to insist on his rights. For the schoolmaster to be listened to, for him to have his authority uncontested, he needs prestige, a good name, moral strength, a certain freedom of action." Here Rizal showed that despite the enlightened rhetoric of colonial modernization, where indigenous and *mestizo* teachers would assist the administration in the Hispanization and uplift of the peoples, Spanish xenophobia would continue to undermine their confidence, self-worth, and inalienable rights as equals of Spaniards.[51]

The parish priest, as local school inspector and *de facto* community leader, even more than the community, could seriously impede on the lives and work of teachers. One young female teacher in Malate ended up in prison, charged with "sacrilege, robbery, and insurrection." Upon her arrest, she claimed the charges were instigated by the parish priest, who attempted to have "carnal intercourse" with her. She was able to repel his overtures, but, in retaliation, "the priest caused her arrest on the pretext of having stolen part of the vessels used in the communion service of the Roman Catholic Church." The *alcalde* [mayor] deemed the young woman's

conduct in prison "exemplary" and she was eventually released. Unfortunately, experiences like hers were all too common for female teachers.[52]

Given the lack of school provisions and sometimes hostile working conditions, attrition among teachers in the nineteenth century was relatively high (see Figure 2). Like the personal and official accounts above, resignation records submitted to the director of the Escuela Normal reflect the taxing conditions under which teachers had to live and work. The most cited reason for resignation was "ill health." Of the 145 resignations submitted between 1890 and 1898 that provided a reason, 113, or 78%, cited ill health (numerous resignation records failed to include a reason). Teachers frequently requested sick leave or a transfer closer to family.[53]

Figure 2. Primary School Teacher Appointments and Resignations, 1872–1895



Sources: Teacher Appointments, 1872–1895, V-14; Teacher Resignations, 1872–1895, V-14; both from APPSJ.

The teachers whose illnesses compromised their work found little sympathy from the community. Carmen Generosa, a teacher from Piat, Cagayan, was charged with neglect of duty in 1892. During her disciplinary hearing she explained that illness affected her ability to perform her duties. The Escuela Normal director dismissed her case and recommended placement at another school once she recovered her health and was ready to fulfill her obligations. Melecio Estrella was similarly charged with neglect of duty in 1895 and suspended from his teaching post in Paniqui, Tarlac. His case was also dismissed once it was revealed that his absence from the classroom was due to sickness and that low student attendance was beyond his control.[54]

Poor pay was the next most cited reason when teachers resigned their positions. Teachers who cited low pay when resigning might couch their language with "personal reasons." But not Claudio Liquete, who resigned his teaching position in Candon, Ilocos Sur, in 1879; he claimed in no uncertain terms that "his salary is not enough." Poor pay contributed to high teacher attrition. Mindoro had just five certified teachers and eight substitutes in 1881. Other teachers in the province lacked training and certification, similar to the situation described by Gainza in Bicol. One reason Mindoro had difficulty retaining teachers was the abysmally low salary of two pesos per month. Those who accepted a teaching position in Mindoro had to seek other sources of income to supplement their salary and stay afloat. The precarious financial situation sparked a vicious cycle: the need to take another job forced teachers to be absent from their classrooms, which led to disciplinary cases and suspensions for "neglect of duty."[55]

Indeed, many community complaints against teachers resulted from their need to work for additional income. If a teacher worked outside the classroom, they were accused of not fulfilling their school obligations. Not only were teacher salaries notoriously low, but historian Grace Concepcion found "delays in payment were frequent as evidenced by teachers' records

requesting the Director of Civil Administration for settlement of salaries in arrears. It was therefore not unusual for teachers to find other sources of income."[56]

Those who resigned due to low pay often pursued other professional opportunities. José María Chavez and José Mondejar, teachers in Iloilo, both resigned in 1879 to "dedicate himself to his business." Iloilo, in the Visayas, was a center of sugar cultivation and location of a major port. Business opportunities awaited individuals with language and academic skills obtained during a normal school education. The situation was likely similar for Eusebio Tuason, who resigned his lucrative post in the colonial capital of Manila in 1881 to dedicate himself to his own business. In some cases, teachers left the profession to retrain for other careers. Fernando Mapa, a teacher in Manduriao, Iloilo, resigned his post in 1877 and resumed his studies at the *Universidad de Santo Tomás*. Mariano Villafuerte resigned as a teacher in the capital of Camarines Sur to become an ordained priest. Meanwhile, Dionisio Aznar Roblesa left his position in Albay in 1893 when he was appointed Justice of the Peace for the province.[57]

The rhetoric of nineteenth-century modernization placed indigenous and *mestizo* teachers at the center of the colonial administration's endeavor. Teachers would be exemplars of moral and religious virtue and agents of Hispanization. They would provide primary instruction in the 3Rs and Castilian to children during the week and adults on Sundays. Teachers were responsible for maintaining registration and attendance records, doling out rewards and punishments, and organizing public examinations. As one of the most educated members of a community, they would act as town secretaries for local leaders. Teachers were beholden to local school inspectors/parish priests, provincial inspectors, and parents. In return, they would receive a regular monthly salary, school supplies and equipment, and a sound physical structure in which to live and work. Several years of exemplary service would open the door to *principalia* status,

local government positions, and a pension upon retirement. Teachers had to be "on" at all times; their conduct, appearance, and abilities were continually assessed and judged.[58]

As Pedro Murillo Velarde, SJ, lamented about the vast responsibilities placed on missionaries in the seventeenth century, teachers also needed to be everything to everyone. One teacher described the multiplicity of his position in 1895: "Because of the special nature of his profession, [a teacher] must be related to all classes of society; with the worker, the average and the one of high position, trying to attract the respect of the humble class with their exemplary and benevolent conduct; that of his equals or that of the middle class with its civility and enlightenment; and the esteem and confidence of the upper class, with a modest and sincere courtesy, dignified and delicate." In short, a teacher had to gain the respect of everyone.[59]

Another teacher described the intense scrutiny those in his profession faced inside and outside the classroom. "The teacher is subject to the gazes of the children, the parents, the neighbors and the authorities, everyone watches over him, everyone inspects him, everyone considers himself entitled to judge him: carelessness, lapses, or slips that in any other neighbor are innocent, funny, unnoticed, or hardly perceived; in the case of the teacher, they will be visible, very noticeable, and if they do not take on colossal proportions, at least they are repaired, discussed, censored. The most tolerant are rigid and severe judges, for the teacher there is no special treatment of any kind." While it was easier to escape the intense public scrutiny in Manila and other large towns, in the provinces, "everything is known, everything is scrutinized, everything is analyzed, everything is discussed, and everything is judged without mercy."[60]

The expectations placed upon teachers in the second half of the nineteenth century were high and the obstacles to success were many. Funding, absenteeism, overwork, discrimination, and hostile community members were among the problems teachers faced upon arrival at their

posts, making their success challenging. On top of these obstacles, there were too few teachers to take on the monumental role assigned to them (see Table 1).[61]

Table 1. Philippine population and public primary schools, 1868–1896

Year	Total population	School-age population	Public primary schools (actual)	Public primary schools (per 1863 decree, estimated)
1868	4,716,238	664,900	745	3,770
1876	5,501,356	775,697	1,608	4,400
1886	5,839,860	799,820	1,634[62]	4,670
1896	6,261,339	882,849	2,167	5,010

The 1863 decree called for a school for boys and a school for girls in every town under 5,000. As the population of a town increased so should the number of schools: a population of 5,000 should have two schools each for boys and girls, a population of 10,000 should have three schools each, and so forth. If the student body in a school exceeded 80, the teacher should have one assistant; if it exceeded 150, two assistants. When the Americans arrived in the archipelago at the turn of the century, officials reported 1,914 teachers (about half were women) compared to a total population of 6,709,810. In other words, there was one teacher per 3,500 inhabitants.[63]

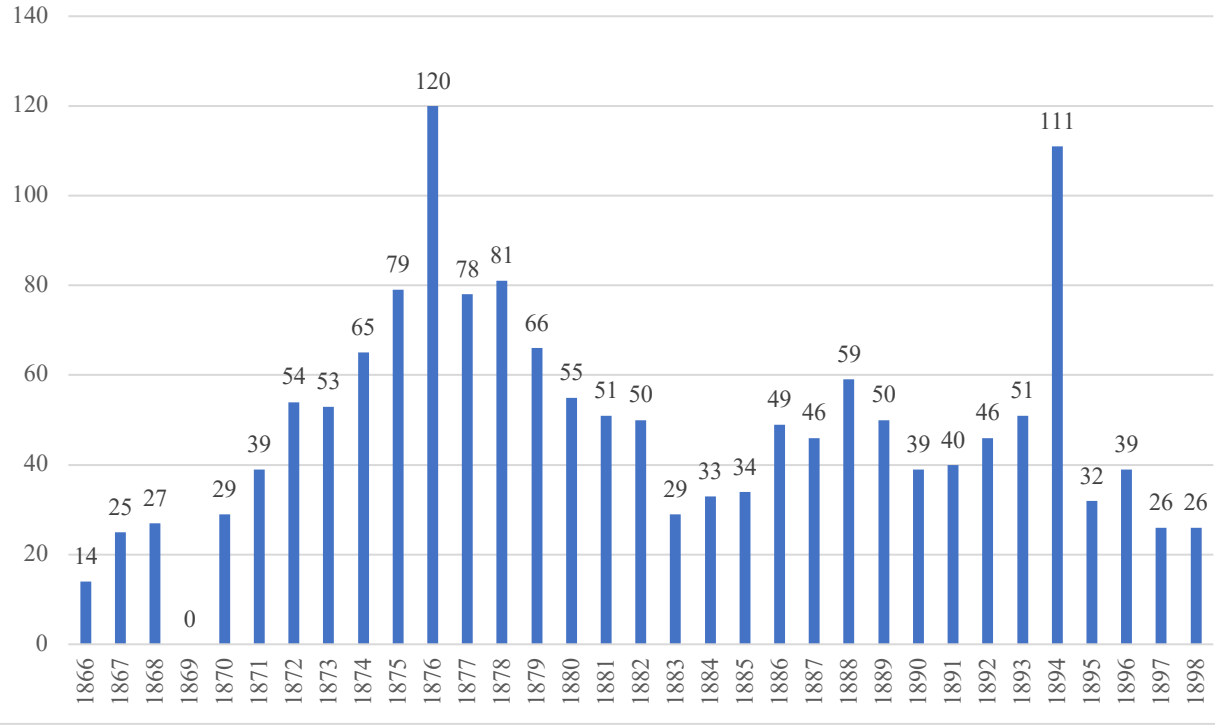
Despite the trying working conditions, demanding expectations, discrimination, and intense scrutiny faced by teachers, interest in the normal schools grew exponentially as natives and *mestizos* learned of the personal and professional opportunities afforded those who finished the course of studies. Students arrived at the Escuela Normal from across the three main island regions of archipelago; between 1865 and 1887, 29 normal school graduates hailed from Mindanao (south), 168 from the Visayas (central), and 869 from Luzon (north).[64]

Not all students who attended the normal school aspired to become teachers, especially those students that paid their own way (*alumnos supernumerarios*). Many were drawn to the

Escuela Normal to learn Castilian and prepare for other careers, including positions as clerks in foreign commercial houses. For others, given the reactionary Spanish administration intent on blocking the professional and material progress of natives and *mestizos* in civil and ecclesiastic positions, teaching might have seemed the most stable career.[65]

The professionalization of teaching allowed countless natives and *mestizos* entrance into a nascent middle class, which developed out of the administrative requirements for colonial modernization. Enrollment at the Escuela Normal increased at such a rate in the 1870s that the Jesuits had to hire additional staff and expand the existing building (see Figure 3). Eventually, the Escuela Normal moved to a new, larger location after an earthquake destroyed the original building in 1880. Even after the move to Ermita on Padre Faura Street in 1886, the school turned away prospective students due to lack of accommodations.[66]

Figure 3. *Escuela Normal de Maestros* graduates, 1866–1898



Source: Estados de la Escuela Normal, ms, n.d., APPSJ. During the first three years of operation, the school year ended in December. In 1869 the school year shifted to end in April 1870; therefore, there were no graduates in 1869.

When Hermenegildo Jacas, then-director of the Escuela Normal, was asked what benefits the school had brought to the archipelago in 1893, he quickly pointed to "enlightened" colonial modernization, including Hispanization and administrative rationalization. He wrote to the governor-general: "With the adoption of a combined system of instruction and education in pedagogy, the [Normal School] has propagated the seeds of true civilization in all the Islands, consolidating, with the most basic notions of education, the civil life of towns in their diverse relations with the social organization and especially with the different institutions that unite this archipelago with the mother country." The relations between the indigenous population and civil, ecclesiastic, and military authorities, as well as trade, commerce, and agriculture had improved. In short, the Normal School was accomplishing its intended purpose: provide trained indigenous and *mestizo* teachers to act as Hispanized agents of acculturation and contribute to the social stability, cultural unity, and economic prosperity of the colony.[67]

On 23 February 1894, the director of the Escuela Normal founded *La Academia Pedagógica,* a professional organization for teachers to study educational questions and work toward the betterment of the profession. Like normal schools, professional educational organizations developed around the world during the second half of the nineteenth century as more and more individuals recognized the importance of universal education—and teachers—in the political, cultural, and economic progress of a modern nation.[68]

The founders of the Pedagogical Academy ascribed to the Enlightenment ideal that indigenous and *mestizo* teachers, as Hispanized agents of the colonial administration, would lead in the modernization of the archipelago. The secretary of the academy, Mariano Leuterio, wrote in 1896: "This association was the means of impressing upon the teachers the dignity and honor

of their profession, inspiring them with the desire to spread morality and culture among their pupils, to carry intelligence from province to province and from town to town, to awaken the families to the call of necessity knocking at their doors, and to enkindle in the minds of the common people the sentiments of virtue, knowledge, patriotism, and Christianity; as these things ensure more and more the moral and material enlargement of the archipelago."[69]

Any male teacher could be a member of the Pedagogical Academy, from the professors of the Escuela Normal to assistant and substitute teachers in distant provinces. To be admitted to the academy, a teacher had to submit an application to the normal school director with his professional credentials and a personal statement. He also had to provide evidence of good standing and moral character, which was usually a character reference from his parish priest.[70]

Members of the academy who were able to do so met bimonthly at the Escuela Normal in Manila for a literary performance and lecture. Meetings were conducted in a formal manner, befitting a professional organization: following the literary performance, there was a call to order and reading of the previous meeting's minutes. The academy's president—the Escuela Normal director—would then propose a topic for discussion and name a member to speak on the point. In lieu of this format, a member might give a brief lecture.[71]

In a further move toward teacher professionalization, the Pedagogical Academy published a journal, *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* first issued in 1895. The journal featured articles on relevant legislation, school statistics and reports, lesson plans, meeting minutes of the Pedagogical Academy, descriptions of education in Europe and the Americas, excerpts from other education periodicals, lectures and letters, and public examination notices. The inaugural journal issue, for example, was divided into legislative, pedagogical, useful knowledge, foreign, and "varieties" sections. It included an article on the importance of writing

exercises, the first in a series of line drawing lessons (with accompanying illustrations) from a New York professor, a discourse on the 1895 *Exposición Regional de Filipinas* held in Manila, and a poem, *Al Divino Jesús,* written by Rafael de los Reyes, SJ.[72]

Journal issues appeared monthly for approximately three years, beginning in January 1895. An annual subscription cost ₱1.50 for those living in the archipelago and ₱2.00 for those living in the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish colonies. Since it was impossible for most teachers to travel to the bimonthly meetings of the Pedagogical Academy, the journal was a way to disseminate knowledge to those posted far from urban centers. Around this time the academy started a small library "in order to refresh and enrich the knowledge of teachers."[73]

The year 1895 also marked the first public contest sponsored by the Pedagogical Academy. The first pedagogical contest was held in early December. Its purpose, according to academy president Isidoro de la Torre, SJ, was to stimulate interest in educational matters and draw public attention to the "noble" profession. The contest included prizes for the best presentations and speeches by civil and ecclesiastic dignitaries on the important role of primary education and native teachers in the modernizing colony.[74]

The pedagogical contest was a day of literary entertainment. Participants spoke on a range of topics, including how to attract students to the primary schools, a history of Castilian language instruction in the Philippines, the professionalization and duties of teachers, and a discourse on teaching by the object method.[75] The latter was a pedagogical method that stressed objects such as blocks rather than books, common in child-centered instruction, as found in kindergartens. The speaker on the history of the "beautiful language of Castile" in the archipelago called knowledge of the language "the sacred fire that keeps alive in the heart of the citizen the love for God, [the mother country], the laws, [and] the home where he was born,

establishing the balance of nations and the moral order among its inhabitants, extinguishing in his heart evil passions that steal the peace of the family."[76]

Besides offering such platitudes, teachers used the contest as an opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge of popular European pedagogical innovations; Johann Pestalozzi, a Swiss follower of Rousseau and champion of object teaching, was mentioned by more than one speaker. To inspire students' curiosity, one participant suggested: "It would be of the greatest convenience and importance that both in the schools for boys and girls the teacher should try to form a collection of those objects that could serve as a starting point for interesting and useful lessons, such as plants, flowers, seeds, minerals, materials used in the arts and in industry; and in girls' schools, also fabrics, ribbons, small household items, etc."[77]

Another participant, Pedro Serrano, also speaking on object teaching, described its purpose in elegant, lyrical prose: "Truly objective teaching presents an object to the senses of the pupil, and teaches him to observe it conscientiously: then it instructs him to express exactly the results of his observations, so that the perceptions are as clear, precise and exact as possible; and through them, it contributes, in a positive way, to the development of the spirit of observation so that the child possesses the art of observing. The better the senses develop, the more means children will have of acquiring the aforementioned art of becoming good observers, with which they will be most of the way to becoming good thinkers." The purpose of object teaching, asserted Serrano, was to learn to learn, with teachers as a guide. "Above all, the teacher should strive for teaching to be fruitful in forming intelligent and capable men, rather than educated men; that is to say, it is not enough to provide the child with instruction, but he must be endowed with the power or means of instructing himself." One could envision Serrano, a native of

Bulacan who trained at the Escuela Normal in Salamanca, Spain, holding his own with the likes of progressive heavyweights Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel, Maria Montessori, and John Dewey.[78]

The overall tone of the pedagogical contest was celebratory and optimistic, but there were sober moments that addressed the daily difficulties faced by indigenous and *mestizo* teachers. Catalino Sevilla's contribution to the contest, *Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas,* was one such moment. Sevilla expressed appreciation that the pedagogical contest welcomed the opinions and observations of teachers. Teachers, by benefit of their experiences in the classroom, were best qualified to speak on the state of primary education and how to improve it. He hoped this recognition would reinvigorate teachers "who have dedicated themselves to teaching with resolution and perseverance." Indeed, teachers, Sevilla noted, have too often abandoned the profession due to discouragement at the overwhelming nature of their task. The future of the country was dependent on "the formation of the individuals who compose it, whose perfection is obtained through well-organized schools."[79]

The Manila newspaper *El Comercio* devoted an entire edition to the pedagogical contest. The editors introduced the special issue by noting how the talent displayed by "bright young pedagogues" merited continued government support and public acknowledgement. Furthermore, the editors indicated the paper's special report on the pedagogical contest could provide inspiration for those teachers located in the farthest reaches of the archipelago. Reports of the contest "will encourage the unpretentious teacher in some dark corner of these Islands to carry on with greater efforts his educational work and to live up to the heights of his noble profession; and his extraordinary talents and activities are placed before the eyes of the public and receive its applause, his individual efforts will be more and more encouraged, and this will contribute greatly to the welfare of his country."[80]

Reports of the first pedagogical contest revealed a sincere hope in the modernizing promise of universal primary education, but also, perhaps unintentionally, the obstacles of universal primary education in the Philippines. Romanticized images of a solitary teacher posted to a remote province toiling diligently under extreme conditions in their "noble" profession presented both a heroic and troubling scene.

The living and working conditions faced by indigenous and *mestizo* teachers in the field rarely resembled the promises of the "modern" colonial administration or their normal school instructors who touted inalienable rights and the equality of all before God. Rather, the new professionals were met with low pay, illness, hostility, and zero provisions. Racism, intense scrutiny, and discrimination on the part of priests and community members defined their day-to-day lives. Teachers were necessary for colonial modernization yet harassed and unappreciated.

How much personal and professional hardship could a teacher endure before they began to question the colonial modernization mission and their role in it?

[1] Pedro Serrano, "Tratado breve sobre los deberes de los maestros en Filipinas," in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas. Publicado por la Academia Pedagógica de Manila* (Manila: Partier, 1896), 67.

[2] Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975, 2008), 142–43; Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 443–45.

[3] "Memoria escrita por el Excmo. Sr. D. Rafael Izquierdo (diciembre 1872)," Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereafter, AHN), *Ultramar,* leg. 5222; Patronato, Bishop Juan José Aragonés to Rafael de Izquierdo, Vigan, 7 May 1872, Philippine National Archives (hereafter, PNA); Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 139.

[4] William D. Phillips, Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain,* second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 232, 235.

[5] In 1755, the Jesuits maintained spiritual administration of 130 towns with a total population of approximately 213,000 inhabitants, mostly in the Visayas and Mindanao. Nicholas P. Cushner, SJ, ed., *Philippine Jesuits in Exile: The Journals of Francisco Puig, SJ, 1768–1770* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1964), 60.

[6] José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestros dias,* vol. II (Madrid: Tello, 1894), 317. See also, Leo A. Cullum, SJ, "San Jose Seminary (1768–1915)," *Philippine Studies* 13:3 (July 1965), 434.

[7] Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," in ed. Gerald H. Anderson, *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 66–67, 71–72.

[8] Juan Ferrando, OP, *Historia de los pp. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas y en sus misiones del Japón, China, Tung-kín y Formosa,* vol. 5 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1872), 83–84.

[9] Ibid., 35–36.

[10] *Documentos interesantes acera de la secularización y amovilidad de los curas regulares de Filipinas* (Madrid: Rios, 1897). [This is a collection of pamphlets published between 1826 and 1863 with the sole purpose of denigrating the abilities and loyalty of secular clergy in the Philippines.] Bishop Santos Gómez Marañón was so disturbed by the state of secular parishes in his diocese spanning the Visayas and Marianas that he advised the king of Spain in 1831 to reinstate the Jesuits or send other regular clergy to reclaim the secular parishes: "In the work of civilizing and teaching Christian doctrine to their parishioners [secular priests] exert little or no effort, and as a consequence there are very few who fulfill their precepts of the Church." Bishop Marañón did not completely discredit the secular clergy, adding that when paired with European religious, seculars "try to fulfill their obligations." Furthermore, "there are some very good *indio* ecclesiastics and they do quite well as coadjutors [assistants]; there are even some good parish priests, but these are known to be ones who have been brought up from their childhood among religious and good Spaniards." Even in this seemingly innocuous description, Marañón fell back on xenophobic tropes about the capabilities of the secular clergy: they were best suited as assistants, and only under the watchful eyes of Spaniards. Bishop Santos Gómez Marañón (1831), Archivo de la Compañia de Jesús, Loyola, Spain, sección 2, série 2, no. 9, est. 4, plút. 3, copy.

[11] Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas,* vol. II, 257–58; de la Costa, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," 98–102; John N. Schumacher, SJ, *Father José Burgos: A Documentary History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 8. Tomás de Comyn, a Spanish trade official based in Manila for eight years, expressed the regular clergy shortage crisis in hard numbers in 1810. He estimated "some 500 religious are necessary for the spiritual administration of the interior towns and districts, besides those who are to fill the offices and dignities of the respective orders and of the convents in the capital." However, there should be at least 700 "if it is the wish of the government on a tolerable scale to provide for the necessities of these remote missions."

By his count, there were only 300 regulars, including "the old, the retired, and lay brothers, while the secular priests in effective possession of parishes, the temporary parish priests, the coadjutors, and seminarians exceed 1,000." Comyn considered secular clergy incapable of leading parishes. Seculars were "unworthy of the priesthood" and more "injurious than really useful to the State." By confining seculars to coadjutor positions alongside regular parish priests, "the towns would be provided with suitable ministers, the *indio* priests would be properly distributed and would acquire the necessary knowledge and decorum at the side of the religious." Tomás de Comyn, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810* (Madrid: Repullés, 1820), 162–63.

[12] Schumacher, *Father José Burgos,* 8. The sentiments expressed by a Spanish official in 1823 were representative of the growing peninsular fears of indigenous clergy in the wake of revolutions: "The *indios* receive through the priesthood a standing which they cannot worthily sustain, because they never lay aside the affections, passions, and usages of *indios*. Educated by the religious, they afterward come to be their decided enemies; they divide with the religious the opinions of the villagers. This class of persons, dominating the consciences of the ignorant and unfortunate, can easily drag them into error. As simple farmers and artisans, they would have been useful to their families and to the government; but mistakenly raised to the dignity of priests, other interests now move them, and they form a commonwealth apart in the safe retreat of the provinces." Manuel Bernáldez Pizarro, *Dictamen sobre las causas que se oponen a la seguridad y fomento de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila, 1823), in Emma Blair and James Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898,* vol. 51 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1907), 203–05.

[13] Royal cedula of 8 June 1826, in *Papeles interesantes a los Regulares que en las Islas Filipinas administran la cura de almas* (Valladolid: Roldan, 1838), 77–78. In 1870, Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez attributed the drawn-out process of desecularization to "a growing antagonism between regular and secular clergy, which is now taking a turn which sooner or later can be disastrous for our beloved Spain." His words would soon be prophetic. (See fn 19 for full citation.)

[14] Pablo Pastells, SJ, *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX,* vol. 1 (Barcelona: Editorial Barcelonesa, 1916), 23.

[15] Schumacher, *Father José Burgos,* 19, 21–22.

[16] [José Burgos], "Manifiesto que a la noble nación española dirigen los leales filipinos en defensa de su honra y fidelidad gravemente vulneradas," *La Verdad* (Madrid), 27 de junio de 1864.

[17] Ibid. Philippine intellectual and revolutionary figure José Rizal would later echo Burgos' argument in his own work. In his novel, *Noli me tangere* (1887), a schoolteacher identified one obstacle to education as the lack of opportunities afforded youth. "Do you want to know the obstacles to education? So then—in the circumstances we are in without powerful assistance, learning can never be a reality: first, because in the children there is no stimulus or encouragement; and second, because even if there were, they are vanquished by the lack of means and by many preoccupations. They say that in Germany the son of a peasant studies eight years in the town schools. Who in this country would want to dedicate half of that time when the results are negligible?" Burgos' influence on Rizal was no coincidence; his older brother Paciano was Burgos' friend at the *Universidad de Santo Tomás* prior to the Cavite Mutiny. José Rizal, *Noli me tangere* (Makati City: Bookmark, 1887, 1996), 138.

[18] José Burgos, "Carta al editor," *La Discusión* (Madrid), 29 de marzo de 1870.

[19] Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez, letter to Marshal Francisco Serrano, Regent of Spain, 31 December 1870, AHN, *Ultramar,* leg. 2255.

[20] "Memoria escrita por el Excmo. Sr. D. Rafael Izquierdo (diciembre 1872)," AHN, *Ultramar,* leg. 5222.

[21] Governor Fernando Primo de Rivera, carta al Ministro de Ultramar, 31 March 1883, AHN, *Ultramar,* leg. 5346.

[22] Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 141–42.

[23] Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), 325. See also, José Jimeno Agius, *Memoria sobre el desestanco del tabaco en las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Bruno Gonzalez Moras, 1871).

[24] Violeta Lopez-Gonzaga, *Land of Hope, Land of Want: A Socio-Economic History of Negros, 1571–1985* (Quezon City: Philippine National Historical Society, 1994), 48–52; Alfred McCoy, "A Queen Dies Slowly: The Rise and Decline of Iloilo City," in eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus, *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), 311.

[25] Alfred W. McCoy, "Sugar Barons: Formation of a Native Planter Class in the Colonial Philippines," in eds. E. Valentine Daniel, Henry Bernstein, and Tom Brass, *Plantations, Proletarians, and Peasants in Colonial Asia* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 109–10; Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "Colonial Sugar Production in the Spanish Philippines: Calamba and Negros Compared," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 48:2 (2017), 240. Share tenant sugar cultivation in Central Luzon persisted even as Negros shifted to administered sugar plantations. In both contexts, cash crops were profitable for landowners and exporters, but indigenous farmers suffered under Spain's economic reforms. Historian Renato Constantino found "the rise of the hacienda system was to a great extent based on the expropriation of numerous small farmers. The decline of certain local industries as a result of the inroads of foreign trade brought acute deprivation to whole communities. Economic progress itself nurtured a popular consciousness more acutely aware of injustice and inequality, the fruit of more efficient means of exploitation." *A History of the Philippines,* 137.

[26] Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 137–38; McCoy, "Sugar Barons," 116–118.

[27] Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 99; Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 139.

[28] Governor Fernando Primo de Rivera, carta al Ministro de Ultramar, 31 March 1883, AHN, *Ultramar,* leg. 5346.

[29] *Ilustrado* [enlightened one] was a fluid term that could mean different things in different contexts. However, *ilustrados* had one common trait no matter the context: educational attainment. Historian Michael Cullinane's definition of *ilustrado* perhaps best encompasses this distinct, yet collective group of individuals: "Although these Filipinos were ethnically diverse (in terms of both their indigenous origin—that is, among others, Tagalog, Cebuano, and Ilocano—and their nonindigenous, or mestizo, origin, meaning, being part Chinese or Spanish), most of them had important things in common: advanced Western education that, most significantly, provided them with a common language (Castilian), and a variety of relationships (from positive to antagonistic) to the Spanish colonial state." While many *ilustrados* came from wealthy and socially prominent families, wealth was not the defining factor; rather, educational attainment united *ilustrados*. Michael Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898–1908* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 2.

[30] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1993), 6–7; Jose S. Arcilla, SJ, *An Introduction to Philippine History,* fourth edition (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 60. *Ilustrados* would eventually channel their frustrations into the Propaganda Movement, which was based in Europe and advocated for parity between Spaniards and Filipinos. In the 1880s, their focus was on reforms, not revolution. Only when it became clear that Spain had no intention of recognizing the Philippines as its equal did the direction of the movement shift. This movement and its members will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

[31] Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 144.

[32] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 115–16.

[33] The director of the Escuela Normal was a member of the Superior Commission of Public Instruction. In addition to his duties at the normal school, "he was frequently called upon for decisions on petitions to open new schools, raise teachers' salaries, appoint or transfer teachers from one place to another, or investigate charges laid on allegedly erring teachers." José S. Arcilla, SJ, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria, 1865–1905," *Philippine Studies* 36:1 (1988), 25.

[34] Decreto circular del Gobierno Superior Civil sobre exámenes de maestros sustitutos y aprobando el reglamento de los mismos, 26 de abril de 1868, in Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas. Compilación de lo legislado sore este ramo, comentada, anotada y concordada* (Manila: Chofré, 1894), 165–69.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 93.

[37] Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,*121–22; "Informe sobre la reforma propuesta por el Obispo de Nueva Caceres," *Libro copiador,* documento 86, folios 171–73, APPSJ.

[38] Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, 20 de Diciembre de 1863 and Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, 20 de diciembre de 1863, both in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 1–7; 117–128. See Appendices A and B for translations of the 1863 decree and regulations, respectively.

[39] Arcilla, *An Introduction to Philippine History,* 46.

[40] Rafael Izquierdo, circular de 7 de mayo de 1871.

[41] Catalino Sevilla, "Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas," in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas,* 27. Sevilla, an 1884 Escuela Normal graduate, taught in the *Escuela práctica* for four years. He took the public examination in 1888 for placement in an *escuela de termino de primera clase.* At the time of his publication, he taught at a top-tier primary school in Binondo, Manila, earning the highest possible salary for a male teacher, 40 pesos/month. Escuela Normal, V-14-502 and V-14-655, APPSJ.

[42] Sevilla, "Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas," in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas,* 28.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Fray Francisco Carrozal, OP, *Memoria de Pangasinan, 1886,* unpublished ms, Archdiocesan Archives of Manila (hereafter, AAM). Carrozal also found that no matter if a town had 250 or 1000 pupils, there was only ever one male and one female teacher, despite the legal provision that for every 80 pupils there should be one assistant teacher.

[45] Disciplinary case of Maximo Gatmaitan (Quingua, Bulacan), 18 September 1884, V-14-388, APPSJ.

[46] Fray Pedro Nolasco, OP, *Memoria* (1886), ms, AAM.

[47] Ibid.; Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 28.

[48] Miguel Lucio y Bustamante, OFM, *Si Tandang Basio Macunat* (Manila: Amigos del Pais, 1885), 14–15.

[49] Ibid., 28–30.

[50] Rizal's *Noli me tangere* chronicled Spanish abuses in the Philippines. The book was an immediate hit in Europe and the Philippines. To curb its distribution, Spaniards resorted not only to censorship, but also to distributing disparaging pamphlets. Fr. José Rodriguez's 1888 pamphlet, ¡*Caiñgat Cayo!* [*Beware!*], for example, condemned the *Noli* as a "bad book" that must not be read. If Filipinos read it, "they are committing a mortal sin, for the said book is full of heresies and ideas contrary to our Holy Religion." Anyone caught reading the *Noli* was threatened with corporeal and spiritual punishment, which only intensified the desire of educated Filipinos to purchase a copy. Fr. José Rodriguez, ¡*Caiñgat Cayo!* (Manila: Asilo de Huérfanos, 1888).

[51] Rizal, *Noli me tangere,* 138–39; Schumacher, "The *Noli Me Tangere* as Catalyst of Revolution," in *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 93–94.

[52] Quoted in Ma. Luisa Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 67–68.

[53] Teacher Resignations, 1872–1895, APPSJ; Leave Requests, 1877–1892, APPSJ.

[54] Disciplinary cases of Carmen Generosa (Piat, Cagayan), 22 June 1892, V-14-646; and Melecio Estrella (Paniqui, Tarlac), 19 June 1895, V-14-692; both from APPSJ.

[55] Resignation record of Claudio Liquete (Candon, Ilocos Sur), 10 February 1879, V-14-274, APPSJ; Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 26.

[56] Grace Liza Y. Concepcion, "Disciplinary Cases of Filipino Teachers in the Late 19th Century," *Social Science Diliman* 10:1 (2014), 13. Scholar Ma. Luisa Camagay also found in her study of women workers in the nineteenth century that teacher wages were not only low, but often delayed. Male and female teachers in Manila complained to the civil government in 1891 that they had not received their salaries for the months of October, November, and December 1890. *Working Women of Manila in the Nineteenth Century,* 68.

[57] Resignation records of Jose Maria Chavez (Paz, Iloilo), 10 February 1879, V-14-274; Jose Mondejar (Maasin, Iloilo), 24 July 1879, V-14-274; Eusebio Tuason (Santa Ana, Manila), 4 February 1881, V-14-301; Fernando Mapa (Manduriao, Iloilo), 19 July 1877, V-14-224; Mariano Villafuerte (capital, Camarines Sur), 20 August 1892, V-14-634; and Dionisio Aznar Roblesa (Oas, Albay), 31 January 1893, V-14-654; all from APPSJ.

[58] Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, 20 de Diciembre de 1863 and Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, 20 de diciembre de 1863, both in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 1–7; 117–128.

[59] Pedro Murillo Velarde, SJ, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus: Segunda parte, que comprende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616, hasta el de 1716* (Manila: Compañía de Jesus, 1749), 156–57; Forencio L. González, "Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas," in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas,* 46.

[60] Pedro Serrano, "Tratado breve sobre los deberes de los maestros en Filipinas," in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas,* 67.

[61] Vicente Barrantes, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas, desde 1596 hasta 1868* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1869),156; *Guia oficial de Filipinas,* 1886 (Manila: Chofré, 1886), 565; Ramon Gonzalez y Fernandez, *Anuario Filipino para 1887* (Manila: Plana y Cia, 1877); Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 364; *Census of the Philippine Islands,* vol. II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903), 53.

[62] The primary school figure for 1886 is incomplete since five major provinces failed to submit data for inclusion in the *Guia oficial,* including Bataan, Camarines Norte, Ilocos Sur, Isabela, La Union, and, significantly, Manila. An 1893 circular helps fill the blanks about Manila. The city had one public primary school in 1863 with 80 students; 25 public primary schools in 1867 enrolling around 2,000; 30 schools in 1883 with almost 3,400 students; and 84 public primary schools by 1892 serving about 10,000 students. José Gutierrez, circular de 27 de febrero de 1893.

[63] Article 8, Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 117–128; *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President,* vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 37.

[64] Estados de la Escuela Normal, ms, n.d., APPSJ; Baptism Certificates, 1854–1905, APPSJ; Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, Art. 12, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 5–6.

[65] Outside of teaching, the normal schools provided students a solid education in Castilian, mathematics, writing, and other practical skills useful for professions in an administratively and economically modernizing colony. Benito

J. Legarda, Jr., *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change, and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 255–89.

[66] See Appendix C for images of the new *Escuela Normal de Maestros en Manila,* collected for exhibit at the 1887 *Exposición de las islas Filipinas en Madrid.* Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain (hereafter, BNE).

[67] Hermenegildo Jacas to the governor-general, 1 November 1893, in Grifol, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas,* 88. See also, Grace Liza Y. Concepcion, "The Filipino Primary School Teacher and the Shaping of Colonial Society in 19th Century Luzon," *International Journal of the Humanities* 9:6 (2012), 241–42; and Arcilla, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria," 30.

[68] Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization, *Sociology of Education* 60 (1987), 2–17. America's National Education Association (NEA), for example, formed in 1870 from a merger of the National Teachers Association, the National Association of School Superintendents, and the American Normal School Association.

[69] Mariano Leuterio, "Memoria de la Academia Pedagógica desde su creación hasta hoy día," *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año 2, no. 17 (1 de mayo de 1896), 88.

[70] "Decreto del gobierno general creando una Academia Pedagógica en la Escuela Normal Superior de Maestros de Manila (23 de febrero de 1894), in *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año 1, no. 1 (23 de enero de 1895), 4–5.

[71] Ibid.

[72] *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año 1, no. 1 (23 de enero de 1895).

[73] Leuterio, "Memoria de la Academia Pedagógica desde su creación hasta hoy día," 89.

[74] Isidoro de la Torre, SJ, "Breve discurso de apertura del certamen," and Francisco Gómez Alfau, "Memoria y reseña certamen pedagógico celebrado," both in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas,* 10–14; 15–20.

[75] Forencio L. González, "Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas" (45–49); Mariano Leuterio y Resurrección, "Memoria sobre la enseñanza del Castellano en Filipinas" (55–62); Pedro Serrano, "Tratado breve sobre los deberes de los maestros en Filipinas" (67–75); Pedro Serrano, "Discurso sobre la enseñanza objetiva" (81–99), all in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas*.

[76] Leuterio, "Memoria sobre la enseñanza del Castellano en Filipinas," 56. On the development and purpose of object teaching, see Barbara Beatty, "'Come, Let Us Live with Our Children': Friedrich Froebel and the German Kindergarten Movement," in *Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 38–51; and Joachim Liebschner, *A Child's Work: Freedom and Guidance in Froebel's Educational Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2001).

[77] González, "Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas," 47. On Johann Pestalozzi and his educational philosophy in theory and practice, see Daniel Tröhler, *Pestalozzi and the Educationalization of the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[78] Pedro Serrano, "Discurso sobre la enseñanza objetiva," in *Primer certamen pedagógico en Filipinas,* 85–87. On the origins and pedagogical innovations of the progressive education movement, see William J. Reese, "The Origins of Progressive Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 41:1 (2001), 1–24; and Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Vintage, 1961).

[79] Sevilla, "Memoria sobre los medios que deban ponerse en juego en Filipinas para atraer los niños a las escuelas," 25–26.

[80] *El Comercio,* 4 de diciembre de 1895, p. 1.

Chapter Five: The Radicalization of Filipino Teachers (1880–1898)

The teacher, being a functionary who has been carefully educated and exercises a personal influence in the town, has necessarily been the preferred target of [revolutionaries] to attract him to their cause.[1]
Vicente Avelino, 1897 (professor of the *Escuela práctica* at the Escuela Normal, Manila)

Subscribers to the professional journal for Filipino teachers, *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* encountered a new feature in the October 1896 issue. Under the word PROTESTA on the front page, the editors assured their readers that the journal, being a "completely professional publication," would not "deal with the events of rebellion that unfortunately occurred during the past month." Nevertheless, the editors were unequivocal in their support for Spain and denounced "the ill-advised and ungrateful children who have risen up against the Motherland." Following the brief editorial were two notices of teacher dismissals in Cavite *por notorios actos de deslealtad en las actuales circunstancias* [for notorious acts of disloyalty in the present circumstances] and one school vacancy notice in Talavera, Nueva Écija, due to the death of the proprietary teacher who was among the insurgents there.[2]

Governor-General Ramón Blanco was especially disturbed by the participation of teachers in nascent uprisings against the colonial administration. Indigenous and *mestizo* teachers were crucial to the processes of colonial modernization and should be paragons of successful Hispanization. Blanco sent a circular addressing the issue of teacher revolutionaries, dated 11 September 1896, to all provincial governors, which was reprinted in the October 1896 issue of *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino.* He directed the provincial governors to "send me urgently a list of the teachers and assistants of the public schools of that province that you have news of or suspicion that they have taken part in the conspiracies or rebellion against Spain, or are affiliated with antipatriotic and antireligious associations, including Masonic lodges." By

reprinting Blanco's circular in the professional publication for Filipino teachers, the journal editors wished to demonstrate their fealty to Spain and encourage teachers to assist in rooting out their subversive colleagues.[3]

The November issue of *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* featured scores of teacher dismissal notices. The provincial governors of Cavite and Nueva Écija submitted lengthy lists of suspected revolutionary teachers in response to Blanco's September circular, which were again republished in the journal. On 21 September 1896 in Cavite, thirty-eight *maestros* and *ayudantes* were removed from their primary school posts for suspected insurgent activity. In Nueva Écija on 10 October, the provincial governor removed twenty-seven male *and* female teachers and assistants from their posts after inquiries in the province "provided enough evidence to believe them all complicit in the current events." Perhaps the most surprising dismissal notice was that of Pedro Serrano (Laktaw), who less than a year prior had delivered an eloquent, award-winning discourse on object teaching for the first contest of the Pedagogical Academy. He was removed from his prestigious teaching post in a suburb of Manila *por su notoria conducta desleal para la patria, que desde hace tiempo observa* [for his notorious disloyal conduct, which he has been observing for a long time].[4]

Pedro Serrano Laktaw, a native of Bulacan, was an 1874 graduate of the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* in Manila. After teaching in Pampanga, Bulacan, and Manila, he received a government scholarship in 1887 to study in Spain at the *Escuela Normal Superior de Salamanca.* He then completed graduate studies at the *Universidad Central de Madrid* before returning to the Philippines—and his teaching career—in 1889. Serrano Laktaw gained public acclaim for his articulate, nuanced addresses at the Pedagogical Academy contest. At the time of his dismissal in 1896, he held the highest possible teaching appointment, *maestro de termino de primera clase,*

with the highest possible salary of 40 pesos per month.[5] To the casual observer, Serrano Laktaw was an exemplar of successful Hispanization and loyal standard bearer of colonial modernization via universal primary education. What would lead him and scores of his fellow *mestizo* and indigenous teachers to abandon the colonial modernization mission in favor of revolution? How did the processes of colonial modernization, including economic and educational reforms, produce a new political consciousness among Filipino teachers like Pedro Serrano Laktaw?

Spaniards had long associated colonial education with political action, even after the 1863 decree that established universal primary education in the Philippines. Increasingly, they relied on racist arguments to support withholding education and professional opportunities from indigenous and *mestizo* inhabitants. Now, with the alleged involvement of teachers in a budding revolutionary movement, civil and ecclesiastic officials' worst fears seemed validated. Education in the Philippines, and especially advanced education, had unequivocally led to political action. Spaniards began to call for limited educational access beyond the primary level as a means to quell unrest. The leaders of secondary and tertiary institutions, including the Escuela Normal, feared the colonial administration would soon suppress their schools.[6]

Jesuits in particular were blamed by Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials for the outbreak of violent uprisings. First, Jesuits long advocated for Castilian language instruction. Second, they supported providing Filipinos and Spaniards the same opportunities for education. By providing Filipinos with an education equal to that of Spaniards, some officials believed the Jesuits had produced "the articulate leadership that spearheaded the uprising." Hence, after the revolution broke out, the Jesuits should share blame with the Filipinos for having caused it.[7]

A Dominican professor from the *Universidad de Santo Tomás* accused the Jesuits of being complicit in the revolution and for encouraging Filipino antagonism against the other religious orders. The Jesuits supposedly did not conform with the other religious orders when it came to their spiritual ministry, education, and day-to-day interactions. Therefore, "the *filibusteros* [dissidents] without exception, consider the Jesuit Fathers their friends and the other orders their enemies, because they know by experience that there is nothing to fear from the former, while in the latter they have a perpetual and intransigent censor to denounce their [subversive] works." As a result, the Jesuits forced a wedge between themselves and the other orders. Since the Jesuits "completely altered the traditional manner of conduct and of dealing with the natives, there exists a great discordance between that order and the other orders, a discordance which in spite of the zeal of the one and the other orders causes damage in the ministry, very odious comparisons, grudges and suspicions which, even though they be hidden, shine through unfortunately, and give arms to the enemies of religion and the fatherland." The author conveniently failed to acknowledge two crucial points that would have undermined his argument. Jesuits did not own *haciendas,* which were sites of widespread abuses against natives on the part of the religious orders; this fact often explains why participants in the revolution held little antagonism for the Jesuits compared to other religious. And Jesuit schools were not the only seedbeds of discontent; scores of future revolutionaries studied in Dominican institutions, including the *Colegio de San Juan de Letran* and the *Universidad de Santo Tomás*.[8]

The Jesuits actively countered charges of inciting revolution while reaffirming their fealty to Spain. Almost immediately after the start of the conflict, in September 1896, the order offered the Escuela Normal and Ateneo Municipal buildings as barracks for the Spanish military, moving their students to other locations in Manila. Meanwhile, the editors of the *Boletín Oficial*

del Magisterio Filipino published their editorial in support of the colonial administration and its modernization mission.[9]

After a bishop published a series of articles in the Madrid newspaper *El Liberal* citing the Escuela Normal as the main sources of revolutionary leaders, the Jesuits again sprang into action. Jesuit priests wrote to as many alumni as possible in an effort to gather signatures of loyalty to Spain. While recent teacher dismissal notices revealed a number of graduates joined the revolution and participated in leadership roles, Jesuits were anxious to recast the incident as an anomaly by demonstrating widespread loyalty among faculty, staff, students, and alumni.[10]

On 28 October 1896, Miguel Saderra Mata, SJ, the rector of the Ateneo Municipal, wrote a letter to Joaquin Sancho, SJ, Jesuit procurator in Madrid. Saderra wished to defend the Jesuits against charges they had fomented revolution because of the "cosmopolitan" education offered in their institutions.[11] Though not intended for publication, the letter eventually appeared in the 10 December 1896 issue of the Madrid newspaper *El Siglo Futuro*.[12]

Saderra was puzzled by charges the curricula of the Ateneo Municipal and Escuela Normal was "cosmopolitan" and "not Spanish enough." In truth, he mused, besides Philippine history, all academic subjects offered at the schools were cosmopolitan since they could be taught anywhere in the world. And if Jesuit institutions were not Spanish enough, then why did the student body largely comprise the sons of *peninsulares, criollos,* and *mestizos,* why was the uniform in the Spanish style, why was the language of instruction Castilian, why did students learn Spanish history and geography? Instead, Saderra attributed the revolution to the rise of Freemasonry and asserted that revolutionaries imbibed their subversive ideas while living and studying abroad. Jesuits never favored Filipinos traveling abroad for their education.

Furthermore, many of the revolutionaries studied at Dominican institutions such as the *Universidad de Santo Tomás.* Why was only Jesuits' loyalty to Spain being questioned?[13]

As additional evidence for the centrality of Spain in Jesuit institutions, Saderra listed the annual literary presentations celebrated between 1867 and 1895 at the Ateneo Municipal devoted to instilling Spanish patriotism amid the student body. Among the presentations: *Descubrimiento y civilizacion de Filipinas* [Discovery and civilization of the Philippines] in 1867; *España y el Catolicismo en Oriente* [Spain and Catholicism in the East] in 1875; *El Apostol de las Indias* [The Apostle of the Indies] in 1882; *Glorias de la marina Española* [Glories of the Spanish Navy] in 1890; and *Las Cruzadas* [The Crusades] in 1895. There was also an especially patriotic literary presentation in development, *Religión y patria* [Religion and country].[14]

The literary presentation in development to which Saderra referred in his letter, *Religión y patria,* took place in early 1897 at the Ateneo Municipal. Like previous academic celebrations, it was designed to inculcate in students a love for and loyalty to Spain. In the opening speech, students were told the literary presentation was a "testimony of our love and loyalty to our glorious warrior, Mother Spain. Because you [students] are the representatives of that glorious warrior Spain, go and tell these unhappy forces who Spain is, and teach them with your swords how you avenge the outrages which they inflict on her. Go, conquer them and give them religion, culture, and civilization." Students were not only representatives of their school but also of Spain; it was their responsibility to share the benefits of their education with those around them. Furthermore, in a message directed to the rebels: "Know this, O sectaries and traitors, who like bandits flee from the light, you will not extinguish the splendors of Spain, the splendors to which the Cross gives life. Hear and tremble, O Filipino people, will you be loyal to Spain and to the Cross? If you will be faithful, O, a high destiny awaits you. If you are a traitor, you will be your

own executioner." This thinly veiled threat was perhaps also a message for students in the audience, a reminder to stay on the "right side" of the ongoing conflict.[15]

The same year, a Jesuit priest published a book on Filipinos' moral obligation to Spain. Francisco Foradada, SJ, called the insurrection against Spain "unjust, illicit, and a most unworthy offense." Moreover, "it is disastrous for the interest of the country, it is justly punished by the temporal authorities, and will be punished by the justice of God." Filipinos' love of their country did not mean there should be an end to Spanish sovereignty. "Rather, love of country obliges [Filipinos] in conscience and sound reason to love Spain and to respect and bless her paternal sovereignty." Spain endowed the Philippines with many gifts, including religion, peace, and civilization. In light of Spain's charity, could Filipinos truly "hate and detest that great-souled nation which made you happy? Is it not an ingratitude and a crime without name to invoke patriotism to hate Spain, who made you a patriot?" Foradada concluded with a plea to Filipinos' moral conscience: "An honorable and Christian *indio* cannot be an enemy of Spain without violating his conscience and without offending God gravely. For his ingratitude is a sin against filial piety."[16]

While the Jesuits may not have encouraged revolution against Spain, it was no coincidence that innumerable participants in the revolution studied at Jesuit institutions. Jesuit historian John Schumacher wrote of education at the nineteenth-century Ateneo Municipal: "It was not that the Ateneo taught nationalism or the liberal principles of progress. But in imparting to its students a humanistic education in literature, science, and philosophy, in inculcating principles of human dignity and justice and the equality of all men, it effectively undermined the foundations of the Spanish colonial regime, even without the Spanish Jesuits wishing to do so. If they did not draw all the conclusions to their principles, many of their Filipino students would do

so." Inside Jesuit institutions like the Ateneo Municipal and Escuela Normal, students learned to know themselves as part of a wider world, which opened their minds to new horizons. Once students were able to see themselves outside their own personal experience, many could no longer be satisfied with the established order. Eventually, these students—and future teachers—would begin to look far beyond the established order to an entirely new one.[17]

The truth was that the Jesuits were well aware that universal primary education, teacher training, and broader access to higher education could potentially undermine Spanish sovereignty and perhaps even lead to the emancipation of the Philippines. Yet, the order's commitment to furthering the education of Filipinos at every level never wavered. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the Jesuit Superior in the Philippines, Juan Ricart, SJ, wrote to the Provincial in Spain defending the Escuela Normal. He acknowledged the school was expensive and fraught with difficulties, including growing calls that the institution would only breed disaffection toward Spain and eventual separation, as had happened in the Americas. Ricart agreed that this was an unfortunate possibility, but "whatever may be the lot of these Islands, it will always be a glory for the Society of Jesus to have aided Spain in its praiseworthy purpose of educating and elevating and assimilating these peoples by communicating to them its religion and language."[18]

Before the outbreak of hostilities between Spanish forces and Filipino insurgents in late August 1896, an intellectual revolution was already well underway. It was made possible by the processes of colonial modernization and the Industrial Revolution. Economic and educational reforms in the archipelago and advances in travel and communication, such as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and establishment of regular steamship service between the Philippines and Europe, paved the way for the intellectual revolution. Universal primary education and educators

were central to the intellectual revolution, which took place on two fronts, Spain and Manila, between 1880 and 1895. It was more commonly known as the Propaganda Movement.[19]

Participants in the Propaganda Movement belonged to a new social class that emerged from the economic and educational reforms of Spain's colonial modernization project. These self-proclaimed *ilustrados* were highly educated exponents of liberal reforms. The propagandists emphasized a reformist-assimilationist agenda of which universal primary education would play an essential role. The centrality of a uniform system of education (and trained educators) in propagandists' writings likely attracted the burgeoning professional class of indigenous and *mestizo* teachers to the movement.[20]

The Propaganda Movement took place primarily in Spain since its main goal was reform. By agitating from Spain, the propagandists hoped to bring awareness of colonial conditions to members of the Spanish Cortes since few would ever step foot in the Philippines. Educational reform was the cornerstone of propagandists' writings. Education would facilitate Hispanization and pave the way for further liberal, modern reforms. In other words, without universal primary education, the Philippines would be unable to progress socially or economically.[21]

Gregorio Sancianco was an early participant in the Propaganda Movement and his work influenced future members. His 1881 book *El progreso de Filipinas* was a treatise on the liberal economic policies needed to stimulate progress in the Philippines, where agriculture would benefit from roads, bridges, railroads, and public works. Poor means of transportation made "efforts to increase production unprofitable when markets were either inaccessible entirely or could be reached only by circuitous and expensive means." Primary education was also wholly inadequate since only a small number of the schools required by law were in existence. Unless

there was a "radical change in the system of raising revenue," public works and education would remain underfunded, and the country would remain underdeveloped.[22]

Indeed, underpinning Sancianco's work was his faith in the dignity and good character of his people, from farmers and artisans to secular clergy to teachers and city clerks. He took exception to the common Spanish opinion as to the character of the *indio*, refuting the ubiquitous stereotype of *indolencia del indígena*. He denounced the writings of men like Francisco Cañamaque who, after spending some time as functionaries in the Philippines and drawing good salaries, returned to the Iberian Peninsula and ridiculed all that they had seen in the colony.[23]

Sancianco set the stage for future propagandist demands. He called for administrative reform, the end of government corruption, recognition of Filipino rights as loyal Spaniards, the extension of Spanish law to the Philippines, curtailment of the excessive power of the religious in the life of the country, and the assertion of the dignity of the Filipino. But his first concern remained "the economic problem of providing resources for the education of the people and the public works which would make commercial, agricultural, and individual progress possible."[24]

The Propaganda Movement's foremost means of disseminating ideas was through print. *La Solidaridad* was the premier organ of the movement, running from February 1889 through November 1895. A political propaganda paper with a liberal, reformist orientation, *La Solidaridad* fought reactionary policies and thinking in all of its forms. Marcelo H. del Pilar was the longtime editor of *La Solidaridad.* Like most propagandists, he was a reform-oriented assimilationist. Before leaving for Barcelona, del Pilar regularly met with students from various Manila educational institutions to discuss the need for reforms in the Philippines, solidifying his own ideas while planting the seeds of nationalism among the next generation.[25]

Once in Barcelona, del Pilar advocated for Hispanization through universal primary education, which would pave the way for the introduction of progressive reforms. “We are asking for assimilation,” he declared in one of his editorials. “We demand that those islands be Hispanized.” Under del Pilar’s leadership, *La Solidaridad* became an effective medium for the free expression of propagandists. The editorial staff outlined the objectives of the paper as: “to combat all forms of reaction, to impede all retrogression, to applaud and to accept all liberal ideas, and to defend all progress; in a word, to be one more propagandist of all the ideals of democracy, aspiring to make democracy prevail in all the peoples both of the Peninsula and of the overseas provinces.”[26]

The propagandists’ demands were straightforward and reflected their enlightened beliefs, which they were first introduced to as the Christian philosophy of equality of all men before God and inalienable rights based on human dignity during their own educations in Manila. They demanded the “removal of the friars and the secularization of the parishes, representation of the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes, participation in the conduct of the government, equality before the law, freedom of assembly, of the press, and of speech, and a wider social and individual freedom.” The excessive power of the religious in the life of the country was a particularly sore spot for propagandists, who viewed members of the religious orders, including parish priests, as the enemies of progress.[27]

The propagandists viewed the religious orders’ educational policies and practices as central expressions of their conservatism. The religious orders controlled education at all levels; even after the 1863 decree, parish priests remained involved in primary education as local school inspectors and as professors at the universities. In the education of the people, the religious “clung to reactionary curricula and resisted making Castilian intrinsic to Philippine learning.”

According to propagandists, the religious orders purposefully held back knowledge as a means of control and to stunt the intellectual and material development of Filipinos.[28]

A series of articles in another propagandist paper, *España en Filipinas,* that condemned the quality of primary education in the archipelago, underscored the propagandists' arguments. The author of the articles, Graciano López Jaena, was a native of Iloilo who arrived in Spain to study medicine in 1880. Though he eventually left his program at the *Universitat de Valencia*, he remained in the country, moved to Madrid, and became active in political and journalistic circles. He attributed the deficiencies in Philippine civilization to a poor primary education system where Castilian was neglected or obstructed by the parish priest and "where the teacher is at times the blind instrument of one [parish priest] who, though the exacting guardian of the exterior morality of a people, makes no effort for its education and instruction, but rather attempts to leave it sunk in the greatest errors." Therefore, Filipino youth "acquire the ability to read and write, and even to write with elegance. But they never learn anything practical, because they are not taught anything practical. They are taught to pray, but not to work. In all these schools, Castilian grammar is notable by its absence; there are certain vested interests [religious orders], you see, which are opposed to the *indio* learning Castilian. Absent, too, are the rudiments of physics, chemistry, geography, agronomy: studies which would certainly promote the improvement of the individual and the welfare of the community." In lieu of useful academic subjects in primary schools, there were "the rosary, the doxology, and the one thousand and one novenas to saints, virgins and martyrs. Thus do we manage to nourish the souls, while stunting the minds, of little children." Like other propagandists, López Jaena used his writing as a platform to push back against the indolence trope so often espoused by Spaniards; if Filipinos appeared indolent, it was due to Spanish inactions not some innate quality within the indigenous population.[29]

José Rizal had a similar impression of primary education in the Philippines. He arrived in Spain just two years after López Jaena. Born in Calamba, Laguna, both his mother and father obtained secondary school educations; his family were prosperous *mestizos* and possessed large tracts of land in a Dominican sugar *hacienda.* Rizal was an exceptional student as well as an accomplished linguist, artist, and poet. He studied at the Ateneo Municipal and *Universidad de Santo Tomás.* However, his educational experiences in Manila were marked with social and academic injustices that would influence the direction of his life. He attributed the constant slights by Dominican professors based solely on his race as part of their dogged resistance to modernization; his experiences at university made a deep impression on him. "Conscious of his dignity and of his ability to compete with a Spaniard on equal terms, he found that as an *indio*, he was not accorded equality with the Spaniards before the bar of justice." While in Europe studying ophthalmology, he reflected upon his own deficient education and purposely suppressed aspirations and the kind of education necessary for the Philippines to be an equal of Spain.[30]

Rizal wrote at length about education—the limitations placed on education by the parish priests, the poor provisions and pay of the new cadre of indigenous and *mestizo* teachers, and the need for educational reforms for individual and national progress. Rizal was one of the most widely read propagandists. The subject of his work likely made him even more well known to teachers back home. For Rizal, the success of the nation and its people depended on the general diffusion of knowledge. However, the current state of primary education in the archipelago inhibited rather than encouraged the diffusion of knowledge.[31]

Soon after his arrival in Spain, Rizal wrote "La instrucción," an overview of the town school established under the provisions of the 1863 educational decree. Unlike some outside observers who concentrated on the deficiencies of Philippine education and Filipino intellect,

Rizal focused on the *causes* of the deficiencies. Filipinos were capable of intellectual attainment, but institutions and those in charge (i.e., parish priests) hindered the inculcation of knowledge necessary for economic and individual progress. As such, Rizal believed "the cause of our backwardness and ignorance is the lack of means of education, the malady that afflicts us from the beginning until the end of our careers, if not the lack of stimulus of a doubtful future, or the fetters and obstacles that are encountered at every step."[32]

In a town school, according to Rizal, students learned to read without comprehension. Literacy was "reduced to reading without period or comma, with a pronunciation more or less tolerable according to the ability and patience of the teacher, textbooks nine-tenths of which the pupils do not understand." Writing was somewhat better, though still left much to be desired. "By force of perseverance, cleverness, and a certain art of innate ability many learn how to write correctly and beautifully. On the other hand, they do not write orthographically either their native tongue or Castilian for the reason that they do not understand or speak the latter and they have never studied the former." The standard educational outcome from a town school was "to know how to read, if that can be called reading; to have beautiful penmanship even if it cannot be utilized properly; to know how to add, subtract, multiply, and divide without many being able to use it in their daily lives." In other words, the education provided in a town school had little use for the majority of inhabitants who would not go to Manila for further studies.[33]

It was easy for outsiders to blame the backwardness of Filipinos on indolence. But what was the cause of indolence? Rizal challenged readers to "blame rather the defective and insensible system of education that, like a thick fog, obscures the intellectual horizon, killing and drowning the most felicitous aptitudes." Indolence was the "offspring of ignorance." The cure for indolence was universal primary education: "Teach, educate, and enlighten the *indio*; rather,

teach us, educate us, and enlighten us, and indifference, apathy, and indolence will disappear." Making complaints, accusations, excuses, and lamentations was one thing, but time would be better spent on Spaniards and Filipinos working together for a remedy.[34]

To achieve Rizal's reformed, Hispanized Philippines, educated women were essential. He was a proponent of women's education and women teachers. Del Pilar requested Rizal write to a group of young women in his home province of Bulacan who recently petitioned their parish priest for permission to learn Castilian from tutors they would pay themselves. The parish priest refused to grant permission, so the young women appealed to Governor-General Valeriano Weyler, who approved the request. Propagandists spread news of the incident, which underscored their anticlerical view of ecclesiastic interference in education as well as the need for secularized educational reform. The women's success in securing their own educations also provided encouragement as an example of indigenous agency. *La Solidaridad* published the women's petition on 15 February 1889, along with Rizal's letter to them.[35]

Rizal commended the women, writing: "You have discovered that it is not goodness to be too obedient to every desire and request of those who pose as little gods [parish priests], but to obey what is reasonable and just." The role of women as mothers would break the cycle of blind obedience: "The mother who can teach nothing else but how to kneel and kiss the priest's hand should not expect any other kind of children but stupid ones or oppressed slaves."[36]

As mothers, women were their children's first teachers. How could they teach their children what was right and good if they themselves were uneducated? Rizal continued, "Awaken and prepare the mind of the child for every good and desirable idea—love for honor, sincere and firm character, clear mind, clean conduct, noble action, love for one's fellow men, respect for God—teach this to your children. The country should not expect honor and prosperity

so long as the education of the child is defective, so long as the women who raise the children are enslaved and ignorant."[37]

Rizal concluded his letter by asking the women to reflect and investigate the situation surrounding education. In "the name of reason," consider how the "lack of self-respect and excessive timidity invite scorn." Moreover, remember that "ignorance is bondage, because like mind, like man. One who wants to help himself should help others, because, if he neglects others, he too will be neglected by them. If the Filipino woman will not change, she should not be entrusted with the education of her children. Men are born equal, naked, and without chains. It is not pride to enlighten the mind and to reason out everything." Rizal encouraged the women to reject indolence stereotypes and to act not on impulse, but with reason. Reason, a key tenet of the Enlightenment, was the ultimate weapon against oppression.[38]

In the case of the women in Malolos, Bulacan, historian Barbara Watson Andaya found they "had shown that the Filipina no longer needed to stand 'with her head bowed' but could seek the education which, by implication, would enable her to become a true patriot." Like the eighteenth-century notion of republican motherhood, which was espoused to promote girls' education in the American republic, educated women, in their roles as mothers, were a cornerstone of political and social stability. Rizal embraced republican motherhood since "it is ultimately the mother who shapes the character of the future children of the country."[39]

The image of young women taught by trained female teachers was common in the propagandists' vision of the Philippines. Del Pilar believed women's education was "vital to inculcate in them the capacity to question and criticize. If this capacity was not fostered, women would remain unquestioningly submissive to the authority of the Church, and this would in turn affect the attitudes of the next generation." Apolinario Mabini, instrumental in the shaping of

Filipino revolutionary theories at the turn of the century, was also insistent on equal rights for men and women in education. And Graciano López Jaena was "convinced that female education was necessary to release the Philippines from the controlling grip of the Church."[40]

Given the role education played in the propagandists' reformist-assimilationist agenda, it was not wholly unexpected that students and teachers participated in the Propaganda Movement. Gregorio H. del Pilar, Marcelo's nephew, distributed propagandist materials while a student at the Ateneo Municipal. He also provided propaganda material to a Bulacan students' organization in Manila. In a way, he advanced the work his uncle began before leaving for Spain by exposing his peers to reformist ideas and encouraging ideological discussions about the future of the Philippines and their place in it.[41]

Apolinario Mabini was a teacher involved in the push for reforms. He was an *ilustrado* in that he was highly educated, but his family was not wealthy. His education was confined to Manila, where Mabini attended the *Colegio de San Juan de Letran* and then studied law at the *Universidad de Santo Tomás.* Mabini worked to support himself through school. While studying law, for example, he spent afternoons teaching in the private school of his Letran classmate, Raimundo Alindada. His educational experience as well as his work in the classroom informed Mabini's educational philosophy, which would later play a role in the revolution. Mabini's status as an unofficial private school teacher would also make it difficult for the colonial administration to trace revolutionary teachers beginning in 1896.[42]

Like most other propagandists, Mabini believed that Spanish civil and ecclesiastic authorities "deliberately tried to stifle the intellectual growth of the Filipinos in order to better perpetuate their colonial domination of the country." He wrote about the dangers Spaniards saw in allowing Filipinos too much education: "If the Spaniards were to maintain their domination,

they had to perpetuate the ignorance and weakness of the *indio*. Since science and wealth signify strength, it is the poor and ignorant who are weak." However, Mabini asserted, some form of *religious* education was needed to keep the indigenous populace compliant. "It was the kind of education that was meant to accustom him to keep his eyes fixed on heaven so that he would neglect the things of this world. The *indio* was to know how to read his prayers and the lives of the saints which were translated into the native dialects; but it was deemed necessary that he should not know any Castilian, for if and when he would come to understand the laws and orders of the authorities, he would cease to consult the friar curate." Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials successfully colluded "in isolating the Filipinos, both intellectually and physically, so that the Filipinos would not receive any impression except that which was thought expedient to allow them to have." Mabini considered universal primary education to be "one of the most powerful factors in social progress." To deny people an education was to deny them the right to progress intellectually and morally.[43]

Another educator active in the Propaganda Movement was Pedro Serrano Laktaw. He joined the movement while studying education in Spain. He regularly contributed articles to *La Solidaridad,* such as "La enseñanza del Castellano en Filipinas," which attributed the slow spread of Castilian to persistent opposition by parish priests. Upon his return to the Philippines in 1889, he headed the *Comité de Propaganda* in Manila, first organized by del Pilar before leaving for Spain. Through the Propaganda Committee, Serrano Laktaw raised funds, wrote, and helped "distribute clandestine pamphlets and other propagandists' literature."[44]

Significantly, Serrano Laktaw helped establish the first Masonic lodge in the Philippines in 1891 to financially support the Propaganda Movement and disseminate its ideas at home, including reformist demands and the goal of seeing the Philippines become a province of Spain.

Masonry was an integral part of the Propaganda Movement. In Spain, Freemasonry was anticlerical, which attracted Filipino propagandists since they considered the religious to be pillars of reaction. Filipinos were especially attracted to the Masonic (and Enlightenment) ideals of *liberté, egalité, fraternité*. Filipino Masonic lodges in Spain were the focus of propagandists' activities; they often used meetings to make connections with sympathetic Spaniards and to help one another introduce legislation in the Cortes beneficial to the Philippines.[45]

The reform platform of the Filipino Masons mirrored that of the propagandists: "We want a dignified, free, and prosperous country in whose horizons can be seen with clarity the splendor of the sun of justice and of civilization. We want a regime of democracy, a genuine and effective autonomy of the human individuality as against the enslaving pretensions of an ambition that nourishes its life in the absorption of the rights of the people and waters in happiness with the tears of the needy. We want a good government and a good administration. We want for our country the right to be represented in the Cortes. We want our country declared a Spanish province, with all the rights and obligations. In a word, we want reforms, reforms, reforms." Masonry spread rapidly in the archipelago. By May 1893, there were 35 lodges, including nine in Manila. Masonry in the Philippines was a means to spread the propagandists' message; it was not an organization for political action in and of itself.[46]

Teachers were so often linked to Masonry that Governor-General Blanco requested provincial governors turn over the names of instructors suspected of being "affiliated with antipatriotic and antireligious associations, including Masonic lodges." Through the network of Masonic lodges, the reformist, enlightened ideas of propagandists were disseminated. As Masons, teachers had direct contact with propagandists and propaganda materials. They could—and did—help spread those ideas outside the lodge.[47]

Serrano Laktaw supported the Propaganda Movement in yet another way. For José Rizal and other propagandists, the success of the Philippines depended on internal revolutions, or individual transformations, made possible through the general diffusion of knowledge. Key to this task was the development of a simpler orthography to encourage literacy and improve students' learning. Given his pedagogical studies in Manila and Spain, Serrano Laktaw was one of the most highly trained primary school teachers in the archipelago. As an educator and a propagandist, he seemed an apt choice to produce a Castilian-Tagalog dictionary.

One innovation from Serrano Laktaw's new orthography was the introduction of the letter "k" to replace the Castilian "c." *La España Oriental,* a bilingual weekly in Manila devoted to mass uplift via secular education, provided the clearest explanation on the usefulness of the new orthography by illustrating the switch from c to k in the Tagalog word, *ako*.[48] "From the root *ako* [*aco*] (meaning 'I'), are formed the words *ak*-IN [*aquin*] (meaning 'my'), by dropping the final 'o' and substituting for it the suffix '*in*,' which is doubled to *ak*-IN-IN [*aquinin*], which converts the root into a verb, meaning 'to appropriate something, to make something one's own, etc.' This clarity and simplicity of composition is not achieved with the use of our 'c,' which we had been using and which produces difficulties for finding the component affixes and roots of a compound word." Thus, from the previous, Castilian-influenced *aco, aquin, aquinin* comes the more logical (for native Tagalog speakers and educators alike) *ako, akin, akinin*.[49]

In the introduction to his dictionary, published in Manila in 1889, Serrano Laktaw noted that the new orthography "made reading and writing Tagalog easier and so thus could improve primary education in the Philippines." The dictionary was meant for students and teachers, but it served another purpose. The dictionary would provide any literate individual the ability to read propagandist and other subversive literature arriving from Europe. The dictionary's prologue was

written by propagandist Marcelo H. del Pilar, who was an indefatigable advocate of removing the religious orders from power, including over education.[50]

Like other propagandists and liberal reformers, del Pilar believed it essential that Filipino youth learn Castilian. The dictionary, del Pilar hoped, would "contribute to the diffusion of Castilian in this archipelago, which [being] a piece of Spain, should be Spanish in its language, just as it is Spanish in its government, Spanish in its religion, in its sentiments, in its habits and in its aspirations." In the meantime, José Rizal wrote that Serrano Laktaw's dictionary would make learning to read and write Tagalog easier for young students (and their teachers), who would no longer have to grapple with Castilian syllables when learning their first letters. Castilian was important for Hispanization, but even in Europe children learned to read and write in their mother tongue first before acquiring another language.[51]

Serrano Laktaw's dictionary would meet the needs of a broad swath of Philippine society, including teachers, by promoting practical education for the masses and the tools to continue one's political self-education. Given the usefulness of this dictionary for teaching literacy in Tagalog, teachers would have likely had a personal copy or access to a copy, especially if they lived in or near Manila or belonged to a Masonic lodge.

By 1890, the tone of the propagandists' writing began to shift. The goal was still reform, but it was no longer the sole possible avenue. Between late 1889 and early 1890, Rizal published a four-part political essay in *La Solidaridad,* "Filipinas dentro de cien años" ["The Philippines a century hence"]. The essay series encompassed Rizal's hope for a new political relationship between Spain and the Philippines, one grounded in reform, equality, and mutual respect. Rizal still envisioned a Hispanized Philippines. However, if Spain continued to ignore the aspirations of Filipinos and their calls for reforms, the future of the archipelago would be one independent

from Spain. “Filipinas dentro de cien años” was an earnest plea for recognition and acceptance. But it also marked a crucial turning point for Rizal and some other propagandists. Despite the desire to avoid a violent separation, it nonetheless loomed on the horizon. Spanish actions—or inactions—would ultimately force Filipinos’ hands.[52]

Del Pilar would soon echo Rizal’s warning to Spain. He recognized that if the Spanish government did not act soon to implement reforms, forces more radical than the propagandists would take the reins in directing the desires of the people. “If legal propaganda is able to convince those who govern to perform their duties in the Philippines with honor; … if it is able to bring about measures to prevent arbitrary government and harmonize the principle of authority with the rights of the subject, … Who will want to gamble on the uncertain issue of a war of independence if under Spanish rule he can live freely, peacefully, and with dignity?” Insurrection was not an ideal outcome in del Pilar’s eyes but rather a last resort. “A people subject to tyranny makes use of this last resort only when, after repeated rebuffs, it reaches the sad conclusion that it cannot obtain redress by peaceful means.”[53]

The Propaganda Movement effectively ended in 1895. Several factors contributed to its demise, but primarily differences over the aims and methods of the movement caused insurmountable rifts between the participants. Financial difficulties, defections, and propaganda counterattacks by Spanish opponents further undermined the movement. The inability to effect changes in Madrid pushed members such as Rizal away from the organization and led the movement’s sympathizers to withdraw financial support.[54]

While the Propaganda Movement ultimately failed in spurring Spain to reform its colonial administration, it nonetheless influenced a growing generation of educated elite and middling Filipinos, including teachers. In 1888, José Murgadas, SJ, then-director of the Escuela

Normal, was dismayed when he discovered that a number of former and current students had signed a propagandist, anti-clerical manifesto. In a letter to the Jesuit provincial in Spain, Murgadas acknowledged with regret that these former and current students were involved in the Propaganda Movement. In a follow-up letter the next year, he described these individuals as having been *enrizalizados,* or "Rizalized."[55]

Propagandist writings reached teachers in the Philippines. Some encountered the writings at their Masonic lodges. Others may have learned of propagandists' reform goals during conversations with colleagues like Serrano Laktaw. The *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* reported teachers dismissed in 1896 for possessing issues of *La Solidaridad.* As members of a middling, educated class, teachers had the intellectual capabilities and opportunities to engage with the array of propagandist and liberal ideas arriving from Europe. The propagandists' emphasis on universal primary education as a means of internal revolution, or individual transformation, likely drew teachers to their ideals. At the same time, the conditions of local schools and the discrimination and hostility experienced by many teachers in the field may have made some skeptical that meaningful reform could—or would—emanate from Spain.[56]

Before the Propaganda Movement fizzled out, Rizal had already decided to return to the Philippines. Since he believed internal revolutions, or individual transformations, would pave the way for a reformed, Hispanized Philippines, he needed to work closer to the people. Shortly after returning in July 1892, he formed *La Liga Filipina.* This society sought to involve the people directly in the reform movement. It drew interest not just from *ilustrados,* but from the middling professional classes of Manila and its environs who were anxious for change.[57]

Rizal envisioned *La Liga Filipina* as a mutual aid and self-help society. The organization would raise funds for scholarships and legal aid, loan capital, and help set up cooperatives. While these were sincere objectives, it would take much more to alleviate the deep-seated social ills experienced by the masses. Nonetheless, Spanish authorities were so alarmed by the formation of *La Liga Filipina* that they arrested and deported Rizal to Dapitan in northern Mindanao on 6 July 1892, a mere four days after the society was organized.[58]

Fellow propagandist Apolinario Mabini suggested *La Liga Filipina* reorganize, "declare its support for *La Solidaridad* and the reforms it advocated, raise funds for the paper, and defray the expenses of deputies advocating reforms for the country before the Spanish Cortes." Andres Bonifacio, a warehouse worker, Mason, and proponent of political self-education, helped reactivate *La Liga Filipina* by organizing chapters in districts throughout Manila.[59]

Prior to joining *La Liga Filipina,* Bonifacio had enthusiastically read propagandists' writings from Spain. He was not alone. "Self-made intellectuals and struggling lower-class students in Manila, peasant leaders disenchanted with friar Catholicism, and minor elites in the provinces" were all inspired by the *ilustrados.* But, as most *ilustrados* were writing from Spain, those reading from the Philippines increasingly found the reformism of the Propaganda Movement inadequate. *La Liga Filipina* soon split into two groups, one conservative and one radical. While the conservative faction continued to support reforms, the radical faction, led by Bonifacio, believed peaceful agitation for reforms was a lost cause. With a widening philosophical chasm, the leaders of *La Liga Filipina* opted for dissolution.[60]

Following the dissolution of *La Liga Filipina,* Bonifacio formed a new secret society in 1892, *Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* [Esteemed and Highest Society of the Sons of the Country], more commonly known as the Katipunan.

Interestingly, in naming his organization, Bonifacio used Serrano Laktaw's new orthography, and emphasized the letter k. The ultimate goal for the Katipunan was separation rather than assimilation. Peaceful agitation for reforms had given way to talk of armed revolution.[61]

Katipunan membership was mostly lower-middle class to middle class. Many completed secondary education and worked in the jobs that accompanied the processes of colonial modernization and administrative rationalization, such as court clerks, commercial house bookkeepers, and primary school teachers. Workers, peasants, soldiers, government employees, merchants, and secular priests were drawn to the organization, which regarded all Filipinos as equal, regardless of socioeconomic status.[62]

The Katipunan had a short-lived underground publication, *Kalayaan* [*Freedom*]. In its first issue, Bonifacio wrote that the time for reforms had passed. The only path forward was armed revolt. He appealed directly to readers, urging them to "scatter the mist that befogs our intellect" and "show determination, honor, pride, and mutual cooperation." "Befog" recalls Rizal's commentary on the curricula of the town school, while "determination and mutual cooperation" his encouragement to the women of Malolos. Bonifacio continued, "Reason tells us that we cannot expect anything but suffering upon suffering, treachery upon treachery, contempt upon contempt, tyranny upon tyranny. Reason tells us that we must not waste our time waiting in vain for promises of felicity that will never come, that will never materialize. Reason tells us that we must rely upon ourselves alone and never entrust our rights and our life to anyone else. Reason teaches us to be united in sentiment, thought and purpose, so that we may acquire the strength necessary to crush the evil that is affecting our people." Here again, Bonifacio echoed Rizal in appealing to reason; however, Rizal would have stopped short of inciting rebellion.[63]

Local chapters of the Katipunan met regularly and rumors soon spread about the existence of a secret society, fueling the suspicion of civil and ecclesiastic officials. On 19 August 1896, officials were certain of the Katipunan's existence. In a matter of days, *Katipuneros* in the working-class districts of Manila had destroyed their *cedulas* (certificates of citizenship) accompanied with cries of "Long live the Philippines." On 26 August, the armed revolt had begun and quickly spread to nearby provinces.[64]

José Rizal, who refused to endorse the Katipunan, was en route to a different site of conflict, Cuba, as a medical volunteer, when fighting broke out. He was arrested by the colonial administration and charged with treason. While awaiting trial, Rizal wrote a manifesto to "certain Filipinos" in an effort to stop the rebellion and "useless suffering." He addressed his readers as "fellow countrymen," writing: "I have given many proofs that I desire as much as the next man liberties for our country; I continue to desire them. But I laid down as a prerequisite the education of the people in order that by means of such instruction, and by hard work, they may acquire a personality of their own and so become worthy of such liberties. In my writings I have recommended study and the civic virtues, without which no redemption is possible. I have also written (and my words have been repeated by others) that reforms, if they are to bear fruit, must come from above, for reforms that come from below are upheavals both violent and transitory." A collective external revolution was futile unless preceded by individual internal revolutions. Political independence would not last long if the people did not learn how to use their freedoms wisely. Despite being innocent of involvement in the revolution, Rizal was nonetheless found guilty of treason and executed by firing squad on 30 December 1896. Instead of putting out the flames of a radicalizing populace of *ilustrados,* secular clergy, peasants, and middling professionals, his death only accelerated its spread.[65]

The number of alleged revolutionary teachers reported in the *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* in late 1896 seemed relatively small at under 100.[66] However, the names featured in the publication were only those *known* to the government. Most revolutionary teachers were noncombatants, which made it easier to keep their activities below the radar. Furthermore, in 1896–97, the revolution was concentrated in one geographical area: the Tagalog provinces of Luzon. Governor-General Blanco issued a declaration of war against the provinces of Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Écija, Tarlac, La Laguna, Cavite, and Batangas in a proclamation dated 30 August 1896, which corresponded with locations of known revolutionary teachers. His proclamation was followed by the circular requesting provincial governors turn in teachers suspected of revolutionary activities or involvement in anti-patriotic associations.[67]

Of the teachers dismissed from their posts in Cavite in September 1896, most (if not all) were *Katipuneros,* Masons, or their sympathizers. Several former teachers in Cavite became generals in the revolution, including Mariano Alvarez, Pantaleón García, Daniel Tría Tirona, Tomás Mascardo, Artemio Ricarte, and Juan Cailles. Three Escuela Normal graduates and Caviteño teachers feature prominently in the historiography of the Philippine Revolution: Juan Cailles, Artemio Ricarte, and Agapito Conchú.[68]

Juan Cailles was born in Nasugbu, Batangas, of French-Anglo-Indian parents. He graduated from the Escuela Normal in 1890 at age 20 and worked his first teaching assignment in Rosario for three years before moving on to a primary school in Amadeo. Cailles was a member of the Katipunan and fought at the siege of Lian in Batangas in October 1896. Artemio Ricarte was born in Batac, Ilocos, and graduated in the same Escuela Normal class as Cailles. At his school in San Francisco de Malabon, he emphasized practical subjects, such as geography,

geometry, and agriculture. Ricarte was a *Katipunero,* general, and member of the revolutionary government. Agapito Conchú was remembered not for battlefield deeds, but for being a victim of Spanish reactionism. He arrived in Cavite Puerto after teaching in Binondo, Manila. An accomplished musician, Conchú organized a youth orchestra and was known to teach more music than required in the school curriculum. To supplement his income, he set up a small lithographic and printing shop that utilized a Minerva letterpress. On 12 September 1896, Conchú was executed by Spanish forces alongside 12 other Caviteños on charges of rebellion and conspiracy. The men were known as the Thirteen Martyrs of Cavite and became a rallying cry in the fight against colonial misgovernment and abuses.[69]

Other Caviteño teachers had connections to the revolution through a family member's involvement. Cavite historian Isagani Medina found, "consanguineal and affinal bonds played a vital role in leadership and participation during the Philippine Revolution. Blood relatives, either through the nuclear or bilateral families, mobilized their own kin, consciously or otherwise." Whether teachers were as active in the revolution as their family members can be more difficult to determine. Eliseo and Fausto Tirona were dismissed from their school posts in Imus, Cavite, in September 1896. Escuela Normal records reveal that at least three other members of the Tirona family were teachers in the province. Brothers Cándido and Daniel Tirona played significant roles in the revolution; Cándido was not a teacher, but Daniel studied at the Escuela Normal and started teaching in his hometown of Kawit in October 1888. Like many other teachers, Daniel left the profession for greener pastures. He resigned his post in 1891 to accept the position of *aspirante 3.o* of the finance section of the civil administration. At the outbreak of the revolution, he was in his fourth year of law studies at the *Universidad de Santo Tomás.* He

joined the revolutionary forces after his older brother Cándido, then Minister of War, was killed. He was given the position held by his brother and later elevated to Brigadier-General.[70]

Given the consequential revolutionary roles of Cándido and Daniel Tirona, it is not a stretch to imagine Eliseo and Fausto were dismissed for some direct or indirect connection with the revolution. Similarly, Marcelo Basa, an 1876 graduate of the Escuela Normal and *maestro de acenso,* was removed from his post in Indang, Cavite, in September 1896; Roman and José Basa of Cavite were known *Katipuneros* and participants in the revolution. Were these three men relatives? Was Marcelo active in the revolution or merely collateral damage of familial bonds?[71]

Nueva Écija also saw a high teacher dismissal rate in 1896. Unlike Cavite, the alleged revolutionary teachers included women. On 10 October, ten *maestras* and *ayudantes* were dismissed alongside eighteen male teachers and assistants *por resultar de las averiguaciones practicadas en aquella provincial motivos bastantes para creer que todos ellos estan complicados en los sucesos actuales* [as a result of inquiries carried out in the province that provided enough evidence to believe them complicit in the current events]. Four of the women shared the surname Romero. Were they related? Like their male colleagues, female teachers were active supporters of the revolution. Literacy in Castilian allowed access to subversive writings and everyday community interactions "could act as conduits for revolutionary ideas."[72]

Why would teachers posted to primary schools in the Tagalog provinces of Luzon be more apt to participate (directly or indirectly) in the revolution against Spain in 1896? The *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* did not divulge why teachers chose to join the revolution, but socio-economic conditions in the region provides some clues.

The Tagalog provinces of Luzon had a high concentration of *haciendas*. The cash crop production on *haciendas* was a marker of economic progress, but it simultaneously depressed the

living standards of the masses in the countryside. The drive for successful harvests of cash crops intensified exploitation and suffering. Land rents increased year after year. Tenants forced to concentrate on cash crop production became food insecure. Cottage industries, such as weaving, supplemented a farmer's income but were destroyed by cheap imports.[73]

An economic depression between 1891 and 1895 further contributed to the instability of the lives of laborers, small producers, and others who lived and worked in the communities, including teachers. The price of cash crops such as hemp fell, and indigo production was paralyzed. "A canker attacked the coffee plantations and coffee disappeared from the market," wrote Filipino journalist Isabelo de los Reyes in 1899. "Only rice, which is precisely the article of prime necessity, being the staple food of the Filipinos, has risen in price; and, because of the unfavorable exchange, imported goods." As if higher importation costs were not enough, de los Reyes continued, "to this must be added the fact that in June and July of 1896 thick swarms of locusts completely ruined the rice fields, and farmers faced a future that was bleak indeed." Despite this series of difficulties, which had accompanied a drought, the religious *hacenderos* did not provide rent relief and in some cases even demanded an increase. The result was that laborers were driven to desperation and "swelled the ranks of the revolution."[74]

Teachers would be victims and witnesses to economic depression in the countryside. For teachers in communities plagued by economic exploitation and suffering, the likelihood of being paid (and paid on time) was low. Similarly, the probability of teachers having adequate provisions, such as a schoolhouse, lodging, and instructional materials—a community's responsibility by law—was equally low. Teachers' lives were as precarious as laborers, and they witnessed considerable suffering. On a daily basis, they encountered the economic, emotional, and physical stress in their midst, especially among the children. How could widespread

suffering with no reforms in sight not affect teachers' opinions on the processes of colonial modernization and the nationalist aims of the Katipunan?[75]

Once fighting broke out, there were mass movements of people. Governor-General Blanco responded to the nascent uprisings with a reign of terror. Every day people were arrested, homes were ransacked, and property was confiscated. Suspects packed the cells at Fort Santiago in Manila where many suffered unspeakable tortures. Government executions began shortly after the declaration of war: four members of the Katipunan were executed on 4 September at Bagumbayan Field; thirteen were executed in Cavite on 12 September. Other executions took place in Nueva Écija, Pampanga, and Bulacan. Schools closed out of necessity: for the safety of teachers and students or due to lack of students. Teachers were just as likely to abandon their posts for safety as to join the fighting.[76]

Blanco's reign of terror backfired as Filipinos swelled the revolutionary forces. By the end of September, all of Cavite and most of Nueva Écija and Bulacan had revolted. Batangas, Laguna, and the two Camarines provinces declared themselves for the revolution. Bataan and Zambales soon joined the revolution, while Pampanga and Morong grew increasingly restive. Most encounters between Spanish forces and *Katipuneros* were indecisive or ended in defeat for the latter. Nonetheless, the revolutionary forces never let up; Spanish forces were continually harassed and divided by simultaneous and spontaneous uprisings in different provinces.[77]

As towns fell to the Spaniards, floods of refugees overwhelmed communities, placing a strain on food and other supplies needed by revolutionary forces in the area. Cavite, immediately south of Manila, was especially hard hit. Residents of towns that had suffered destruction in the early stages of the fighting between revolutionary and Spanish forces fled to the comparative

safety of Imus. And whenever Spanish commanders launched an operation in the vicinity of northern Cavite, a new contingent of refugees fled south.[78]

Telesforo Canseco, a *hacienda* overseer from Naic, Cavite, wrote of the refugees fleeing advancing Spanish forces in 1897. Men, women, and children fled "by cart, by carabao, by horse." Families were often separated, as men joined the revolutionary forces. Canseco described a scene in San Francisco de Malabon: "It was pitiful to see the women and the children crying, because they were being separated from their husbands and fathers and had to continue their flight by themselves."[79]

In Naic in March 1897, Canseco observed, "so large was this influx of outsiders that they could not be accommodated in the houses. A great number were obliged to live and sleep in the open air." The overcrowded, exposed conditions doubtless contributed to the high mortality rates that prevailed in the town. Indeed, after a study of Naic death records, historian Glenn May discovered a large number of deaths due to typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis, all diseases associated with crowding and "without question Naic and other towns in southern Cavite were severely overcrowded." For the thousands of people from other provinces seeking refuge in Cavite, as well as the thousands of residents of Cavite, "the combined effects of flight, overcrowding, compromised water supplies, malnutrition, and prolonged exposure to the elements and an array of microparasites proved fatal."[80]

The lives of noncombatants in warzones were marked by immense suffering: dislocation, hunger, illness, fear, and death. Yet despite the constant movement, loss of possessions, and disrupted lives, "Filipino noncombatants contributed mightily to the war effort, supplying money and food to the local forces, often lodging them overnight, digging trenches for them, providing intelligence, and running a variety of errands for them."[81] No one was immune to the

depravations of war, which, when compounded with years of economic and social oppression as well as exposure to the writings of propagandists, contributed to the radicalization of teachers.

Under these extreme conditions, teachers in warzones had little incentive to stay at their posts, yet many did. Teachers' responses to the revolution were very much determined by place. Teachers were not indifferent to revolution; they took sides. The form of participation depended on the individual. For example, the ground floor of a house in Imus, Cavite, owned by husband–wife teachers Guillermo Tirona and Jacoba Paredes, served as the town's primary school from 1880 until 1896; they converted the school into a hospital during the revolution.[82]

Other teachers supported the revolution by joining societies like *La Liga Filipina,* the Katipunan, or the Masons. Eugenio Catindig, *maestro* of the boys' school in Guiguinto, Bulacan, and Felipe Utero and Deogracias Belmonte, both teachers in Catanduanes, were dismissed on 30 September 1896 "for demonstrating ideas unfavorable to Spain and affiliation with a Masonic and anti-Spanish association." Other teachers chose to support the revolution by disseminating propagandist writings. Lucio Rivera lost his position as *ayudante* at the boys' school in Pagsanján, Laguna, "for being a propagandist of anti-religious and anti-patriotic ideas, a subscriber to *La Solidaridad,* and for donating funds to those taking part in the rebellion." Rivera not only supported the ideals of the revolution, but also contributed some of his personal savings to support the rebel forces.[83]

Women teachers were also active in the revolution. They were members of the Katipunan, acted as couriers and spies, served as battlefield nurses, fed and sheltered rebels from enemy forces, and helped raise funds to support the cause. Ten *maestras* and female *ayudantes* from Nueva Écija were dismissed by the provincial governor in October 1896 following

inquiries. But, given the ordinary, often invisible ways in which women contributed to the revolution, even more women teachers likely participated to support the rebellion.[84]

Teachers were not peasants, but nor were they *ilustrados* or elites. Like their pseudo-secular schools, teachers occupied a space of in-betweenness. They were closer to the masses—physically, socially, and economically—than the *ilustrados* and likely empathized with their plight more than the elites ever could. For teachers in the *haciendas* and warzones of Luzon were surrounded by daily, widespread suffering, likely causing them to consider their own roles as participants in colonial modernization. Often exposed to propagandist and Masonic ideals that imagined a future better than they currently experienced, many teachers were driven to participate in the revolution, either on the battlefield or the home front. But the radicalization of Filipino teachers did not extend beyond Luzon. At least not yet.

Through 1897, the editors of the *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* remained loyal to Spain and encouraged its readers to do the same. Indeed, teachers from provinces around the archipelago submitted pledges of allegiance to Spain to be printed as supplements to regular issues. The sincerity of the pledges is hard to ascertain since the colonial administration specially requested that teachers submit them. Nonetheless, revolutionary activity among teachers seemingly remained confined to Luzon.[85]

Iloilo, in the Visayas, was one such province where teachers publicly maintained their loyalty to Spain. Anastasio Montes Damas, a *maestro de termino de primera clase* from the capital of Iloilo, submitted an open letter to the provincial governor.[86] Dated 28 November 1896, the letter condemned the rebellion on behalf of the primary school teachers and assistants in 26 towns. The following month, the teachers held a meeting to determine the type of support they would provide the colonial administration. According to the meeting minutes, reprinted in an

issue of the *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* the teachers agreed to donate a portion of their monthly salaries, beginning in January 1897. That the Iloilo teachers agreed to donate a portion of their salaries every month was telling. First, it spoke to the fact that teachers were paid regularly and that socio-economic conditions in Iloilo were relatively stable. Second, their willingness to donate part of their salaries presumes that teachers were paid a living wage. Iloilo teachers even rallied their students to donate funds to the government, so most families were better off than their counterparts in Luzon.[87]

Beginning in January 1897, the *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* published the monthly contributions of Iloilo teachers to the war effort. Over time, the number of teachers that participated in the fundraising campaign increased. In March, 52 male teachers and 35 female teachers contributed funds. By May, the number increased to 64 male teachers and 54 female teachers, indicating that the socio-economic conditions for teachers remained steady through these months of intense fighting and economic uncertainty elsewhere in the archipelago. The colonial administration even sent an official letter of appreciation to the Iloilo teachers. Teacher and student contributions from Iloilo continued through April 1898.[88]

How does one explain the relative revolutionary inactivity of teachers outside of Luzon? Socio-economic conditions again offer some clues. In 1896, Iloilo continued to enjoy the benefits of colonial modernization. The Visayas were a center for sugar production and did not suffer the same agricultural blights that afflicted Luzon in the 1890s. Sugar from Negros moved through the port of Iloilo, which was open to global trade since 1855. Prosperity in the region aided schools: instead of flimsy nipa structures, free-standing schools were large and constructed of wood or stone. Teachers received regular salaries, enabling them to donate to the war effort. By 1897, Iloilo had telephone and cable lines and was a center of commerce for the region. In

other words, Iloilo was financially stable and enough individuals, including teachers, enjoyed the benefits of colonial modernization that they did not want to see it disrupted by rebellion. Fighting did reach Iloilo in late 1896, but the revolution made slow progress since there remained widespread support for the colonial administration.[89]

The February 1897 issue of the *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* featured a letter to the editor from Vicente Avelino. Avelino was *profesor* of the *Escuela práctica* at the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* in Manila since 1893, having received his appointment on the same day as Pedro Serrano Laktaw's final assignment to Quiapo. Avelino was worried about the teachers who joined the revolution, but he was not necessarily surprised that teachers did so. "The teacher, being a functionary who has been carefully educated and, as a result, exercises an immediate and personal influence in the town (or among the people), has necessarily been the preferred target, to whom the efforts of the infamous and deceitful action of the Masonic societies and of the Katipunan, to attract him to their cause."[90]

Avelino recognized that teachers could become a new, powerful base in Philippine society. Beneficiaries of expanded educational opportunities with positions legitimized through professionalization, teachers now challenged parish priests as the preferred intermediaries between the masses and those in power. Teachers' social and economic capital could in the right circumstances translate into persuasive political capital, even radicalization. Universal primary education was at the center of the "modern" Spanish Philippines as well as the revolutionaries' imagined independent Philippine republic. And trained teachers were needed for either scenario.

When independence from Spain was declared in 1898, the constitution of the First Philippine Republic reflected many of the ideals espoused by propagandists two decades earlier,

especially in regard to education. Article 5 recognized the separation of Church and State, while Article 23 made public education "free and obligatory in all schools of the nation." Furthermore, *any* Filipino could open a school so long as it was in accordance with the laws authorizing them. No longer would the Church have a monopoly over the education and aspirations of the people.[91]

The constitution of the First Philippine Republic did not mark the end of the revolution. There were two unfinished revolutions in the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century: an external and an internal revolution. The external revolution was a fight for independence, made possible by a convergence of grievances across socioeconomic classes. The internal revolution was one of individual transformation, made possible by the implementation of universal primary education by trained teachers. True independence would not endure if the people did not know how to use their freedoms or have a shared sense of national identity. In other words, political, economic, social, and individual progress was implausible without an educated populace.

Teacher participation in the external revolution of 1896 was advantageous, especially in contexts where they were considered community leaders and used their influence to sway people onto the side of rebellion. But teacher participation in the internal revolution of individual transformation and character formation was imperative for nation-building. For the worldwide nineteenth-century modernization project, universal education was a pillar of any sound republic; teachers were the bedrock of those schools. Filipino teachers, therefore, would be a cornerstone of the nation's continued political evolution, whatever the future held.[92]

[1] Vicente Avelino, "Carta al editor," *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III, no. 2 (1 de febrero de 1897), 28.

[2] "PROTESTA" and "Sección Legislativa, Destituciones," *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 22 (1 de octubre de 1896), 187–88.

[3] Circular, Dirección de Administración Civil de Filipinas, Sección de Fomento. Manila, 12 de septiembre de 1896, reprinted in *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* (1 de octubre de 1896), 188.

[4] "Sección Legislativa," *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 23 (1 de noviembre de 1896), 205–07.

[5] Megan C. Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados: Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism* (Mandaluyong City: Anvil, 2016), 98; Pedro Serrano Laktaw, 4 November 1893, Quiapo, Manila; Teacher Appointments, Escuela Normal, V-14-655, Archive of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus (hereafter, APPSJ).

[6] Camilo Millán y Villanueva, *El gran problema de las reformas en Filipinas* (Manila: J. Lafont, 1897), 35; Eduardo Navarro, OSA, *Filipinas. Estudio de algunos asuntos de actualidad* (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1897), 159–60; Pablo Pastells, SJ, *Misión de la Compañia de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX,* vol. III (Barcelona: Editorial Barcelonesa, 1917), 283–85.

[7] José S. Arcilla, SJ, "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria, 1865–1905," *Philippine Studies* 36:1 (1988), 32; Horatio de la Costa, SJ, "The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1959," *Philippine Studies* 7:1 (1959), 87.

[8] Evaristo Fernández Arias, OP, "Apuntes sobre la insurrección," Archives of the University of Santo Tomás (hereafter, AUST), HCF, t. 6, pp. 17–19. On Jesuit educational influence, José Rizal, a graduate of the Ateneo, wrote to his friend Ferdinand Blumentritt while in Europe: "These friends [Filipinos residing in Europe] are all young men, *criollos*, *mestizos*, and Malays; but we call ourselves simply Filipinos. Almost all were educated by the Jesuits [at the Ateneo Municipal]. The Jesuits have surely not intended to teach us love of country, but they have showed us all that is beautiful and all that is best. Therefore, I do not fear discord in our homeland; it is possible, but it can be combated and prevented." Rizal to Blumentritt, 13 April 1887, in *Epistolario Rizalino*, Tomo Quinto (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1938), 111.

[9] *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 22 (1 de octubre de 1896), 187–88.

[10] Bishop Ramón Martínez Vigil, OP, cited in Pastells, *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX,* vol. 3, 283–87; Loyalty oaths, 1887, Normal School V-14, APPSJ. Another example of criticism lodged at the Jesuits was an article from the November 1896 issue of the Barcelona periodical, *La Semana Catolica.* The author sarcastically mused about the "influence on the insurrection of the brilliant Escuela Normal de Maestros" in Manila. If not for government intervention, "there already will have surfaced several hundred of teachers heeding the cry for freedom." Pio Pi, SJ, to the Jesuit Superior General, Manila, 30 November 1896; III-6-032, III-6-033, III-6-033a, APPSJ.

[11] By the 1880s, the Ateneo Municipal offered a seven-year program. Courses included history, geography, Castilian, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, botany, zoology, physical sciences, physics, mineralogy, geology, style and composition, poetry and rhetoric, religion and morals; students then went on to study surveying, chemistry, mechanics, and accounting, which would prepare them for university studies in medicine, law, or ecclesiastical faculties. The Escuela Normal continued to offer a three-year course including pedagogy, agriculture, history, geography, arithmetic and geometry, religion and morals, Castilian, reading and writing, agriculture, and music and drawing. See, *Memoria histórico-estadistica sobre la enseñanza secundaria y superior en Filipina escrita con motivo de la Exposición Colonial de Amsterdam por encargo de la subcomisión de Estas Islas* (Manila: Oceanía Española, 1883).

[12] Miguel Saderra Mata, SJ, to Joaquin Sancho, SJ, 28 October 1896, "Ateneo," V-2-044, APPSJ.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] "Religión y patria," 1 de enero de 1897, ms, APPSJ.

[16] Francisco Foradada, SJ, *La soberanía de España en Filipinas* (Barcelona: Henrich, 1897), 191–201.

[17] John N. Schumacher, SJ, "Rizal in the Nineteenth-Century Context," in *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 21; John N. Schumacher, SJ, "Higher Education and the Origins of Nationalism," in *The Making of a Nation,* 41.

[18] Juan Ricart, SJ, to Provincial in Spain, 28 February 1881, in Pastells, *Misión de la Compañia de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX,* vol. 1, 335. See also, Schumacher, "Higher Education and the Origins of Nationalism," 39–40.

[19] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 43–44.

[20] Encarnacion Alzona, "Rizal and the Reformists," Rizal Centennial Lectures, University of the East, 12 August 1961 (Manila: University of the East, Department of University Publications, 1961), 7–9.

[21] Lisandro E. Claudio, *José Rizal: Liberalism and the Paradox of Coloniality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 12–13.

[22] Gregorio Sancianco, *El progreso de Filipinas. Estudios económicos, administrativos y políticos* (Madrid: J. M. Perez, 1881), 223–37.

[23] Ibid., 223–37; Francisco Cañamaque, *Recuerdos de Filipinas. Cosas, casos y usos de aquellas islas* (Madrid: Anllo y Rodriguez, 1877). Cañamaque's book was a satiric account of his experiences in the Philippines, in which Filipinos, priests, and Spaniards of the country were held up to ridicule, and great emphasis placed on the incurable *indolencia del indio.* The book was considered by propagandists as the prototype of Spanish insults to the Filipino.

[24] John N. Schumacher, SJ, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880–1895* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 28–29.

[25] Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975, 2008), 148, 151; John N. Schumacher, SJ, "Nationalist Student Activism in Manila in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Philippine Historical Review* 4 (1971), 196. Philippine government circulars and teacher dismissal records from the end of the century reveal that indigenous and *mestizo* students and educators read or were at least familiar with *La Solidaridad* and the writings of propagandists. Circular, Dirección de Administración Civil de Filipinas, Sección de Fomento. Manila, 12 de septiembre de 1896, reprinted in *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino* (1 de octubre de 1896), 188; Dismissal Records, 1896, V-14-708, APPSJ.

[26] "Nuestros propósitos," *La Solidaridad,* 15 de febrero de 1889.

[27] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*, second edition (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 24.

[28] Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 104.

[29] Graciano López Jaena, "La situación aflictiva de Filipinas," *España en Filipinas,* 14 de junio de 1887; Graciano López Jaena, "Causas de la situación aflictiva de Filipinas," *España en Filipinas,* 21 de junio de 1887.

[30] Claudio, *José Rizal: Liberalism and the Paradox of Coloniality,* 14; Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 107; Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement,* 35–36. See also, Onofre D. Corpuz, *Saga and Triumph: The Philippine Revolution Against Spain* (Manila: The Philippine Centennial Commission, 1999), 16.

[31] Rizal's thoughts on education and national progress mirrored Thomas Jefferson's educational proposals for the success of the early American republic, which similarly depended on the general diffusion of knowledge. Thomas Jefferson, "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" (18 June 1779), in Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 199–205.

[32] José Rizal, "La instrucción" (1882), in ed. Encarnación Alzona, *Selected Essays and Letters of José Rizal* (Manila: G. Rangel, 1964), 57.

[33] Ibid., 60–61.

[34] Ibid., 62–63; 64; 67.

[35] *La Solidaridad,* 15 February 1889.

[36] José Rizal, "Message to the Young Women of Malolos" (1889), in ed. Alzona, *Selected Essays and Letters of José Rizal,* 108–09; 110.

[37] Ibid., 111–12.

[38] Ibid., 116.

[39] Barbara Watson Andaya, "Gender, Warfare, and Patriotism in Southeast Asia and in the Philippine Revolution," 16, and Mina Roces, "Reflections on Gender and Kinship in the Philippine Revolution, 1896–1898," 35; both in eds. Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez, *The Philippine Revolution of 1896: Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001). On republican motherhood and girls' education, see Linda K. Kerber, "Daughters of Columbia: Educating Women for the Republic, 1787–1805," in *Toward an Intellectual History of Women* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[40] Andaya, "Gender, Warfare, and Patriotism," 15–16.

[41] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Gregorio H. del Pilar (el héroe de Tirad)* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 8–10.

[42] Cesar Adib Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960, 1996), 65–66.

[43] Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution,* 70; Apolinario Mabini, "La Revolucion Filipina," in *La Revolucion Filipina (con otros documentos de la Epoca),* vol. II (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 280–81; Apolinario Mabini, "Programa de la Republica Filipina," in *La Revolucion Filipinas,* vol. I, 164.

[44] [Pedro Serrano Laktaw,] "La enseñanza del Castellano en Filipinas," *La Solidaridad,* 15 de febrero de 1889, 3–4; Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados,* 98. By the end of the nineteenth century there were six million Filipinos, of which only about 200,000 had literacy in Castilian.

[45] Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 432.

[46] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *La masoneria Filipina* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), 98; Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses,* 32. The Masonic lodges in Manila included: Taliba, Walana, Balagtas, Bathala, Lusong, Dalisay, Binhi, Luz de Oriente, and Modestia. The lodges *outside* of Manila as of May 1893 included: Saku, Labong, Kumintang,

Luz, Burgos, Kaingin, Lusong, Dalisay, Kalanga, Masala, Bathala, Bayani, Lupit, Riego, Majestad, Aguso, Parwaw, Bikol, Diwata, Kalumpang, Libertad, Pulong, Bato, Leon, Hapitan, Kabutuan, Silangan, Katamtaman, Hiram, Morayta, Ruiz, Quiroga, Centeno, Bay, Maktan, and Tabon.

[47] Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses,* 31; Andaya, "Gender, Warfare, and Patriotism," 17.

[48] *La España Oriental* was a bilingual weekly based in Manila that published articles in Castilian and Tagalog. The goal was to provide readers with knowledge useful for their general uplift. Editors stated the paper's purpose was "to transmit to the native people all that which is within reach of their intelligence and useful to their civil and political state. We shall bring them up to date on all of the governmental and administrative regulations that they need to know. … We will give them, in short articles, easy lessons to popularize knowledge of the arts and sciences useful for practical life, concentrating above all on agriculture, industry and commerce, likewise on advice about matters of medicine and hygiene, and on improvements on their domestic life." This was a propagandist publication intended for the masses, providing liberal ideas and education for individuals literate in Tagalog but not necessarily Castilian. "Nuestros propósitos," *La España Oriental,* 4 de julio de 1889.

[49] "Nuestros propósitos," fn1, *La España Oriental,* 4 de julio de 1889. See also Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados*, 152.

[50] Pedro Serrano Laktaw, "Advertencias," in *Diccionario Hispano-tagalog* (Manila: La Opinion, 1889), np.

[51] Marcelo H. del Pilar, "Prólogo," in *Diccionario Hispano-tagalog,* np; José Rizal, "Sobre la nueva ortografía de la lengua tagalog," *La Solidaridad,* 15 de abril de 1890.

[52] José Rizal, "Filipinas dentro de cien años," *La Solidaridad* (septiembre 1889–enero 1890). Rizal's forceful yet poignant prose merits quoting at length:

> "If, therefore, the sound and statesmanlike reforms proposed by our ministers of state do not find able and resolute officials in the colonies to translate them into action; if the reforms begun by one administration are not loyally continued by those which the frequent cabinet crises call forth to succeed it; if the complaints and demands of the Filipino people are always to meet with the invariable *No* recommended by the vested interests that batten on the depressed condition of the masses; if just claims are to be dismissed as manifestations of a subversive spirit; if the country is to be denied representation in the Cortes and the lawful right [by means of this representation] to expose abuses which a chaotic legal system leaves unpunished; if, in short, we are to continue under the policy, only too successful, of alienating the affections of the natives, of heaping insult and ingratitude on their supposed lack of feeling, then we can confidently affirm that in a few years the present [untroubled] state of affairs will change completely. The change is inevitable.
>
> "A new factor is present which did not exist before. The soul of the nation has been aroused; a common misfortune and a common abasement have succeeded in uniting the people of the Islands. A numerous educated class, both in the archipelago and outside it, must now be reckoned with, a class brought into being and constantly enlarged by the myopia of certain officials who force the natives to leave the country, to educate themselves abroad, and, thanks to the suspicion with which they are pursued, to remain abroad, there to conduct a hostile campaign. This educated elite grows steadily. It is in continuous contact with the rest of the population. And if it is no more today than the brains of the nation, it will become in a few years its whole nervous system. Then we shall see what it will do."

[53] Marcelo H. del Pilar, "Tampoco," *La Solidaridad,* 31 de enero de 1894.

[54] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 109; Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses,* 36.

[55] José Murgadas, SJ, al Juan Ricart, SJ, Manila, 9 de diciembre de 1888 y 6 de octubre de 1889. Archivo de la Provincia de Tarragona de la Compañia de Jesus, Barcelona.

[56] Historian Renaldo Constantino summed up the influence of the Propaganda Movement on the growing, educated indigenous and *mestizo* class in the Philippines: "True, *La Solidaridad* itself, Rizal's novels, and other propaganda material had limited circulation, but these reached the local *ilustrados* who in most instances came to lead the

revolutionary forces in their provinces. The fund-raising efforts of local committees and masonic lodges and the clandestine attempts to distribute these materials involved more individuals in the campaign for reforms. The very attempts of the government to stop the entry of *La Solidaridad* and prevent its distribution highlighted the lack of freedoms that the propagandists were condemning. If readership was small, seepage of information to other groups certainly occurred. And because what the propagandists wrote were accurate reflections of reality, a feeling of empathy developed wherever news of their work was heard. The articulation of their own feelings of oppression heightened the ferment of the people." *A History of the Philippines,* 153.

[57] Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement,* 277.

[58] Alzona, "Rizal and the Reformists," 17–18.

[59] Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 154. The aims of *La Liga Filipina* as outlined in its constitution were to (1) unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous, and homogenous body; (2) protect everyone from want and necessity; (3) defend against all violence and injustice; (4) encourage education, agriculture, and commerce; and (5) study and implement of reforms. Mabini was later named secretary of the society, which he described as a political party meant to "exhaust all peaceful and legal means" to achieve its aims. Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución Filipina (con otros documentos de la época),* vol. II (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 297–99.

[60] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines,* 109–10; Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 154.

[61] Artemio Ricarte, *Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1963, 1992), 3. The Katipunan had political, civic, and moral objectives. The political objective was separation from Spain and the expulsion of the Spanish religious orders, who, in the eyes of *Katipuneros,* were their oppressors. The civic objective centered on the principle of mutual help and the defense of the poor and the oppressed. The moral objective maintained much of Rizal's intended "internal revolution" as it focused on individual transformation: "teaching good manners (*urbanidad*), hygiene, and democratic morality, attacking religious fanaticism, weakness of character, and the policy of obscurantism that the friars had adopted toward the Filipinos." A united people could achieve its own redemption; therefore, in the Katipunan, all Filipinos were viewed as equals regardless of socio-economic status. Emilio Jacinto, "Kartilya ng Katipunan" (1895), in ed. Jim Richardson, *The Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013).

[62] Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 465; Pio Valenzuela, *Memoirs of the K.K.K. and the Philippine Revolution,* trans. Luis Serrano (Manila: Bureau of Printing, nd), 19–24; Manuel Sastrón, *La insurrección en Filipinas* (Madrid: M. Minueso de los Rós, 1897), 141; *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President,* vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 399. Exact membership figures, which spanned Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao, are unknown, but estimates range from 100,000 to 400,000.

[63] Andres Bonifacio, "Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog," *Kalayaan,* January 1896.

[64] Ricarte, *Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte,* 4–5. See also, Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People,* eighth edition (Quezon City: Garotech, 1990), 171–72.

[65] José Rizal, "Manifesto á algunos Filipinos" (1896), in W.E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1907), 374.

[66] See Appendix D for the list of alleged teacher-revolutionaries republished in the colony's professional teaching journal, *Boletín Oficial de Magisterio Filipino.*

[67] Governor-General José Blanco, proclamation de 30 de agosto de 1896; republished in *Gaceta de Manila,* 31 de agosto de 1896.

[68] Isagani R. Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution, 1571–1896* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002), 182.

[69] Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution,* 184–85, 207; Corpuz, *Saga and Triumph,* 70–77.

[70] Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution,* 176, 183. Juana Tirona, appointed to Imus, Cavite on 18 September 1872 (V-14-039) and resigned her post on 21 March 1877 (V-14-224); Guillermo Tirona, appointed to Imus, Cavite on 22 September 1893 (V-14-655) and resigned his post on 14 July 1896 (V-14-697); Eliseo Tirona, appointed to Imus, Cavite on 9 July 1896 (V-14-696) and dismissed for involvement in the Revolution on 21 September 1896. Daniel Tirona resigned from his post in Cavite Viejo on 31 October 1891 (V-14-615). Escuela Normal, V-14, APPSJ.

[71] Marcelo Basa, appointed to Indang, Cavite, as *maestro de ascenso* on 22 September 1893 (V-14-655), dismissed for involvement in the Revolution on 21 September 1896 (V-14-708), both APPSJ.

[72] *Boletin Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 23 (1 de noviembre de 1896), 207; Andaya, "Gender, Warfare, and Patriotism," 14.

[73] Constantino, *A History of the Philippines,* 158.

[74] Isabelo de los Reyes, *La sensacional memoria sobre la revolución filipina* (Madrid: J. Corrales, 1899), 48–50. See also, Daniel F. Doeppers, *Feeding Manila in Peace and War, 1850–1945* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016), 59–68, 71–74.

[75] In his study of refugees during the Revolution of 1896, historian Glenn May wrote of the physical and mental toll experienced by noncombatants in Cavite, which would have included teachers. "Many of civilians experienced privation, trauma, and wrenching disruptions, as they were forced to flee from the advancing enemy forces." "The Refugees of Cavite: Civilian Flight during the Philippine Revolution of 1896," in *A Past Updated: Further Essays on Philippine History and Historiography* (Quezon City: New Day, 2013), 38.

[76] Corpuz, *Saga and Triumph,* 70–73, 104.

[77] Santiago V. Alvarez, *Recalling the Revolution: Memoirs of a Filipino General* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1992). Alvarez's memoir was first serialized in 36 installments under the title "Ang Katipunan at Paghihimagsik" ["The Katipunan and the Revolution"] in the Manila weekly, *Sampagita,* between July 1927 and April 1928.

[78] May, "The Refugees of Cavite," 41–42.

[79] Telesforo Canseco, "Historia de la insurrección Filipina en Cavite" (1897), unpublished manuscript, Archives of the Ateneo de Manila University (hereafter, AAMU).

[80] Ibid.; May, "The Refugees of Cavite," 47, 51.

[81] Andaya, "Gender, Warfare, and Patriotism in Southeast Asia and in the Philippine Revolution," 12; May, "The Refugees of Cavite," 38.

[82] Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution,* 1571–1896, p. 158.

[83] *Boletin Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 22 (1 de octubre de 1896), 186; *Boletin Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 23 (1 de noviembre de 1896), 206; *Boletin Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 24 (1 de diciembre de 1896), 226.

[84] Roces, "Reflections on Gender and Kinship in the Philippine Revolution, 1896–1898," 37, 42–43; Ma. Luisa Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 73–75; *Boletin Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 23 (1 de noviembre de 1896), 207.

[85] Suplemento, *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III, February to November 1897; *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III (1 de noviembre de 1897), 60.

[86] Anastasio Montes, teacher appointment, capital of Iloilo, 25 October 1893, V-14-655, APPSJ.

[87] *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III, no. 2 (1 de febrero de 1897), 22.

[88] *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III, no. 3 (1 de marzo de 1897), 43–44; *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III, no. 5 (1 de mayo de 1897), 76–78.

[89] Frederick Fox, "Some Notes on Public Elementary Education in Iloilo Province," *Philippine Studies* 2:1 (1954), 7.

[90] Vicente Avelino, teacher appointment, Escuela práctica, Manila, 4 November 1893 (V-14-655) and Pedro Serrano Laktaw, teacher appointment, Quiapo, Manila, 4 November 1893 (V-14-655), APPSJ; Vicente Avelino, "Carta al editor," *Boletín Oficial del Magisterio Filipino,* año III, no. 2 (1 de febrero de 1897), 28.

[91] Article 5, Article 23, Constitución Política de 1899. Apolinario Mabini, participant in the Propaganda Movement and proponent of universal education, was president of the council that drafted the 1899 Constitution of the Philippine Republic at the Malolos Convention. Of significance, the Malolos Constitution was written in Castilian and Castilian proficiency in the archipelago remained in the single digits by the end of the nineteenth century.

[92] The notion of schools as a pillar of the republic is borrowed from educational historian Carl Kaestle. While Kaestle referred to the role of schools in the early American republic, his concept is applicable to the worldwide nineteenth-century modernization project, which hinged on universal primary education as a means for political and social stability as well as economic progress. Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

Conclusion

As Normal graduates, set up a high ideal for the future of your country, and prepare yourselves to do all that is within your power to open up a new path that will lead to the happiness and glory of your race.[1]
Sr. María de la Cruz, 1898 (directress, *Escuela Normal Superior de Maestras de Manila*)

War between Spain and the United States loomed on the horizon. So, the directress of the *Escuela Normal de Maestras* in Manila moved up the school's final graduation ceremony by several months, to March 1898. The nationalist revolution against Spain had entered its second year and now, with the almost certain involvement of the United States, Sister María de la Cruz may have sensed the imminent demise of Spanish hegemony in the Philippines. Sr. de la Cruz had a message for her young graduates as they entered a profession now more important than ever for the future of the nation.

> Who knows whether this war that is fast assuming national proportions, will change the political status of your country? If that should happen, I shall be obliged to go. Bear in mind, therefore, that it is you who will take our place. Be ready to shoulder with your countrymen the new responsibilities you will have to face.
>
> Yours is the primary task of forming the character of the young girls so that the Filipino women of the next generation, imbued with a deep sense of nobility, may be fired with an enthusiasm for higher endeavors and a firm determination to carry through their lofty ideas for God and country.
>
> As Normal graduates, you should initiate this movement. Stay together, unite and help each other in propagating the true Faith and the virtues essential to the advancement of your people.
>
> Set up a high ideal for the future of your country, and prepare yourselves to do all that is within your power to open up a new path that will lead to the happiness and glory of your race.
>
> Ward off that excessive shyness and timidity that hold back the full realization of your ability and strength.
>
> As long as your women remain indifferent or resigned to what they deem as inevitable, your progress in the fulfillment of your national aspiration will be hampered. Intensify your endeavors and give all that you are capable of for the good of all that you hold dear in life.[2]

In her commencement address, Sr. María de la Cruz picked up on the Enlightenment themes first used by Spanish civil officials to justify colonial modernization at the start of the century and espoused by propagandists and then revolutionaries toward the end of the century. Namely, universal education and linguistic uniformity were necessary for national identity, cultural unity, responsible citizenship, and progress. Indigenous teachers, professionally trained in normal schools, would lead the internal revolution, or individual transformation, of the people in the primary schools.

Sitting in the audience during Sr. de la Cruz's address was Rosa Sevilla de Alvero. Rosa would graduate that day as a *maestra de primera enseñanza superior* with a grade of *sobresaliente* [excellent] in her final exams. Born to a lower-middle-class family in Tondo, Manila, in 1879, Rosa had access to primary and secondary education—in Castilian—thanks to the 1863 educational reforms. Her location in the center of colonial administration and familial connections meant she also had early exposure to the nascent nationalist movement. Her aunt Engracia hosted meetings in her Manila home for students and intellectuals, headed by the propagandist Marcelo H. del Pilar. There, Rosa learned of the propagandists' reformist-assimilationist agenda of which universal primary education and teachers would play an essential role in the Hispanization and uplift of the people.[3]

In 1898, the Hispanized Philippines envisioned by del Pilar and other propagandists was no longer the end goal. Nonetheless, the need for teachers on the frontlines of the internal revolution remained. Rosa would open a private school in Tondo upon graduation where she would take up the charge of Sr. de la Cruz. Her school was called the *Instituto de Mujeres* and its motto was *Por dios y la patria* [For God and country]. As one of Rosa's relatives later wrote about her school, while Filipinos could not prevent the onset of American colonial rule nor a

school system that mostly excluded their heritage, “a handful of patriotic women could create an institution which reflected their own values and aspirations for changes in society and the state.”[4]

Teacher participation in the internal revolution of individual transformation and character formation was imperative for nation-building, even if the path to independence would soon be blocked by a new colonial power. Apolinario Mabini, another propagandist and revolutionary, did not want Filipinos to lose sight of the necessity for internal revolution. One month after Rosa Sevilla de Alvero’s graduation, he wrote “A mis compatriotas” [“To my compatriots”], which was a reminder that the exercise of freedom took reason and discipline on the part of Filipinos. These traits were learned.[5]

Without universal education, it was easy to abuse one’s freedoms and end up in a state worse than where they began. Mabini warned his compatriots, “In order for us to build the true edifice of our social regeneration, we must radically change, not only our institutions, but also our way of being and thinking. An external and internal revolution is necessary at the same time; it is necessary to establish our moral education on more solid foundations and to renounce the vices that for the most part we have inherited from the Spanish.”[6] Reason, a hallmark of the European Enlightenment, would ensure lasting freedom, social order, and national unity.

The external revolution was a fight for independence, made possible by a convergence of grievances across socioeconomic classes. The internal revolution was one of individual transformation, made possible by the implementation of universal primary education. True independence would not endure if the people did not know how to use their freedoms nor have a shared sense of national identity. In other words, political, economic, social, and individual progress was implausible without an educated populace … and teachers.

The ideals of the Enlightenment first introduced to the Philippines in service of colonial modernization did not disappear on the eve of Spain's colonial eclipse. Neither did the importance of universal primary education and teachers in the development of the nation. Spanish civil and ecclesiastic officials believed they could cherry pick the liberties they would and would not allow Filipinos. It was a dangerous game. Under the expanded educational opportunities necessary for colonial modernization, students learned of the equality of all men before God and inalienable rights based on human dignity.

As more and more Filipinos gained a humanistic education at home or in Europe, they grew increasingly cognizant of the rights they lacked and were able to articulate those views. Teachers were a part of this group. They, too, were beneficiaries of expanded educational and professional opportunities that emerged from the processes of colonial modernization. Furthermore, they were closer to the masses than the propagandists and could challenge pastoral authority as the new intermediaries between the people and those in power.

Independence remained elusive by December 1898, but the necessity of an educated populace was still on the minds of forward-thinking, Enlightenment-influenced Filipinos. In the 3 December 1898 issue of *La república Filipina,* an unnamed author asserted only people that have learned to think "maturely" may be emancipated from "unreasonable fears, low instincts, and coarse choices." In other words, the Revolution of 1896 could not have taken place without a corresponding growth in intelligence.[7]

Who was to thank for the relatively swift dissemination of knowledge, which included Enlightenment ideals of equality and inalienable rights? The Jesuits. The unnamed author continued, "This visible change took place when the enlightened corporation of the sons of Loyola took charge of the education of our youth, when that illustrious Society established the

Ateneo municipal and the *Escuela Normal*." And who emerged from the *Ateneo municipal* and *Escuela Normal*? Propagandists and teachers. Propagandists and their writings may not have reached the masses. But teachers did.[8]

A convergence of grievances across social classes led to the external revolution of 1896. But motives for joining the nationalist struggle were as complex as the individuals who participated. No monolithic framework can explain the Philippine Revolution. Jesuit historian John Schumacher concluded that the revolution "had many heroes, known and unknown, and their relative importance is perhaps impossible to determine." Nonetheless, all were needed for the revolution—the external revolution of 1896 and the ongoing internal revolution of individual transformation.[9]

While certain teachers feature in the historiography of the Philippine Revolution, their work as teachers prior to or during the revolution remains unaddressed. And Filipino teachers are not considered as a wholesale, participatory group even though they were active on the battlefield, in the community, and, significantly, in the classroom. To truly understand the Philippine Revolution of 1896—its causes, consequences, and meanings—it is essential that the story be told through as many lenses as possible.[10]

In the nineteenth century, universal primary education and professional teachers gained a new worldwide importance as sources of social stability and promoters of national progress. The Philippines was no different. Universal primary education and teachers were essential for Spain's colonial modernization program in the 1860s, for the propagandists' vision of a Hispanized Philippines in the 1880s, for the revolutionaries' imagined independent republic in the 1890s, and for America's "civilizing" mission at century's end.

The recognized need for teachers in the ongoing Philippine revolutions would endure. Indeed, teachers would become increasingly important stabilizing forces as successive waves of political actors attempted to define what it meant to be Filipino beginning at the turn of the twentieth century. The revolution against Spain may have ended in 1898, but for Filipino teachers, their work in the political education of a nation had just begun.

[1] Sr. María de la Cruz, Commencement Address (March 1898), in Rosa Sevilla Alvero, "Kung bakit ako ay naguing ako" (unpublished memoir), 165–66, cited by Sr. Maria Carmen, "The Superior Normal School for Women Teachers in Manila, 1893–1898," *Philippine Studies* 2:3 (1954), 227–28.

[2] Ibid. See also, David E. Gardinier and Josefina Z. Sevilla-Gardinier, "Rosa Sevilla de Alvero and the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila," *Philippine Studies* 37:1 (1989), 40–41.

[3] Gardinier and Sevilla-Gardinier, "Rosa Sevilla de Alvero and the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila," 36–37.

[4] Ibid., 45.

[5] Apolinario Mabini, "A mis compatriotas" (abril de 1898), in *La revolucíon Filipina (con otros documentos de la época),* vol. 1 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 104.

[6] Ibid., 105.

[7] *La república Filipina,* 3 de diciembre de 1898.

[8] Ibid.

[9] John N. Schumacher, SJ, "Nationalist Student Activism in Manila in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Philippine Historical Review* 4 (1971), 200.

[10] Artemio Ricarte is likely the most well-documented revolutionary teacher. But his time as a teacher immediately prior to the Revolution appears most often as a footnote. In general, teachers do not appear as a participatory group in the historiography of the Philippine Revolution of 1896. See, e.g., Artemio Ricarte, *Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1963, 1992); Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan,* second edition (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2005); Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975, 2008); Onofre D. Corpuz, *Saga and Triumph: The Filipino Revolution Against Spain* (Manila: The Philippine Centennial Commission, 1999); Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez, eds., *The Philippine Revolution of 1896: Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001). Meanwhile, most histories of Philippine education might briefly mention the impact of the Revolution on schools, but not on actual teachers. See, e.g., Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565–1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932); Evergisto Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines, Spanish Period 1565–1898* (Manila: University of Santo Tomás Press, 1953); Dalmacio Martin, ed., *A Century of Education in the Philippines, 1861–1961* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1980).

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Appendix A

Royal Decree Establishing a Plan of Primary Instruction in the Philippines[1]

Exposition

MADAM: It has always been the constant desire and a permanent rule of conduct on the part of the august predecessors of Your Majesty to introduce in the territory beyond the seas subject to your glorious Crown the light of evangelical truth, and with it the principles of a civilization commensurate to the respective necessities. The governments and their delegated authorities, with the powerful help of the missionaries and of the clergy in general, both secular and regular, have endeavored to accommodate their policy regarding the Philippine Archipelago to these principles. But the extent of this vast territory, the character and customs of a part of its population, and the absence of an organized system of public instruction have been the cause that a knowledge of the Castilian language, and, by reason of the ignorance thereof, the propagation of the most elementary notions of education remain in a marked condition of imperfection and backwardness. It is unnecessary to discuss the evils which such a situation entails on the indigenous peoples in social life, in their relations to the public authority in the exercise of the latter, which is partly entrusted to the indigenous peoples themselves—in fact, in everything connected with that country, so fertile in sources of wealth.

To Your Majesty is reserved the power to apply to this state of affairs the proper remedy, which has been demanded by the superior authorities of the Philippines, and with regard to the urgent application of which the royal commissioner, appointed for the study of the administration of said Islands, recently called the attention of the Government. The attached project of a decree and the regulations accompanying it tend to this end. They have been formed in view of the documents transmitted by said officials, and to accord with the spirit, the tendency, and even the capital basis of the solutions which they recommend. This project has in view the necessity of disseminating, as far as possible, instruction in the Holy Catholic faith, in the mother tongue, and in the elementary branches of the knowledge of life, and of providing capable teachers for the purpose, the lack of which is the principal cause of the present situation; and, considering that the basis of all education is the solid diffusion of our holy religion, through its ministers, it establishes a normal school in charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, whose pupils shall have the right and the express obligation of teaching in the native schools, with salaries, advantages, and rights during such teaching and thereafter. It provides the means for securing preceptors of both sexes until the first named graduate from the school and until a normal school for female teachers shall be organized. It creates in all the towns of the Archipelago schools of primary elementary instruction for boys and girls, making the attendance of the children obligatory and providing for religious classes for adults. The immediate supervision of said

[1] Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La Instrucción Primaria en Filipinas, Compilación de lo legislado sore este ramo, comentada, anotada y concordada* (Manila: Chofré, 1894), 1–7.

schools is entrusted to the parish priests, who are given sufficient powers to make it efficient, and instruction in Christian doctrine and morals is placed under the exclusive direction of the prelates. And as supplementary to the system established, it requires in the future, after the expiration of a reasonable time, a knowledge of the Castilian language as a necessary requisite for the discharge of public offices and the enjoyment of certain advantages inherent thereto.

The application of every progressive measure in a country calls for pecuniary sacrifices, and the establishment of the plan projected will entail some expenditures, although not excessive. Nevertheless, by distributing the expenses created among the various towns of the Archipelago and requiring them to be paid from local funds, it is presumed that they will not be greatly felt, nor will the general budget of the Islands be obliged to contribute by an expenditure which would, indeed, be difficult at the present time, in view of the recent calamities which have occurred in a part of the Philippine territory, and which have entailed such a considerable and extraordinary expense. [A likely reference to the earthquake that destroyed Manila in June 1863.]

In view of the reasons stated, after hearing the council of state, and with the concurrence of the council and ministers, the undersigned minister has the honor of submitting the attached project of a decree to Your Majesty for approval.

Madam, at the royal feet of Your Majesty,

José de la Concha, Colonial Minister.

Madrid, 20 December 1863.

Royal Decree

In view of the reasons stated to me by my colonial minister, after hearing the council of state, and with the concurrence of the council of ministers, I hereby decree the following:

Article 1: A normal school for teachers of primary instruction is hereby established in the city of Manila, under the charge and direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. This school shall be organized as prescribed by its regulations, and the expenses incident thereto shall be defrayed from the central treasury of ways and means.

Article 2: Spanish scholars, born in the Archipelago or in Spain, shall be admitted to said school under the conditions which its regulations may prescribe, and, upon terminating the studies determined by said regulations, shall receive the title of teacher [*maestro*].

Such number of scholars of the normal school and in the class designated by the regulations shall receive *gratis* instruction, and such scholars shall be obliged to teach in the native schools of the Archipelago for ten years following their graduation from that institution.

Article 3: There shall be in each town of said provinces at least one school of primary instruction for boys and another for girls in which instruction shall be given to both indigenous and Chinese children.

The regulations shall determine the proportion of the increase in the number of schools in each town to the ratio of its population.

There shall be in each of them a religious class for adults.

Article 4: The instruction which shall be given in said schools shall be free to the poor. The attendance of the children shall be obligatory.

Article 5: The schools for boys shall be of three classes, namely: the lowest category [*de entrada*], the intermediate category [*de ascenso*], and the highest category [*de término*], divided into the highest category of the second class and the highest category of the first class. Teachers for these schools shall be appointed from graduates of the normal school in accordance with the classification they may have received upon graduation, promotions being made according to length of service and merit combined.

The schools of the highest category of the first class, which shall be those of Manila and its districts, shall have teachers appointed by competitive examination among teachers in active service holding certificates of the normal school.

Article 6: The classification of the schools in accordance with the preceding article shall be made by the superior civil governor after hearing the superior board of primary instruction and after having called for a report from the head of the province. After the respective categories shall have been fixed it cannot be changed except in the same form.

Article 7: Teachers shall enjoy the allowance and other advantages prescribed by the regulations. Said allowance, as well as the establishment of the school, the purchase and care of school supplies and equipment, and the rental of the building, if there should not be a public one in use, shall contribute an obligatory charge against the respective local budgets.

Article 8: In towns with regard to which the superior civil governor shall so decree, by reason of the population, the teachers shall act as secretaries of the local town leaders, receiving for such services an extra allowance in proportion to the local resources.

Article 9: Teachers appointed from the normal school cannot be removed except for just cause and by the superior civil governor after the institution of administrative proceedings with the formalities mentioned in Article 6 and with a hearing of the person interested.

Article 10: Examinations shall be held in the normal school at fixed periods in the form prescribed in the regulations for the conferring of the title of assistant teacher [*ayudante*]. Those receiving such title shall be in charge of the indigenous schools in the absence of the teachers and shall discharge in every case the functions corresponding to their class in the schools which are required to have such assistance according to the regulations. Said assistants shall have the allowance and enjoy the advantages prescribed therein, the allowance being an obligatory charge against the local budget.

Article 11: Mistresses of indigenous schools require the respective certificates for the purpose of discharging their functions, which certificate shall be issued in the form prescribed by the regulations until a women's normal school shall be established. The allowance and advantages they are to enjoy shall also be fixed by the regulations, the former, as well as other expenses mentioned in Article 7 with regard to schools for boys, being an obligatory charge against the local budget.

Article 12: Teachers and assistants shall be exempt from the personal service tax while in service; and after retiring from service, if such service shall have been discharged for fifteen years. After five years' service on the part of the schoolmasters and ten years on the part of the assistants, they shall enjoy the consideration due local elites [*principales*].

Article 13: Teachers and assistants of both sexes shall, in the event of being disabled for the discharge of their functions, be entitled to a pension under the conditions prescribed by the regulations.

Article 14: Certificated schoolmasters and assistants who shall have filled their offices meritoriously for ten and fifteen years, respectively, shall be preferred in filling the offices of the category of clerk [*escribiente*] established by the decree of 15 July last, without the necessity of proof of ability, as also in filling offices not subject to the said royal decree, to which applicants are appointed by the superior civil governor, and which do not require special qualifications which the persons mentioned lack.

Article 15: The superior inspection of primary instruction shall be exercised by the superior civil governor of the Islands, with the assistance of a board which shall be established in the capital under the name of "Superior Commission of Primary Instruction," and which shall be composed of the superior civil governor as president, of the Archbishop of Manila, and of seven members of well-known ability, appointed by the former. The governor of each province shall be the provincial inspector and shall exercise their functions with the assistance of a board composed of himself, of the prelate of the diocese, or, in his absence, of the parish priest of the capital, and of the mayor or collector of taxes.

The parish priests shall be inspectors ex-officio and shall direct the instruction in Christian doctrine and morals, under the supervision of the right reverend prelates.

The regulations shall fix the powers of the commissions and inspectors cited.

Article 16: Natives who do not know how to speak, read, and write the Castilian language fifteen years after the establishment of a school in the respective towns shall not be eligible for the office of local governor, or lieutenant of the same, or to form a part of the *principalia*, unless they should enjoy such right by virtue of a special life grant. Only such persons having said qualifications may enjoy exemption from the personal service tax after thirty years from the date of the establishment of the school.

Article 17: Five years after the publication of this decree, no person who does not possess said qualifications, duly proved before the head of the province, shall be permitted to hold salaried government positions in the Archipelago.

Article 18: The superior civil governor, the heads of the respective provinces, and the local authorities shall take special care to ensure the execution of the provisions of this decree by adopting or recommending, as the case may be, the necessary measures for their proper fulfillment.

Article 19: Requests and recommendations shall be addressed to the Archbishop and to the reverend bishops of the Archipelago that they may promote the zeal of the parish priests in order to secure a faithful fulfilment of the powers and duties vested in them by this decree with regard to the supervision of the education of the indigenous peoples and especially of the instruction in the Holy Catholic faith and the Castilian language.

Article 20: Special regulations will detail the organization of the normal school and of the schools of primary instruction of natives.

Given in the palace on 20 December 1863. Rubricated by the royal hand.

José de la Concha, Colonial Minister.

Appendix B

Regulations for Schools and Teachers of Primary Instruction of Indigenous Peoples of the Philippine Archipelago[1]

Article 1: Instruction in schools for indigenous peoples shall be confined for the present to elementary primary instruction and shall include:

1. Christian doctrine and principles of morals and sacred history, suitable for children.
2. Reading.
3. Writing.
4. Practical instruction in the Castilian language, principles of Castilian grammar, and orthography.
5. Principles of arithmetic, which shall include the four rules for figures, common fractions, decimal fractions, and instruction in the metric system and its equivalents in ordinary weights and measures.
6. General geography and history of Spain.
7. Practical agriculture as applied to the products of the country.
8. Rules of civility.
9. Vocal music.

Primary instruction for girls shall include numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9 of the present article and work appropriate for their sex.

Article 2: Primary instruction is obligatory for all indigenous peoples. Parents, tutors, or guardians of children shall send them to the public schools between the ages of 7 and 12 years, if they do not prove that they give them sufficient instruction in their houses or private schools. Those who do not comply with this duty, if there is a school in the township at such distance that the children can easily attend, shall be admonished and compelled to do so by a fine of one *medio* to two *reales*.

The parents or guardians of children may also send them to school at the age of 6 years, and from 12 to 14.

Article 3: The teachers shall take special care that their pupils have practical exercises in speaking the Castilian language. As soon as pupils understand it sufficiently, explanations shall be made in said language and they shall be forbidden to communicate with each other in their own language during class hours.

Article 4: Primary instruction will be provided free to children whose parents are not known to be wealthy; they will be required to prove this fact by a certificate of the local governor, countersigned by the parish priest.

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[1] Reglamento para las escuelas y maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La Instrucción Primaria en Filipinas, Compilación de lo legislado sore este ramo, comentada, anotada y concordada* (Manila: Chofré, 1894), 117–128.

Paper, exercise books, ink, and pens shall be issued free of charge to all children.

Parents, and in their absence the children, who are known to be wealthy, shall pay a moderate monthly fee, which shall be fixed by the governor of every province, after having heard the parish priest and local governor.

Article 5: The parish priests shall direct the instruction in Christian morals and doctrine, and they shall be directed to give proper explanations at least once a week in the school building, the church, or any other place which may be designated.

Article 6: There shall be two months of vacation in a school year, at the period designated by the superior civil governor and the head of the province. Such vacation may be continual or divided into two or more periods.

Textbooks

Article 7: Christian doctrine shall be taught according to the catechism in use approved by the ecclesiastical authorities. The spelling book designated by the superior civil government, the catechism of Astete and the catechism of Fleury shall be used for reading. For writing there shall be used the examples of Castilian characters of Iturzaeta.

For the text of the other branches which the instruction comprises, in accordance with Article 1, a book shall be formed which shall contain them all clearly and concisely set forth, and furthermore, principles of geometry and ordinary knowledge of physical and natural sciences. This book shall also be used for the last exercises in reading.

Until the book mentioned in the previous paragraph shall be formed, the instruction in the branches not enumerated in the first paragraph of this article shall be taught in the form which the superior civil governor may prescribe.

Schools

Article 8: In every town, whatever be its population, there shall be one school for boys and another for girls; in those having a population of 5,000, there shall be two schools for boys and two for girls; in those having 10,000, three schools; and so on, the increase being in proportion to one school of each sex for every 5,000 inhabitants, provided that the attendance at all the schools shall be averaged 150 children during the last three months.

There shall also be a school for each sex in every hamlet that is very distant from the town and has a population of 500; and if there be several hamlets that together have a population of this number, the schools shall be established in the most central one.

If the number of children in one school exceeds 80, there shall be one assistant, and if the attendance exceeds 150, two assistants.

Article 9: The schools shall be situated in the most central sections of the towns or barrios, and the buildings must be well lighted and ventilated, with dwelling rooms for the teacher and his family independent of the school proper, and with a separate entrance.

Article 10: The schools shall be classified in accordance with the categories prescribed in Article 5 of the royal decree of this date.

Teachers (male)

Article 11: Only such persons shall be teachers in the public schools of primary instruction as have been scholars in the normal school, with the respective title, 20 years of age, and having the other requisites mentioned in Article 20.

Article 12: Schoolmasters shall enter upon their duties in the schools of the lowest and intermediate categories in accordance with the right given them by their respective titles, as prescribed by Article 7 of the regulations for the normal school for schoolmasters, approved by Her Majesty on this date. After three years' service as teachers, they may be promoted to the next higher class—that is to say, to the intermediate category of the second class. When there are two or more teachers desiring to obtain promotion to a school of a higher category, and their respective titles are equal, preference shall be given to the one having served the longest; if the titles are not identical, preference shall be given to the one holding it for a school of the intermediate category over the one holding it for a school of the lowest category.

Article 13: In the total absence of applicants with the necessary title, persons having a lower title may be temporarily appointed to a school of a higher class. They shall, furthermore, receive the salary corresponding to their title only until they shall have meritoriously served the time necessary, in which event they shall be permanently appointed.

Article 14: In the absence of teachers with a title, persons having the title of assistant, 20 years of age or over, and with the other qualifications required by Article 12, may be placed in charge of schools, drawing the salary of a teacher of the third class.

Article 15: In the absence of applicants who have the title of assistant, those who have passed an examination taken before the provincial board of primary instruction and are of the age above stated may be placed in charge of the schools in the meantime, with the title of substitute and with the salary named in the previous article.

Article 16: The positions of teachers in schools of the highest category of the first class—that is to say, those of Manila and its districts—shall be filled in the manner prescribed by Article 5 of the royal decree of this date, viz., by competitive examination among certified teachers of the normal school in active service. The period of such active service must have been one year, and the examinations shall be held, after the announcement thereof for three months, before a board consisting of the director, or in his absence of one of the professors of the normal school, one of the members of the superior board, the senior parish priest in service as local inspector, and one member of the municipal council.

Article 17: A graded list shall be made of the assistants, in which, without prejudice to the right granted to them by Article 14, they will rise in order of seniority, beginning with the lowest category of the second class, and highest category of the second class, and highest category of the first class.

Article 18: The appointment of teachers and assistants shall be made by the superior civil governor.

Article 19: The issue of teacher and assistant certificates of shall be made by the superior civil governor in the form prescribed by Article 27 of the normal school regulations of this date.

Certificates of substitute teachers shall be issued by the same authority on the recommendation of the record of the person interested and of his examination papers.

Article 20: In order to be a teacher, assistant, or substitute, the following qualifications shall be necessary:

1. To be a native of the Spanish possessions.
2. To prove good religious and moral conduct.
3. To have attained the proper age.

Assistants may enter upon the exercise of such duties upon attaining the age of 17 years.

Article 21: The following cannot be teachers or assistants:

1. Those who suffer from some disease or have some defect disqualifying them for teaching.
2. Those who shall have been sentenced to some corporal penalty or are disqualified to fill public office.

Article 22: Teachers of the lowest category shall receive a salary of 8 to 12 pesos per month; those of the intermediate, of 12 to 15; those of the highest of the second class, of 15 to 20.

The superior civil governor shall fix, on the recommendation of the provincial board, and after a report from the superior board, the amount which the teacher is to receive between the maximum and minimum fixed, and the number of pay pupils who attend the school on average.

Schoolmasters of the highest category of the first class—that is to say, those of the Manila schools—shall receive the salary which may be fixed in the municipal budget of said city, which must be at least equivalent to that fixed for the maximum of teachers of the highest category of the second class.

Article 23: Schoolmasters shall furthermore enjoy the following advantages:

1. A dwelling for himself and his family in the schoolhouse, or an allowance for rent.
2. The dues paid by wealthy children.
3. The privileges and exemptions mentioned in Articles 12 and 14 of the royal decree of this date.

Article 24: Schoolmasters shall, in accordance with Article 13 of the said royal decree, be entitled to retirement on half salary after twenty years' service, and on four-fifths after thirty-five years; provided that they either shall have attained the age of 60 years or are no longer physically able to discharge the duties of their professions.

Article 25: Assistants, when acting as such, shall receive a salary of 4, 6, or 8 pesos per month, according as to whether the school be of the lowest, intermediate, or highest category of the second class, or the salary provided for in the municipal budget of Manila, if the school be of the highest category of the first class. They shall furthermore receive one-fourth the dues paid by children of wealthy parents and enjoy the exemptions mentioned in Articles 12 and 14 of the

royal decree of this date. They shall also be entitled to retirement in the same proportion and cases fixed for schoolmasters.

Teachers (female)

Article 26: The schoolmistresses of girls shall have an age of at least 25 years, and the other qualifications required of schoolmasters.

Article 27: For filling positions in schools, preference shall be given to teachers having certificates as such, which shall be issued by the superior civil governor.

Until a normal school for schoolmistresses is established such certificates shall be issued on the recommendation of the board established by Article 16, and after an examination upon the subjects which constitute the instruction of girls.

In the absence of teachers holding certificates, such persons shall be appointed substitutes who show sufficient ability before the respective provincial boards of primary instruction.

Article 28: Schoolmistresses shall enjoy a monthly salary of 8 pesos if they hold a certificate, and of 6 pesos otherwise, and all the dues paid by the daughters of wealthy parents, being entitled furthermore to a dwelling in the schoolhouse, or otherwise to an allowance for rent.

Sunday schools

Article 29: It shall be the duty of teachers to take charge of the religious schools which shall be established in each town for the instruction of adults. Such schools shall be free, excepting well-to-do persons.

A special provision of the superior civil governor, issued after consultation with the Superior Board of Primary Instruction, shall fix the duration and method to be observed in regard to said classes.

Inspection of primary schools

Article 30: The superior inspection shall be in charge of the superior civil government, which shall be assisted by a board composed of the prelates of the diocese and seven members, appointed by the former, of recognized qualifications. The director of the normal school shall be a member ex-officio.

Article 31: The governors of the provinces shall be provincial inspectors and shall discharge their duties with assistance of a board, under their presidency, and composed, furthermore, of the diocesan prelate or, in his absence, of the parish priest of the capital of the province, and of the alcalde mayor or collector of revenues. The parish priest shall be the local inspector of primary instruction.

Article 32: The duties of the local inspectors shall be:

1. To visit the schools as often as possible and to enforce the observation of the regulations.

2. To admonish teachers committing any fault and to suspend them in the event of their committing any abuse which, in their judgment, does not permit of their continuing in charge of the school, reporting their action to the provincial inspector.
3. To encourage the attendance of the children at school.
4. To issue written orders of admission into schools, stating whether the instruction is to be free or paid for.
5. To recommend, through the provincial inspector, whatever they may deem advisable for the promotion or improvement of primary instruction.
6. To exercise the supervision mentioned in Article 5, with regard to instruction in Christian doctrine and morals.

Article 33: The provincial inspectors shall, with the assistance of the prospective board, exercise their supervision over the schools of the province, and shall have the power, with the concurrence of the commission, to approve or to disapprove the suspension of teachers ordered by local inspectors, making a report in either case to the government and transmitting the record of the case with such report. The inspectors shall send a monthly statement to said authorities of the number of pupils of both sexes in each school on the last day of the month, with a statement of those who paid; also, a statement of those who have entered and left, and of the average attendance during the month, with such remarks as they may deem advisable.

Article 34: It shall be the duty of the Superior Board of Primary Instruction to consult the superior civil government of the islands:

1. On the approval of textbooks.
2. In proceedings for the removal of teachers, declarations of the grades of schools, and assignments of salaries.
3. In everything else concerning the execution of this plan and especially as to the doubts to which the same may give rise.

Final provision

Article 35: Instructions shall be drafted comprising the principal notions of pedagogy and minutely explaining the duties of teachers and the details of the organization of schools and the progress of instruction. A printed copy of such instructions shall be given to every teacher in a native school, of either sex, with directions to learn and conform the same.

A copy shall likewise be sent to each provisional chief and parish priest.

Madrid, 20 December 1863. Approved by Her Majesty.

CONCHA.

Internal Regulations for Schools of Primary Instruction of Indigenous Peoples of the Philippine Archipelago[2]

Internal order of schools

Article 1: The school building must have at least one room with an extension proportionate to the number of children, an anteroom and a room for the teacher and his family.

The furniture will be made up of the following items: a table with drawers, a chair, an inkwell, and a bell for the teacher; single-leaf tables and benches for children, an inkwell for each two, a blackboard with an easel; a clock and four chairs.

In the classroom, a crucifix will be placed under a canopy, and below this a portrait of the Head of State.

In the girls' schools there will be the same supplies, and also scissors, needles, thimbles and thread for sewing.

Teachers (male)

Article 2: Teachers and assistants must be in the school half an hour before classes start to prepare everything necessary for teaching.

The teacher will take care of the daily cleaning of the classroom and maintaining school supplies.

The teacher will keep two books, a registration book and an attendance record. In the first he will note: the number of students, the students' names and ages, the parents' names and professions, if they pay and what amount, date of matriculation, instructional progress, date of departure from the school, observations on character and conduct.

In the attendance record, he will note the number of children absent and present daily according to models that will be formed.

He will also keep a book with the attendance record to list the children who miss school in the morning and afternoon, in accordance with the corresponding model.

Article 3: Before the fifth day of each month, the teacher will send to the provincial governor a list of the children who attended school the month before, with an expression of those who pay for the education, as well as those who have entered and left during the month according to the respective model, and a copy of the daily attendance record for the same time. These documents must be endorsed by the parish priest, for which purpose the teacher will present the books to which they refer.

Students

Article 4: Children of both sexes from the age of 6 to 14 will be admitted to the schools; but when they reach this age, they will stop attending them.

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[2] Reglamento interior de las escuelas de instrucción primaria de indígenas del archipiélago Filipino, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La Instrucción Primaria en Filipinas,* 128–32.

The children will attend school with clean faces, hands and clothes, without which they will not be admitted.

Article 5: Children who suffer from a contagious disease will not be admitted, and the teacher must, of course, if he observes an ill student, encourage their parents or guardians to stop sending them to school until they are completely cured.

Article 6: Any child who arrives at the school after class has begun, without satisfactorily explaining the reason for the delay, will be punished in proportion to the delay in their arrival.

When a child misses school frequently without giving a reason, the teacher will inform his or her guardians, and if after this the student continues to be absent, he will report it to the parish priest.

Article 7: Paying children will fully satisfy the monthly fee, regardless of the day they enter and leave the school.

Days and hours of school

Article 8: School days will be all those of the year except the following: 1. Sundays and holidays marked on the calendar with two and three crosses; 2. All Souls' Day; 3. from Easter to the Nativity until the day after the Epiphany: 4. Ash Wednesday; 5. the six days of Holy Week; 6. the day of San José de Calasanz; 7. the saint days and the birthdays of the King and Queen and the Prince of Asturias; 8. on the day of the town festival: 9. on the saint days of the superior civil governor and of the bishop of the diocese.

Article 9: Classes will begin every morning at seven and will end at ten, and in the afternoon they will begin at two thirty and end at five.

In the months of April, May, and June there will be no school in the afternoons; but classes will last an hour longer in the morning, ending at eleven o'clock instead of ten.

Order of the school day

Article 10: In the morning at the time that the parish priest indicates, the male and female teacher will meet with their students in the church to hear mass, during which they will pray a part of the rosary. After mass, boys and girls will be separated, formed in two rows, presided by their teachers, and carrying a cross in front, they will walk through different streets, whenever it can be, to their respective schools. At seven o'clock the children will enter the class, they will greet the teacher, they will form in two rows and the teacher will inspect their cleanliness. Immediately they will kneel, facing the front of the room, they will cross themselves repeating the prayers that the teacher will say slowly. These prayers, as well as those that will be said at the end of the class, will be those indicated by the bishop of the diocese. Roll will be called. Writing class until eight. Reading class until nine. Grammar class until ten. Prayers as entering and greeting. Exit from the school, from where they will go to the church to lay the Cross in the same way that they brought it. In the afternoon the children will also meet in the church and will do the same as in the morning until they reach the school. At half past two, entrance, greeting, cleanliness inspection, prayers and roll, as in the morning. Arithmetic class until three thirty.

Lessons on doctrine, morals, and sacred history until half past four, and the remaining time on alternate days will be lessons on the rules of civility, geography and history, and agriculture until five. At this time the departure of the school leading the cross to the church, from where the children would retire to their homes.

Saturday afternoon will be used exclusively in general study of doctrine, morals and sacred history, vocal music lessons, and in praying a part of the rosary until the time when the salve and litanies are sung in the church, to which they will attend accompanied by their teachers.

On Sundays and feasts of two or three crosses the children will go to hear mass led by the teacher, and after it they will visit the parish priest; the lectures on Eastern doctrine and morals will be at the time that he designates.

Every three months, on the day that the parish priest designates, the teacher will take to confession and communion the children who are willing to do so.

Rewards and punishments

Article 11: The ordinary prizes will consist of vouchers, which will be a card or piece of paper with the aforementioned word and will serve the students to free them from the punishment they deserve for minor offenses; and the extraordinary ones in letters of note to the parents of those who apply themselves and for good behavior, and a letter of recommendation of the outstanding ones to the parish priest.

Article 12: Punishments will be in proportion to the faults and will consist of: 1. to sit or kneel for up to one hour; 2. in extra lessons or writing; 3. to stay in school writing or studying after class for up to an hour; 4. any other moderate correction, in the opinion of the parish priest, proportionate to the fault.

In no case shall any punishment not included in the previous article be imposed, and the teacher who violates this rule will be warned twice by the parish priest/inspector, and if not corrected, suspended from employment.

Examinations

Article 13: Every year, at the time of elections of the justices of towns, exams will be verified in the schools, presided over by the head of the Provincial Commission of Primary Instruction, an in the small towns by the parish priest in union with the local leader and two people appointed by the former.

The child who excels in the exercises of doctrine, reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar will be awarded a prize per class, which will consist of books, tokens, thimbles, scissors, or another object analogous to the subject, in the opinion of the examiners. For this purpose, 20 *reales* will be allotted to each school per year.

Article 14: The provisions of these regulations may be modified by the superior civil governor, following a report from the Superior Commission of Primary Instruction. The parish

priests will inform the authority of the results and reforms that it needs, and especially with regard to the duration of class hours and their distribution.

Madrid, 20 December 1863. Approved by Her Majesty.

CONCHA.

Regulations for the Normal School of Male Teachers of Primary Instruction of Indigenous Peoples of the Philippine Archipelago[3]

The object of the normal school

Article 1: The purpose of the normal school is to train teachers, religious, tempered and educated, to run the primary schools for indigenous peoples throughout the Archipelago.

Article 2: Students will board and be subject to the same rules and discipline. For now, the superior civil governor will establish the number of day students that may be admitted, provided that they can continue their studies profitably and that their conduct will be that which corresponds to the good name of the establishment.

Article 3: In the same premises of the normal school, there will be a primary school whose classes will be run under the inspection of a professor of the normal school, by the students of the same.

Subjects and duration of studies

Article 4: The curriculum of the normal school will include the following subjects:

1. Religion, morals, and sacred history
2. Theory and practice of reading
3. Theory and practice of writing
4. Castilian, with exercises in analysis, composition, and spelling
5. Arithmetic up to ratios and proportions, raising to powers, and root extraction inclusive, including the decimal metric system with its equivalent of local weights and measures
6. Principles of geography and Spanish history
7. Principles of geometry
8. Physical and natural sciences
9. Practical agriculture in relation to the cultivation of fruits of the country
10. Rules of courtesy
11. Vocal music and organ lessons
12. Elements of pedagogy

Article 5: In the normal school, the professors and students will only use the Castilian language, and students will be forbidden from expressing themselves in another language, even in daily recreations and common interactions within the school premises.

Article 6: The studies expressed in Article 4 will be done in three years, and during the six months of the last year the students will teach in the primary school annexed to the normal school established by Article 3.

Students may not pass from one course to another without proving their sufficiency in the general examination, which will take place at the end of each year.

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[3] Reglamento de la escuela normal de maestros de instrucción primaria de indígenas de las islas Filipinas, 20 de diciembre de 1863, in Grifol, *La Instrucción Primaria en Filipinas,* 11–16.

During the first four years of the establishment of the normal school, studies can be done in two years.

Article 7: The students of the normal school who have completed the course of studies, achieving by their good behavior, application and knowledge, the mark of outstanding in the final exams of the three consecutive years, will receive the title of *maestro* expressing in him that honorific note, and will be empowered to run *escuelas de ascenso*. Those who have not achieved the grade of outstanding but have achieved that of good or fair in the aforementioned exams, will also receive the title of *maestro* with the corresponding note, being enabled to run *escuelas de entrada*. Finally, those who have failed said exams, if later, repeated the exams and deserve approval, they will only receive the title of *ayudante* [assistant teacher].

Article 8: If any of the students of the normal school wish to continue their studies for one more year to perfect themselves, they may do so on the condition that they pay the annual tuition from their own pocket, and if in the opinion of the director, it is not inconvenient to stay.

Normal school students

Article 9: The boarding students of the normal school are divided into scholarship (*pensionado*) and fee-paying (*supernumerarios*). Thus, those who aspire to said classes as well as to the day students, as long as there are any, must meet the following qualities:

1. Be natives of the Spanish dominions.
2. Be sixteen years old, the requirement of which will be verified with a baptismal certificate or other equivalent public document.
3. Not suffer from contagious disease and enjoy sufficient health to perform the tasks of teachers.
4. To have observed good conduct, and to accredit it with certifications from the provincial head and the parish priest of his hometown.
5. Speak Castilian, know Christian doctrine and read and write well, the test of which must be done in an exam before the director and a professor of the normal school.

Article 10: Scholarship students will receive instruction free of charge; and they will not pay any amount for support, teaching materials, and optional assistance.

Article 11: Scholarship students must teach in the schools of primary instruction for indigenous peoples for ten years, designated by the superior civil government. In case of not fulfilling it, they will be debtors to the State of the expenses made in their education and teaching. The same will happen when without legitimate cause and by their will or that of their parents they leave the normal school before concluding their studies or are expelled from it for lack of application or misconduct. The rate for calculating the expenses caused by said students during a given period will be the tuition paid by a fee-paying boarding student.

Article 12: The number of scholarship students per province will be provided by the superior civil government, in proportion to the respective population census. As the number of applicants for places of fee-paying boarding students grows, the number of scholarship students

will decrease, beginning in the provinces closest to the capital, and said scholarships will be abolished when there are a sufficient number of teachers among the fee-paying students to staff the schools of the Archipelago. In any case, the scholarship student who has entered the normal school will have the right to keep his place, and it can only be suppressed when he has finished teaching.

Article 13: Fee-paying boarding students will pay the establishment eight pesos for a monthly tuition, and their condition within the normal school with the rest will be equal to that of scholarship students.

Article 14: Only young people will be admitted as day students who, in addition to meeting the conditions required of boarding students, live in Manila or in its vicinity, under the parental authority or in charge of care, and in such conditions that it can be presumed they will find themselves in the home domestic examples of virtue and morality. Teaching tools will be given to this class of pupils free of charge, and textbooks if they are poor.

Director, professors, and assistants of the normal school

Article 15: The normal school will be directed and run by the fathers of the Society of Jesus. At the head of it there will be a director, on whose authority the professors, students and other employees will depend, being his responsibility to direct education and teaching, preside over literary presentations, visit classrooms, monitor domestic order and discipline, correct offenders and expel the students in the cases and with the conditions that are expressed in the internal regulations of the normal school, reporting to the competent authority of the extraordinary measures and determinations of a serious nature that it deems necessary to take.

Article 16: Under the authority of the director there will be at least four professors, one of whom must be at the same time spiritual prefect of the normal school, in charge of directing the consciences of the students, presiding over religious acts and distributing the divine word. The lessons of sacred history, morality and religion will also be of his peculiar concern. Another of the professors will carry out the special position of prefect of customs, and his main occupation will be to accompany the students and watch over them in the acts of the interior life of the establishment. The other two professors will be primarily engaged in teaching the other subjects.

In addition to the director and professors, there will be in the normal school the coadjutor brothers who are considered necessary. There will also be a concierge, and other indispensable dependents.

Article 17: The allowances to be received by the director, professors, coadjutors and dependents, as well as the allocation for material expenses, will be set by the superior civil governor, in agreement with the Archbishop of Manila, reporting to the government for its approval.

Examinations

Article 18: There will be at the end of each month in each of the classes of the normal school private exams of all the subjects studied during that period. The same exercise will take

place at the end of the first semester of each year with respect to the subjects studied during the year. At the end of the course there will be a general exam. This exam will be public, in the presence of the authorities and distinguished persons of the capital and will end with the proclamation and distribution of prizes.

Holidays and vacations

Article 19: They will be days off from the normal school on Sundays, holidays, Ash Wednesday and the day of the Commemoration of the Faithful Dead, and also those of the saint days and birthdays of the King and Queen and the Prince of Asturias, and of the saint day of the superior civil governor.

There will be holidays from Christmas Eve to Three Kings, on the three days of Shrovetide and from Holy Wednesday to Resurrection. During these vacations the boarding students will remain in the establishment.

The major vacations will last a month and a half and will be at the time of the greatest heat. The boarding students will be able to spend major vacations with their families.

Students may go out once a month to the home of their parents or guardians.

Rewards and punishments

Article 20: The merit of the students will be rewarded with honorary marks, which will be recorded in the establishment's book and with annual prizes, whose solemn distribution will take place at the end of the public examinations.

Article 21: The punishments will be: public reprimand; the deprivation of recess and walks, and the confinement and separation from fellow students; and if these are not enough, the definitive expulsion from the normal school, which will be irretrievably preceded by contagious disease, by notable laziness and lack of application, by serious lack of respect for the professors and by bad conduct or pernicious customs.

Article 22: The public reading of the notes of good conduct, application, and advancement will also serve as a reward, and as a punishment the reading of the contrary notes, which will take place every month, meeting for this purpose in a place all the students with their professors, under the presidency of the director.

Internal regulations of the school

Article 23: Internal regulations of the normal school will be drawn up, which will specify the daily distribution of time by the students, the order of the subjects and division of the classes, religious and literary exercises, treatment, food and clothing, as well as the duties of the students towards the professors, and those of the fathers with respect to the establishment.

Textbooks

Article. 24: The director of the normal school will propose, for the approval of the superior civil government, a list of books that can serve as textbooks for the students, and to

which the professors will submit their explanations: this list will be renewed as circumstances require.

The professors will dictate their lessons with the subjects that it is convenient to make use of this system under the authority of the director.

Special examinations to obtain title of Assistant Teacher (Ayudante)

Article 25: There will be every six months in the normal school exams to qualify for the title of assistant. Those who take such examinations will have the conditions established in Article 9 for those who aspire to enter the normal school. They will deal with the matters established in Article 4, will be public, and will take place before the director and professors of the normal school.

Article 26: There will be no grade in these examinations other than pass or fail.

Issuance of Teacher and Assistant Teacher Certificates

Article 27: It corresponds to the superior civil governor to issue the titles of teacher and assistant, at the proposal of the director of the normal school.

Article 28: The titles of teacher will express the notes they may have obtained and the class of schools to enable them.

Madrid, 20 December 1863. Approved by Her Majesty.

CONCHA.

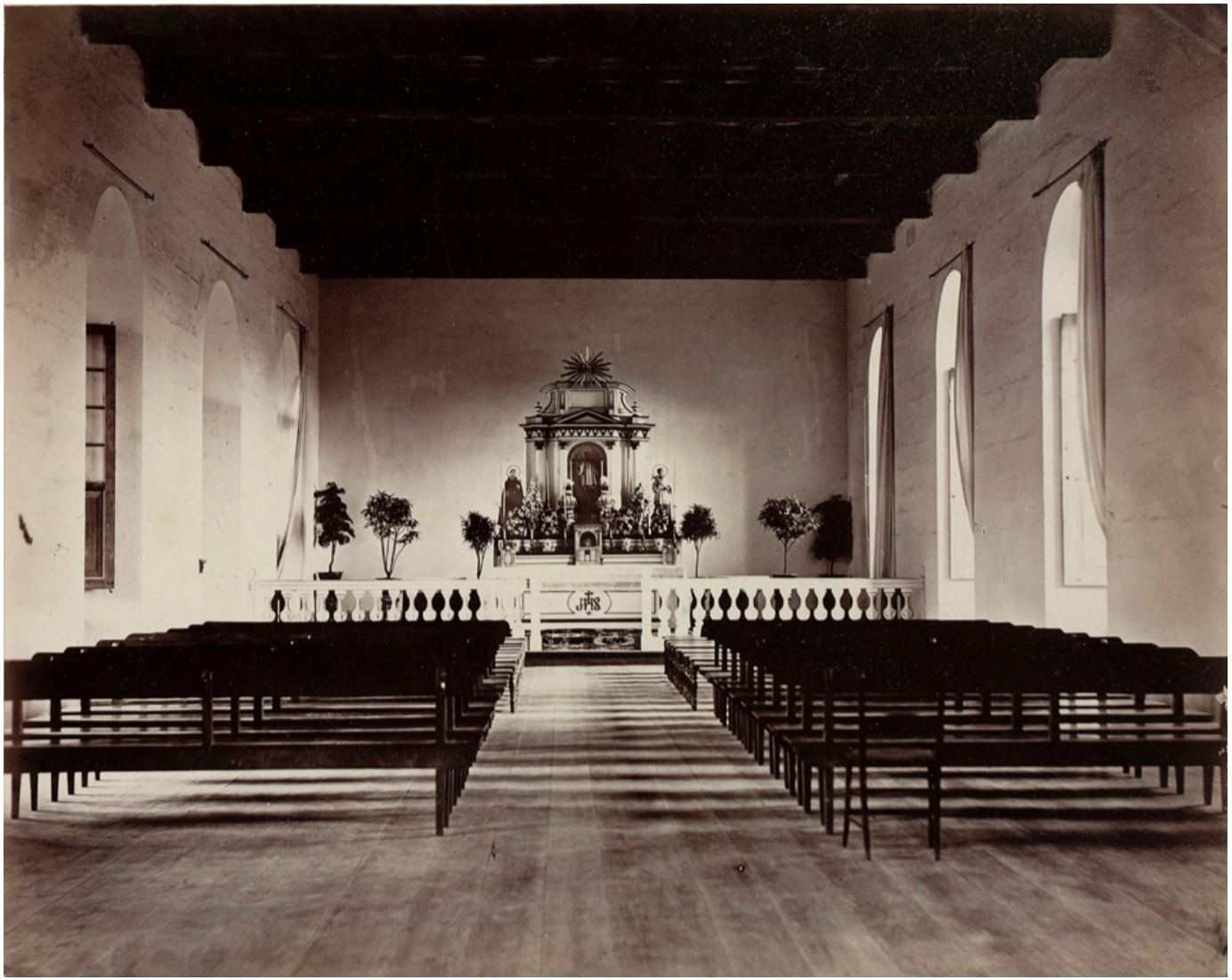
Appendix C

Images of *La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria en Manila,* 1887[1]

[1] *Escuela Normal de Manila,* Exposicion de Madrid, año 1887, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE). All images © BNE.

Caras lateral y posterior del edificio. [Side and rear façades of the building.]

Patio interior. [Courtyard.]



Capilla de los alumnos. [Students' chapel.]

Salón de estudio. [Study room.]

Salón de dibujo. [Drawing room.]

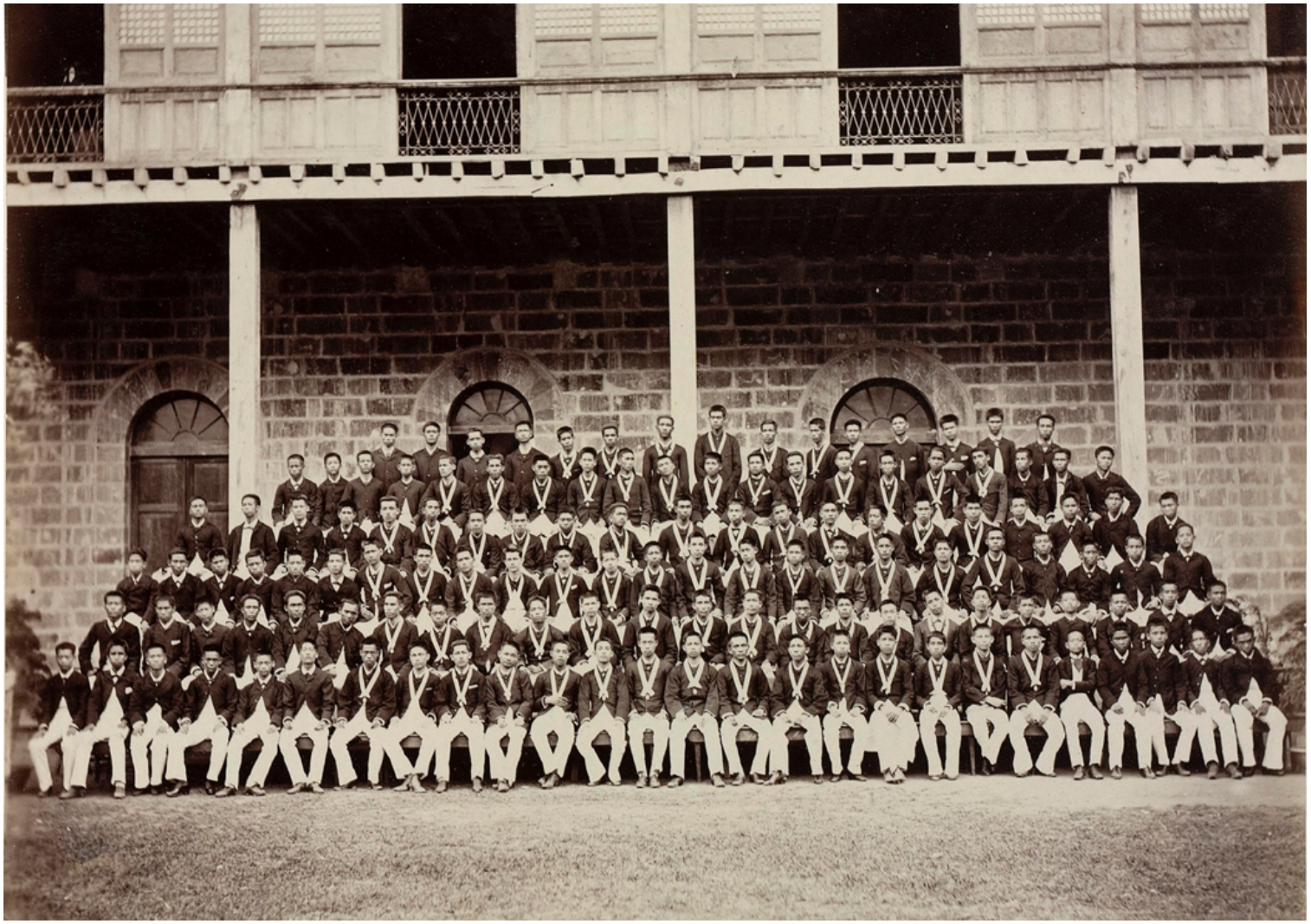
Escuela práctica. [Practice school.]

Comedor de los alumnos. [Students' dining room.]

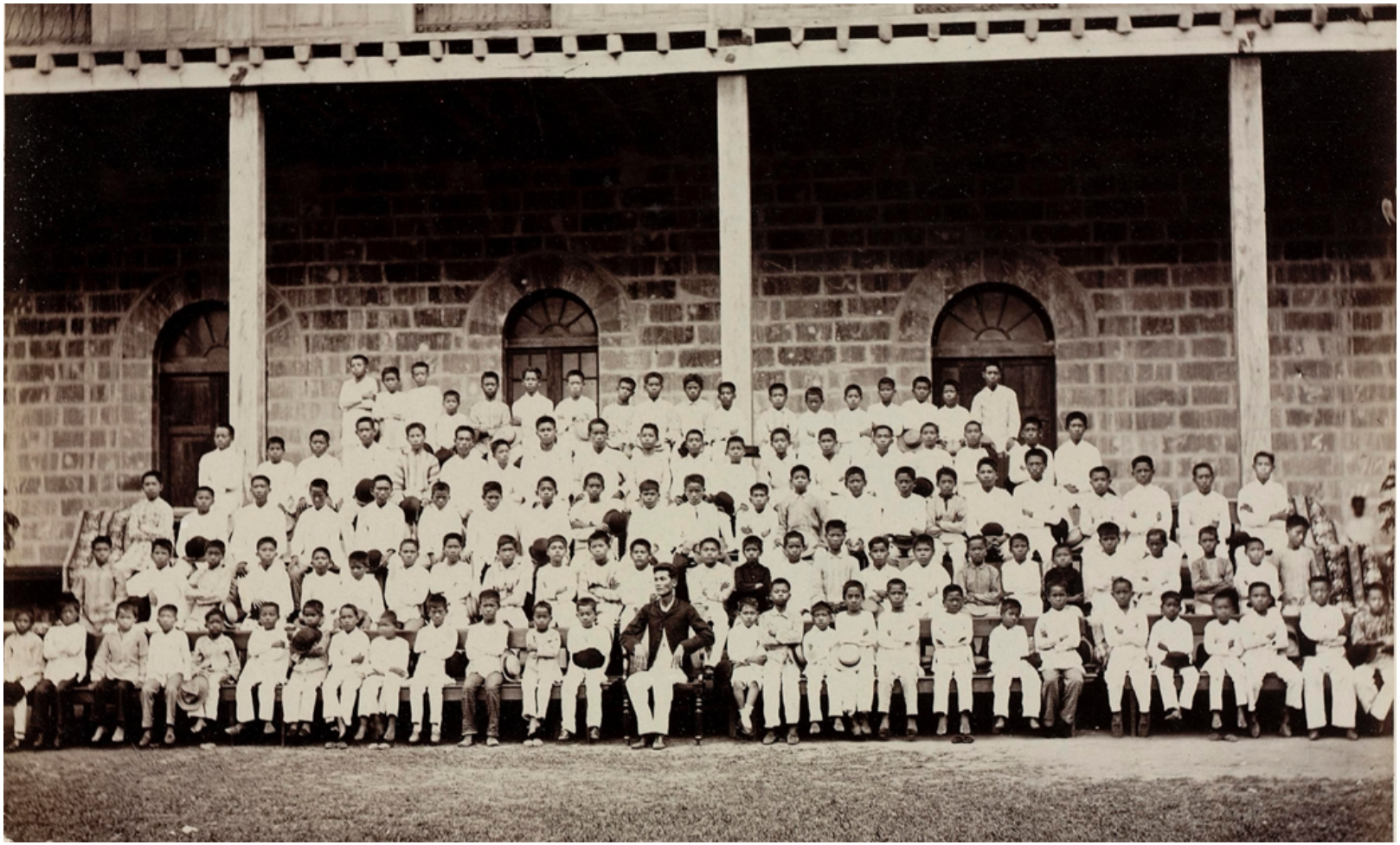
Una clase. [A classroom.]

Un corredor del piso principal. [A corridor on the main floor.]

Un patio exterior de recreo. [An outdoor recreation area.]



Alumnos internos. [Boarding students.]



Niños de la escuela (la mitad). [Students from the practice school (half).]

Appendix D

Teachers and assistants removed from service for disloyalty and/or suspected involvement in the Philippine Revolution of 1896, as reported in *Boletín Oficial de Magisterio Filipino*.[1]

Date	Name	Location	Reason for removal
4 Sept 1896	Artemio Ricarte y Garcia, *maestro*	San Francisco de Malabón, Cavite	For notorious acts of disloyalty in the current circumstances
7 Sept 1896	Agapito Conchú, *maestro*	Cabecera, Cavite	For notorious acts of disloyalty in the current circumstances
19 Sept 1896	Juan Horquisa, *maestro*	Cabiao, Nueva Écija	For notorious acts of disloyalty in the current circumstances
21 Sept 1896	Ramón Macauas, *maestro*	La Caridad, Cavite	For notorious acts of disloyalty in the current circumstances
21 Sept 1896	Celedonio Santa María, *maestro*	Noveleta, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Benigno Santos, *maestro*	Cavite Viejo, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Manuel Vieta, *maestro*	Binacayan, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Rufino Santiago, *maestro*	Bacoor, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents *(later proven innocent of all charges)*
21 Sept 1896	Eliseo Tirona, *maestro*	Imus, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Antero Abungenir, *maestro*	Pérez Dasmariñas, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Damián Hermitaño, *maestro*	Carmone, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents

[1] *Boletín Oficial de Magisterio Filipino,* año II, no. 22 (1 de octubre de 1896); año II, no. 23 (1 de noviembre de 1896); año II, no. 24 (1 de diciembre de 1896). See also, Escuela Normal V-14-708, and Luzon Houses V-14-4034, Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus.

21 Sept 1896	Guillermo Bayan, *maestro*	Silan, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Damian Panganiban, *maestro*	Amadeo, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Cornelio Camantigue, *maestro*	Jalang, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Marcelo Baza (Basa), *maestro*	Indang, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Cipriano Urcuña, *maestro*	Guyan, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Ruperto de la Cruz, *maestro*	Méndez Núñez, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Clemente Mariano, *maestro*	Alfonso, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	José Buenaventura, *maestro*	Baylén, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Marcelo Villafranca, *maestro*	Magallanes, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Simplicio Antoni, *maestro*	Maragondon, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Eusebio Legaspi, *maestro*	Pantijan, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Antonio Estudillo, *maestro*	Ternate, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Cipriano Benedicto, *maestro*	Naic, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Dimas Colmenar, *maestro*	Santa Cruz, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Antonio Dacon, *maestro*	Julugan, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents

21 Sept 1896	Juan Cailles, *maestro*	Amaya, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Esteban González, *maestro*	Rosario, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Fausto Tirona, *ayudante*	Imus, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Nicolás Madlansacay, *ayudante*	Silang, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Pedro Bayot, *ayudante*	Amadeo, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Simeón Austria, *ayudante*	Indang, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Filoteo Pepa, *ayudante*	Méndez Núñez, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Francisco Herrera, *ayudante*	Alfonso, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Domingo Peñano, *ayudante*	Baylen, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Alejandro de Ocampo, *ayudante*	Magallanes, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Nicasio Soberano, *ayudante*	Maragondón, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Victoriano Ramos, *ayudante*	Ternate, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Tranquilino Arca, *ayudante*	Santa Cruz, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Alfonso Chácón, *ayudante*	Julugan, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
21 Sept 1896	Aristón Flojo, *ayudante*	San Francisco, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents

21 Sept 1896	Irineo Tionsou, *ayudante*	Rosario, Cavite	For failing to report to Spanish forces, joining the insurgents
29 Sept 1896	Pedro Serrano, *maestro*	Quiapo, Manila	For notorious conduct against Spain
29 Sept 1896	Romualdo Caingal, *maestro*	Pilar, Bataan	For being involved in current events
30 Sept 1896	Anastasio Paradas, *maestro*	Bacnotan, La Unión	For notorious acts of disloyalty in the current circumstances
30 Sept 1896	Eugenio Catindig, *maestro*	Guiguinto, Bulacán	For affiliation with a masonic and anti-Spanish association
30 Sept 1896	Felipe Utero, *maestro*	Viga, Catanduanes	For demonstrating ideas unfavorable to Spain and affiliation with a masonic and anti-Spanish association
30 Sept 1896	Deogracias Belmonte, *maestro*	Calolbon, Catanduanes	For demonstrating ideas unfavorable to Spain and affiliation with a masonic and anti-Spanish association
10 Oct 1896	Fernando Matro, *maestro*	Taal, Batangas	Disappeared without any authorization and joined the rebels in Imus, Cavite
10 Oct 1896	Hilarión Fernando, *maestro*	Calaba, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Proceso del Rosarío, *ayudante*	Aliaga, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Eulalio Usias, *ayudante*	Bongabon, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Martín Esteban, *ayudante*	Cabiao, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Santiago Encarnación, *ayudante*	Cruyapo, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Marcelino Rivero, *maestro*	Licale, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events

10 Oct 1896	Alfonso Oñate, *ayudante*	Licale, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Rafáel Ortiz, *ayudante*	Nampicuan, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Juan Meley, *ayudante*	San José, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Rafáel García, *ayudante*	San Juan, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Camilo Cornejo, *ayudante*	San Quintin, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Mamerto Sapiandante	Santa Rosa, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Baldomero de Lara, *ayudante*	Santa Rosa, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Anastasio Manalastas, *ayudante*	Santor, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Regino Santiago, *ayudante*	Sinuacab, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Joaquin Zaragoza, *ayudante*	Talavera, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Ignacio Samin, *ayudante*	Umiugan, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Patricia Nieves, *maestra*	Licab, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Álvara de la Paz, *maestra*	San Isidro, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Arcadia Razón, *maestra*	Santa Rosa, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Ruperta Romero, *ayudante*	Cabanatúan, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events

10 Oct 1896	Rufina Joson, *ayudante*	Cabanatúan, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Romana Tiangco, *ayudante*	Peñaranda, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Feliciana Taleus, *ayudante*	Zaragoza, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Isabel Romero, *maestra*	Zaragoza, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Fermina Romero, *ayudante*	Zaragoza, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
10 Oct 1896	Sabina Romero, *maestra*	Cabiao, Nueva Écija	Following inquires, which evidenced complicity in the current events
30 Oct 1896	Pascual Matuba, *maestro*	Payo, Catanduanes	For exhibiting ideas of disaffection and disloyalty to Spain
31 Oct 1896	Lucio Rivera, *ayudante*	Pagsanján, Laguna	For being a propagandist of anti-religious and anti-patriotic ideas, a subscriber to *La Solidaridad,* and for donating funds to those taking part in the rebellion
21 Nov 1896	Fernando Ferrer, *maestro*	Vigan, Ilocos Sur	For notorious acts of disloyalty against the mother country