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Rosa Sevilla de Alvero and the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila

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In July 1900 Rosa Sevilla, a twenty-one-year-old recent graduate of the Assumption Superior Normal School, founded the Instituto de Mujeres of Manila, the first lay Catholic school of women in the Philippines.¹ With the support of the Rev. Manuel Roxas and Susana Revilla, and the cooperation of a score of young teachers, she formulated a program which would prepare women to serve both God and country in the new circumstances of the American occupation. Earlier that year the American authorities had established a coeducational public school system staffed by several hundred teachers of mainly Protestant background. Its program, which was entirely in English, did not include instruction in Spanish or indigenous languages and explicitly forbade the teaching of religion. The Instituto, by contrast, included those subjects along with the history and culture of the Philippines and a much wider range of domestic skills. As soon as the teachers

1. Manuscripts consulted for this article are in the possession of the family of Paulino J. and Caridad Z. Sevilla of Sampaloc, Manila. Paulino (1892-1958) was the youngest brother of Rosa Sevilla. A graduate from the Archdiocesan seminary in philosophy and the Ateneo de Manila in law, he worked as an attorney. His wife Caridad Zialcita, was the granddaughter of Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, who drafted the Act of the Declaration of Independence of 12 June 1898. Bautista served as advisor to Aguinaldo, held a cabinet post in the Malolos Republic, and subsequently became a Supreme Court justice under the American regime. Caridad Zialcita (born 1898) graduated from the Instituto de Mujeres and then from the University of the Philippines in the same class as Carlos Romulo. Between 1921 and 1949 she served as principal of the Instituto where she also taught Philippine history and Christian doctrine to the high school seniors. From 1949 to 1968 she was principal of the training high school of Santo Tomás University and professor of education. Mrs. Sevilla completed our questionnaire on the Instituto with the assistance of Sr. Caritas de St. Paul Sevilla, S.P.C., and Angelica Abalon Cabañero, both alumnae of the Instituto. The authors wish to thank them as well as Miss Caridad Z. Sevilla of the University of Santo Tomás faculty for transmitting documents and Diane Franco for research assistance.

could learn English well enough to teach in it, the Instituto began to offer the official public school program while retaining the subjects which it omitted. Between 1900 and the Japanese invasion of 1941 the Instituto taught some three hundred girls and young women each year in its preschool, primary, secondary, and commercial divisions. The graduates as Christian wives and mothers, on the one hand, and professional and business women, on the other, would play important roles in Manila and Philippine society. The school itself under Rosa's leadership became an agency for bringing about changes in Philippine society in the area of national language, women's suffrage, and independence, among others.

This article gives particular attention to the Spanish colonial and Roman Catholic background of Rosa Sevilla and her colleagues in order to better understand the roles which Spanish and Catholic elements played in the programs of the Instituto during the period of American colonial rule and growing Philippine nationalism.² It traces the history of an important independent school in a country where schools belonging neither to the State nor to the Church have made a major educational contribution.

PHILIPPINE SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Education as late as the 1860s remained under the control of the religious congregations which had colonized the islands from the last third of the sixteenth century. The Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Recollects, known collectively as "the friars," had arrived between 1565 and 1606.³ They learned the local languages, which were of the Austronesian family, in order to evangelize in them. The friars transcribed these tongues into the Latin alphabet, prepared dictionaries and grammars, and created a religious and ecclesiastical literature in them. For example, the Dominicans as early as 1593

2. This article was first presented at a conference on the theme "Schools and Foreign Christian Missions" in Salamanca, Spain, on 26 August 1987. The authors wish to thank Don José Vaquero of the Colegio Mayor Oriental of the University of Salamanca and Professor Jacques Gadille of the Centre de Recherches et d'Echanges sur la Diffusion et l'Inculturation du Christianisme, Université Jean Moulin, Lyon III, the sponsoring institutions, for the opportunity to participate. Dr. Paule Brasseur of the E.P.H.E.S.S. in Paris facilitated the arrangements and the Marquette Graduate School provided travel assistance for one of us. Professor Bruce Fetter of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee made valuable suggestions about our revised text.

3. The Jesuits of course were not really friars. Charles III of Spain expelled the Jesuits from the Philippines in 1767 and they returned only in 1859 under Queen Isabela II.

published *Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Española y Tagala* for use among the Tagalog speakers of Luzon Island.

The friars staffed the bulk of the 900-some parishes throughout the islands, nearly all in the rural areas. They received much of their livelihood from the labor and produce provided by the Filipinos on the large land grants given to the congregations by the Spanish crown. Given the crown's policy of restricting the settlement of most of the 5,000 Spaniards other than the friars to the Manila area to prevent their exploitation of the indigenous population, the friars became the intermediaries between the people in the provinces and the colonial government.

That government, implementing the wishes of the royal government in Madrid, prescribed the teaching of the Spanish language and culture to the Filipinos. But it did not provide any resources for this purpose. Since the friars aimed to Christianize, rather than to westernize or Hispanicize, most of them did not think that a knowledge of Spanish was necessary for achieving their main goals of teaching men to be good and holy. A knowledge of Spanish might in fact work against those goals by turning the Filipinos' attention to secular studies or, even worse, by giving them access to ideas hostile to Christianity and the Church. From the end of the eighteenth century the friars sought to insulate the faithful from the growing rationalism and liberalism of continental Europe, which they perceived as dangerous both to ecclesiastical control and Spanish authority.⁴

4. The two general histories consulted for background material on the nineteenth century, Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia, 1973, 4th ed.), and Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), seem to derive their information on education for the most part from Encarnación Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1932). Alzona, a long-time professor at the University of the Philippines, is highly critical of the role of the friars in education. The Rev. Evergisto Bazaco, O.P., of the University of Santo Tomás, who published *History of Education in the Philippines (Spanish Period 1565-1898)* (Manila: U.S.T. Press, 1953, 2nd ed.), after Alzona, composed a basically factual account which did not address any of her criticisms of the friars. Neither Alzona nor Bazaco provide much information about which racial elements (Spaniards, mestizos, Filipinos) attended schools and at what levels. This is a question addressed by Domingo Abella, "State of Higher Education in the Philippines to 1863—A Historical Reappraisal," *Philippine Historical Review* 1 (1965):1-46. He shows that secondary and higher education were designed to serve Spaniards (both *peninsulares* and *insulares*). Some Spanish mestizos attended but no Filipinos did until the entrance of a number of them to the Jesuit College of San José in the eighteenth century. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century were wealthy Filipinos admitted to the Letrán College.

Nicholas Cushner, S.J., *Spain in the Philippines from Conquest to Revolution* (Manila: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila Univ., 1971), though valuable for political, economic, and religious matters, contains only a few paragraphs on education. The author ignores the literature on education and therefore the issues raised therein.

For these reasons, the parochial schools for both boys and girls in the provinces taught Christian doctrine, prayers, reading, writing and a bit of arithmetic but little else, almost entirely in the indigenous languages.⁵ The friars persistently resisted or disregarded official efforts to have them teach Spanish or subjects not directly related to evangelization. The teaching of Spanish under these circumstances took place mainly in the urban areas, particularly Manila, in the schools for Spaniards, mestizos, and a few Filipinos. While religion formed the most important subject of study in those schools, Latin, history, geography, and the sciences were also included. The primary schools in Spanish gave access to secondary and higher education, which were organized by the early seventeenth century, and led to the higher-level positions in the colonial administration, military, Church, and commerce. Congregations of Spanish sisters gave primary and secondary education to women from these same social elements, which included some Filipinas. Education in Spanish was also available in the seminaries where a Filipino secular clergy was formed to assist the Spanish clergy and to take charge of some parishes and missions.⁶

Pressure for a change in the kind of instruction most Filipinos were receiving and for access to education in Spanish began to occur in the 1850s and 1860s as a result of a complex of changes in both the Philippines and Europe. The opening of Philippine ports to foreign ships in the 1820s after the demise of the Spanish Empire in the New World and the acceptance of economic liberalism gave rise in the Philippines to increased production of raw materials for export. The main beneficiaries were Spanish, mestizo (particularly Chinese-Filipinos), and Filipino landowners or lessors. The masses of Filipinos who provided the labor experienced hardships but they too benefited from the improved transportation and communication built to facilitate commerce. The increasingly prosperous mestizos and Filipinos among the producers for export and an enlarged merchant class began to seek access to education in Spanish and secular programs for their children.

5. In a study of primary education outside of Manila between 1565 and 1863 Henry Frederick Fox, S.J., found in the Bicol region and elsewhere some use of Spanish. "One very strong reason why Filipinos did not achieve literacy in Spanish prior to 1863 was because they did not wish it. They preferred their own regional tongues. School learning that is not used, as everyone knows, fades quickly." See Fox's "Primary Education in the Philippines, 1565-1863," *Philippine Studies* 13 (1965):207-31. Quotation is found on p. 230, footnote 65.'

6. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," in *Studies in Philippine Church History*, Gerald H. Anderson, ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 65-104.

These pressures intensified at the very time when, in 1863, the royal government, after half a century of hesitations and delays linked to the conflict in Spain between liberalism and absolutism, decreed new measures to promote popular education in the Spanish language, including programs with secular subjects, at the expense of the colonial government. The reforms, which had been studied within the Philippines since 1812, were modelled after those recently enacted for the colony of Cuba. They included the establishment of normal schools for both men and women to prepare the teachers needed for the educational expansion.⁷

Because the decree placed supervision of the primary schools in the provinces under the parish priests, many of the friars prevented the use of Spanish. There were never enough teachers who knew Spanish to staff all of the schools or enough materials in Spanish to instruct all of the children effectively. Primary school enrollments increased from 150,000 in 1869 to 200,000 in 1898. But given the growth in population from 5 million to 6.7 million, the percentage of the population in school remained stationary.⁸ Whereas by 1898 there were 2,167 primary schools, in 1877 there had been only 1,698; 1,106 for boys and 592 for girls. (In 1877, 98,761 boys and 78,352 girls had been attending.)⁹ Between 1865 and 1894 the normal schools for men graduated 1,718 teachers and 183 assistant teachers. Precise figures for the graduates of the normal schools for women are not available but they may be conservatively estimated at a thousand. These teachers, who came mainly from the lower classes, formed an important part of the educated class knowing Spanish well.

Of greater immediate political significance were the children of newly prosperous Filipinos and mestizos who after acquiring a primary education in Spanish were admitted to the secondary and higher institutions. From these elements came most of the critics of the Spanish colonial regime and the demands for reform. Encouragement came to

7. The colonial government exerted pressures for compliance by setting 1868 as the date after which no one not knowing Spanish could be appointed to government office, and 1883 for election to office.

8. Alzona, *History of Education*, pp. 97-98.

9. The enrollment of roughly three quarters as many girls as boys may reflect the traditional Filipino views, which gave women as many rights as men. "Women before the coming of the Spaniards enjoyed a unique position in society that their descendants during the Spanish occupation did not enjoy. Customary laws gave them the right to be equal to men, for they could own and inherit property, engage in trade and industry, and succeed to the chieftainship of a *barangay* in the absence of a male heir. Then, too, they had the exclusive right to give names to their children. As a sign of respect, the men, when accompanying women, walked behind them." Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, p. 41. Women, like men, learned to read and write the indigenous script.

them from a liberal colonial governor, Carlos Maria de la Torre (1869-71), appointed in the wake of the 1868 revolution in Spain, and a few liberal administrators. Sons of some of the wealthiest of the new class went abroad in the 1880s and 1890s to Spain, other European countries, and Hong Kong to pursue higher education. Some of them became the severest critics of the Spanish regime, who, when efforts at reform failed, were ready to turn to revolution. Thus it had taken only one generation of Filipinos with a modern education in Spanish to produce a movement which, with popular backing, brought about the revolutions of 1896-97 and 1898 against Spain and the subsequent resistance in 1899 to the installation of American colonial rule.

Encarnacion Alzona in her monumental history of education in the Philippines after 1565 has characterized well the educational ideas of the Filipinos between 1863 and 1896:

One common idea among them was the secularization of education, divorcing it entirely from the powerful religious orders. This did not mean, however, the complete abandonment of the study of religion in the school. . . . The strong opposition of the Filipino leaders to the existing system of religious instruction was due to its narrow aim—that of making the people the passive, servile, and blind servants of the friars. Although the Filipinos, in unmistakable language, denounced the friars and their abuses, they did not attack the Church and the Catholic faith. They demanded, however, the removal of the public schools from the exclusive control of the parish priests.¹⁰

The leading thinker, Marcelo del Pilar (1850-96), explained very convincingly the desirability of this change in his monograph, *La Soberania Monacal* (1888). He noted that the friars' control over education defeated the basic purpose of the educational decree of 1863 because the friars opposed educating the Filipinos. Another reformer, Graciano Lopez Jaena (1856-96), pleaded in his speeches for the freedom of education. Filipinos in general enthusiastically received the plan of the liberal Minister of Colonies, Segismundo Moret, in 1870 for establishing a university free from clerical control. It was never implemented because of clerical opposition and the ascension of King Amadeo I (1870-73).

The educated Filipinos strongly advocated teaching Castilian Spanish to the common people in order to establish a common language throughout the archipelago. José Rizal (1861-96) in the curriculum of

10. Alzona, *History of Education*, p. 169.

his modern school, which he proposed to establish in Hong Kong, included the study of Tagalog but did not urge its adoption as a national language. At the same time Rizal elsewhere, in describing "language as the soul of the people," declared that one's native language would always be the best and most effective medium for intellectual, cultural, and material growth and progress.¹¹ (In contrast, the Constitution of Biak-na-Bato, produced by the revolutionists in 1897, declared Tagalog the official language.) In various instances the Filipinos, both men and women, expressed their desire to learn Castilian and their regret at the failure of the public schools to spread the language very far. The Asociación Hispano-Filipina in Madrid, composed of Spaniards and Filipinos, among whom were Marcelo del Pilar, Mariano Ponce, and Tomás Aréjola, included among its objectives the compulsory teaching of Spanish in all Philippine schools.

The educated Filipinos further supported the extension of vocational education to the masses of people as means of their social promotion. Rizal, during his exile in Dapitan on Mindanao Island during the early 1890s, put into practice his theory of vocational training. Under his guidance the pupils of this school learned masonry and other useful arts and crafts. Graciano Lopez Jaena also urged young people to study the practical arts. Mariano Gomez, unjustly executed along with two other Filipino priests in the wake of the Cavite Mutiny of January 1872, so strongly believed in vocational education that he used some of his own money to promote agriculture and industry in Cavite.¹² The Filipino intellectuals, in urging their compatriots to pursue industrial careers, went against the conventions of their time. Spanish colonial society held that law, medicine, and the priesthood were the only honorable professions and that manual labor was degrading. Rizal's example, therefore, impressed the people with the dignity of manual labor.

Both the unlettered and educated Filipinos of this era believed in the need to educate the common people. The constitution of the patriotic society, La Liga Filipina, is typical of many documents written by the educated in its encouragement of popular education. Newspaper articles also voiced this sentiment to the point of advocating the

11. Sotero H. Laurel, "Mabini's Educational Ideas and Our Present Problems in Education," *Historical Bulletin* (Manila) 8 (1964):50-58. Georges Fischer, *José Rizal, Filipino, 1861-1896* (Paris, 1970), pp. 71-72, sees ambiguity in Rizal's position on an indigenous national language, probably stemming from his recognition of the necessity of retaining a European language such as Spanish in order to have access to European culture and technology.

12. Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, pp. 136-37.

establishment of schools in the barrios so that education would reach even those in remote places far from the towns.

Filipino thinkers further advocated the education of women as well as men. Some of them such as Graciano Lopez Jaena saw the existing education for women as leading only to blind submission to the clergy and advocated training women for such professions as teaching and nursing. Women needed the same kind of general education as men in order that they might contribute to the emancipation of their country.

In this connection educated Filipinos urged the teaching of patriotism. Rizal included in his model school the study of Philippine history as an independent subject, separate both from Spanish history and from universal history. At the same time the educated favored sending the most meritorious students to Europe and America in order that the Philippines might profit from what those countries had learned and achieved.

Finally, as word of the establishment of free secular schools, from the lowest to the highest grade, including both vocational and technical education and physical education, in various European countries in the 1870s and 1880s reached the Philippines, the educated were encouraged to seek similar institutions.

During the period 1896 to 1899, when the Filipinos who were fighting first against Spain and then against the United States made plans for education, many of these various ideas came to the fore. For example, the provisional constitution of November 1897 declared the freedom of education, which ended the monopoly of the religious bodies. The provisional government of October 1898 established a state university and a secondary school called the Burgos Institute named after the Rev. Jose Burgos, executed in 1872. The Institute's curriculum included Latin and the sciences but omitted religion, possibly reflecting Spanish anticlericalism in this era. The Constitution of 1898 separated Church and State and provided for public education free from Church control.

THE LIFE AND EDUCATION OF ROSA SEVILLA

Rosa Lucia Sevilla belonged to the last generation of Filipinos to grow up under Spanish colonial rule and to the tiny portion of that generation which received a good education in the Spanish language and culture. Rosa was born on 4 March 1879, in the Tondo district of Manila not far from Manila Bay. Her father, Ambrosio Sevilla, was a sergeant in the Spanish army (*guardia civil*). He originated from Bulacan in nearby Bulacan Province, while her mother, Silvina Tolentino, a relative of the noted Tagalog playwright Aurelio Tolentino, came from

Tondo.¹³ The Sevillas had seven children—Rosa, her older brother Benigno, four younger brothers and a younger sister.¹⁴

The Sevillas belonged to the middle class in terms of their upbringing and cultivation. But Ambrosio as a Filipino (Filipinos were disparagingly referred to as indios by the Spaniards) received a much lower salary than Spaniards of the same rank. The resulting poverty forced Rosa's parents to send her at the age of four to live with her aunt, Luisa Santiago, who ran a school in Malabon. From this aunt, Rosa received moral and religious instruction, and learned the fundamentals of reading and writing.

But it was in the home of her Aunt Engracia (Tia Asiang) that she had her first lessons in patriotism. These came in the form of conversations and discussions which Rosa heard during the gatherings of young patriots and intellectuals headed by the forceful young lawyer, Marcelo del Pilar. A strong critic of the colonial regime, particularly of its denial of opportunities for advancement to the Filipinos and of the policies of the friars who controlled parochial education, Del Pilar was among the leaders of the reform movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1896 against Spanish rule. Though Del Pilar left for Spain to continue his efforts for reform, the ideas which he and his critic transmitted to the young Rosa would influence her throughout the years to come.

Back at home in Manila in 1888 she enrolled in a private school directed by Victorina Clemente. Its teaching by rote and its discrimination between the rich and the poor, and between Spaniards, mestizas, and Filipinas disgusted her. Her father therefore arranged for her transfer to the Escuela Municipal in Intramuros, the old walled city.

The Escuela Municipal was staffed by Spanish Sisters of Charity, a congregation of professional teachers which had originated in France. They employed active methods, encouraged discussions, and incorporated practical demonstrations wherever relevant. The latter proved

13. Felipe D. Fernando, "Aurelio Tolentino, Playwright, Poet and Patriot," *Philippine Studies* 12 (1964):83-92. Aurelio was one of ten original members of the Katipunan; the presentation of his patriotic play, *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* in May 1903 produced a riot and led to his imprisonment by the American authorities.

14. Information on Rosa Sevilla comes from the articles in the booklet, *Doña Rosa L. Sevilla Alvero Centennial Celebration (1879-1979) March 4, 1979* (Manila, 1979), fifty pages, unpaginated. Particularly important are the reprint of Fely I. San Andres, "Women of Molave" (1948) and "A Brief History of the Instituto de Mujeres," reprinted from the 1914 *Graduation Annual of the Instituto de Mujeres*. Also Lilia S. Zialcita, "Rosa Sevilla Alvero," *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1955), pp. 17-19; and two manuscripts by Rosa's son, Jesus Sevilla Alvero, "Four Facets in the Life of Rosa" (1979) and "Recollections from the Past" (1979) prepared for the symposium held by the National Historical Institute in Manila that year.

possible because the government, which paid their salaries, provided the kinds of equipment that existed in few other primary schools at the time—globes, maps, scientific apparatus. Because the sisters used Spanish almost exclusively, Rosa came to know that language extremely well.

Rosa's studies at the Escuela were terminated by the great fire of 1892 which razed Tondo and destroyed the Sevilla home. She had to transfer to a small private class near their residence which concentrated on preparing young women for the comprehensive examination (*revalida*) instituted by the government in order to certify the graduates of girls' schools and colleges as primary teachers for the new programs instituted by the decree of 1863. Despite Rosa's careful preparation, she refused to take the examination after learning from her father that a bride (*soborno*) would be necessary to qualify.

Rosa's plan for becoming a teacher took on new life two years later when she was able to enroll in the recently established Assumption Superior Normal School. It would provide a much more extensive education of better quality for women that had heretofore existed in the Philippines and use the most modern methods to prepare them for primary teaching.¹⁵ Prior to the decree of 1863 the only formal pedagogical training had been offered in the colleges for women run by congregations of sisters. These colleges, according to the leading authority on education in the Spanish period, "gave the general culture for women, with a passing analysis on experimental sciences but much emphasis on home economics and fine arts, especially music, art decoration and embroidery."¹⁶ They did not teach physics or chemistry, which would have required laboratory equipment, but taught the history of the Philippines, which was given only summary treatment in the primary schools as a part of Spanish or world history. The colleges did not offer the complete secondary program and therefore could not award the bachelor's degree.

In order to increase the number of trained teachers, the government in the early 1870s, while encouraging those already graduated from primary schools and colleges to take the examination for which Rosa had been preparing, authorized the establishment of two-year courses for teachers in some existing institutions. Thus the Escuela Municipal of Manila along with such private colleges as Colegio de Santa Isabel under the Sisters of Charity, and the Colegio de Santa Catalina and

15. Sister Maria Carmen [Reyes], "The Superior Normal School for Women Teachers in Manila, 1893-98," *Philippine Studies* 2 (1954):217-30. Sister Maria Carmen was able to interview Rosa as well as Spanish sisters who had taught at the school.

16. Bazaco, *History of Education 1565-1898*, p. 304.

the Colegio de Santa Rosa, both under the Dominican Sisters, began to offer a two-year secondary course with particular emphasis upon pedagogy and practical teaching. The graduates had to pass an examination administered by an Official Board of Examiners in order to receive the certificate of *Maestra Normal Elemental*.

In the same period, in 1871, the Dominican bishop of Nueva Cáceres, Monsignor Francisco Gainza, secured government permission to transform his diocesan college for women into a three-year normal school in order to raise educational standards and to serve as a model for other schools. Funded by the towns of the diocese, Nueva Cáceres would graduate an average of twenty teachers annually until its demise in 1898.

The royal government on the initiative of the colonial minister and with the support of the Regent, Queen Maria Cristina, in 1892 founded the Superior Normal School in order to prepare teachers for the upper grades or so-called intermediate level as well as the early grades. The institution was entrusted to the Augustinian Sisters of the Assumption from the Royal School of Santa Isabel in Madrid. The Congregation had been founded in France in 1839 by Mother Marie Eugénie de Jésus (Anne-Eugénie de Brou) mainly to provide a Christian education for women. The founder saw in the French society in which she grew up the great evil which resulted from a learning in which faith had no part. She declared that just "as long as the scientific and literary education of a young girl is not permeated by Catholic dogma and by the teachings of the Faith, and if Christian life does not become the nourishment and the very atmosphere of her soul, she will be the scourge of the family and of society and the fruit of this false science for her will be death."¹⁷ Thus the Assumptionists had pioneered in France and Spain in combining thorough secular education with moral and religious instruction. The sisters employed the most progressive methods of pedagogy. They attached model schools to their teacher training institutions where their student teachers received supervised practical training. Their program of studies, following European models, was considerably more extensive even than that of Nueva Cáceres, itself in advance of the colleges' programs. Thus while the Spanish language, religion and morality had prominent places in the program of the Superior Normal School, it also included the history and geography of Spain and the Philippines, the principles of literature, French, geography, chemistry, the elements of physics, hygiene, physical education, domestic science, drawing, music, and pedagogy.

17. Sister Maria Carmen [Reyes], "The Superior Normal School," p. 219 quoting *L'Esprit de l'Assomption* (Tours, 1903, 2nd ed.), p. 32.

The pedagogy involved instructing the young women to teach every subject at every grade level, not merely so they could present these matters themselves but so that they could train and supervise monitors. The shortage of qualified teachers meant that monitors, sometimes older pupils, frequently taught some subjects in the early grades, generally in the same large room as the *maestra*. The Sisters also gave emphasis to the techniques of organizing a large school, for they expected many of their graduates would eventually assume administrative positions.

Spanish was the medium of instruction for every subject throughout the four-year program. It could not have been otherwise because the Sisters, newly arrived from Spain, knew no other language. Observers noted, according to Father Bazaco, the fluency which the students achieved in Spanish and their extensive vocabulary. Instruction in expressive reading further added to their abilities to express themselves well in this medium.

The School offered some scholarships covering registration and examination fees, room and board, for deserving students. The number of them always exceeded the availability of scholarships. Thus Rosa Sevilla worked in the school kitchen to pay for her fees and borrowed books from the more prosperous students. She graduated in March 1898 with the certificate of *Maestra de Primera Enseñanza Superior* and with a grade of excellent (*sobresaliente*) in every subject of the four-year course and in every exercise of both *reválida*. Equalling this achievement was her classmate, Florentina Arellano, who along with two other classmates, Dolores Guerrero and Emilia Sacramento, would join Rosa at the Instituto two years later.

The graduation had been advanced several months because of the imminence of war between Spain and the United States. The Directress, Sr. Maria de la Cruz, foreseeing the end of Spanish rule told the graduates:

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 ideals 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 aspirations 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.¹⁸

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1896-99

While the first revolution against Spain in 1896 had not interrupted Rosa's studies, the second one which broke forth in 1898 and the resistance to the American occupation in 1899 would have profound effects on her life and career. In the fighting between August 1896 and June 1897 the Filipino forces under Emilio Aguinaldo proved unable to defeat the Spanish. In December 1897 they accepted a truce under which Aguinaldo and some of his troops went into exile in Hong Kong. In May 1898 they returned in order to launch a second revolution aboard ships of the United States, which since February had been mobilized against Spain in the Caribbean. Rosa's older brother Benigno and her father joined the forces fighting the Spanish, which by the end of June controlled all the colony except the capital of Manila and the naval base of Cavite. Rosa, along with her younger brothers José and Flaviano and her aunts Engracia and Juliana devoted themselves to feeding the troops, preparing bandages, and caring for the wounded. Rosa was the only woman present during the surrender of the Spanish forces at Bulacan on 25 June 1898. After the Spanish surrendered Manila to the Americans under Commodore George Dewey on 13 August, she returned to Tondo and organized a school to support her family. Back in the capital she became one of the two Filipinas writing for General Ant6nio Luna's revolutionary paper, *La Independencia*, which was staffed by some of the country's most distinguished literary figures and nationalists.

The American's signature of the Treaty of Paris with Spain on 10 December 1898, which gave them title to the Philippines, and their rejection of Filipino protests and demands for independence, led inevitably to resistance against the American occupation on 4 February 1899. Rosa's brother Benigno perished early in the conflict leading

18. Ibid., quoting Rosa Sevilla de Alvero, "Kung bakit ako ay naging ako," Unpublished memoir, pp. 165-66.

an assault on an American position in Pasig. Rosa then cropped her hair and put on a man's uniform in order to fight. But General Marcelino de Santos persuaded her to accompany her mother and siblings to the mountains. Worsening conditions produced a decision to separate. Rosa returned to Manila with the younger children while her mother stayed behind to care for her husband, by then a Colonel in the revolutionary army, and her soldier sons, José and Flaviano. In June both of Rosa's parents died from cholera within hours of one another, leaving her responsible at the age of twenty for the welfare and upbringing of her sister and four brothers, the youngest of whom was only seven.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE AMERICANS

In September 1898 the American military authorities reopened some schools in Manila in which soldiers taught English to the Filipino children. Though religious instruction was temporarily suspended, the rest of the program of the Spanish period was retained under Filipino teachers. While the schools were headed by Fr. William D. McKinnon, a Spanish-speaking military chaplain from California, these changes did not provoke ecclesiastical or popular opposition. But after the tactless and imperceptive Rev. George Anderson, a Protestant minister serving in the American forces, succeeded McKinnon in June 1899, complaints arose about anti-Catholic attitudes and actions. Fred Atkinson, who arrived in July 1900 to head the coeducational public school system that was being organized throughout the country, did nothing to improve the situation by proposing the permanent elimination of even optional religious instruction from the schools.¹⁹

The direction that the public schools would be taking became clearer with the establishment of quasi-civil administration under Governor William Howard Taft at the head of the Second Commission in 1900. Whereas President William McKinley had instructed its members to employ the vernacular in the primary schools but to establish English as the common medium of communication, Taft and his colleagues made English the sole instructional medium.²⁰ The Commission

19. Sister Mary Dorita Clifford, B.V.M., "Religion and the Public Schools in the Philippines: 1899-1906," in Gerald H. Anderson, *Studies in Philippine Church History*, pp. 301-24; Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1980), particularly "Chapter Five: 1900-02, Fred Atkinson," pp. 77-96; Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1968), particularly "Chapter Five: The Filipinos and American Educational Policies," pp. 76-95.

20. McKinley's instructions are quoted verbatim in Julian Encarnación, "From the Days of the Lakans to the Coming of the Transport Thomas," in Geronima T. Pecson and Maria

justified its decision in part on the grounds that the educated Filipinos wished such a policy. If they really ever did, they later changed their minds, for in 1908 the Philippine assembly requested that instruction at the primary level be given in the vernacular. The Commission rejected the bill on the grounds it would be too expensive and would impede the development of English.

To introduce a curriculum modeled closely after that of the United States, the Commission in 1900-1901 imported nearly a thousand American teachers, who also began to teach English to the existing Filipino teachers. Though the Taft administration tried to recruit American Catholics to staff roughly one-fifth of these positions, it failed to secure more than a handful. Thus the bulk of the American teachers came from Protestant backgrounds, many of them hostile to Roman Catholicism, particularly as expressed in terms of the Spanish culture, and to the entire Spanish inheritance. One indication of American teachers' criticism of the Catholic religion and the Church within the classroom is found in the address of the Deputy Division Superintendent of Cebu to the American Teachers' Institute in June 1902. He urged the teachers not publicly to attack Catholicism "whatever may be your own personal belief, and I hope you see the logic of my advice that non-Catholic teachers should refrain from covert attacks upon a system which is all but universal in their pueblo and powerful enough to make their schools either successful or failures."²¹ The Commission under Taft forbade the teaching of religion within the program of the public schools. But in 1901 it made provision for optional instruction in the public school buildings for half an hour three times a week. Because it also forbade the teachers, both American and Filipino, to volunteer to teach religion in these classes, it eliminated the most important source of instructors. Thus this option was little utilized.

In the same era, American Protestant missionaries, heretofore excluded by Spain, began to evangelize among the Filipinos. Only the

Racelis, eds., *Tales of the American Teachers in the Philippines* (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1959), pp. 13-21.

21. Pecson and Racelis, eds., *Tales of the American Teachers*, p. 128. The same official also declared: "The American teacher, then, comes to the islands not as a contract laborer but as a representative of the Government in one of its branches; he stands for all that is included in the word citizenship, and he is concerned with all that is human. And he comes to educate. If there ever was a place where the schoolmaster's art has been thrown sharply into contrast with education in the true meaning, it is here in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish Government. For the Spanish occupants of the islands, whether civil or ecclesiastical, never sought to draw out what there is in the native, but to put that into him which, like an embalming fluid in a corpse, would preserve him from corruption, indeed, but would never make him a master either of knowledge or of himself. The obvious advantage of this system from the Spanish point of view was that it postponed indefinitely the day when the Filipino would become master of his masters . . . (Ibid., p. 124).

Protestant Episcopalians among them restricted their work to the non-Christian populations such as the Igorots. The rest were soon busy proselytizing among the Catholic Filipinos. They opened some schools to promote those goals.²²

The American priests who replaced the Spaniards as the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities lacked the resources to operate very many schools in any language. They therefore encouraged the efforts of Rosa Sevilla and her colleagues to organize a school for women which would teach the Catholic religion and morality. But they could give no material aid.

THE FOUNDING OF THE INSTITUTO DE MUJERES

After several months of searching, the aid came from Fr. Manuel E. Roxas and his sister Ana, who advanced the funds to rent and furnish a building in Tondo. Other benefactors made small gifts and loans. Susana Revilla (1871-1917), an older friend of Rosa who had been operating her own school in the Santa Cruz district of the city since graduation from the Superior Normal School, brought her equipment and a number of her pupils.²³ Rosa became the director, Susana the secretary-treasurer, and Fr. Roxas the spiritual director and teacher of religion. The rest of the teachers, among whom the most prominent were Florentina Arellano (who has also written for *La Independencia*), Dolores and Felicia Guerrero, Emilia Sacramento, Pilar and Vicenta Mata, Librada Avelino, and Fernanda Gonzales, worked on a cooperative basis. Lorenzo Guerrero, a noted artist and brother

22. Gerald H. Anderson, "Providence and Politics behind Protestant Missionary Beginnings in the Philippines," in his *Studies in Philippine Church History*, pp. 279-300, discusses the idea of Manifest Destiny which motivated both missionaries and laymen in this era. "The Gospel of Manifest Destiny had its roots in the concepts of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, of America as the center of civilization in the westward course of empires, the primacy of American political institutions, the purity of American Protestant Christianity, and the desirability for English to be the language of mankind." (p. 280). He shows how Roman Catholicism could have no place in this doctrine. President McKinley, a prominent Methodist layman, implicitly shared some of these views when justifying his policy of retention of the Philippines to a delegation of his co-religionists. In November 1899 he spoke of the American obligation "to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them . . ." (Document in Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen R. Shalom, eds., *Philippine Reader* (Quezon City: Ken, 1987), pp. 22-23). Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality* (Urbana: University of Illinois press, 1986) provides further insights into Protestant attitudes.

23. Espiridion Arsenio Manuel, "Susana Revilla," *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, p. 383.

of the Guerrero sisters, taught painting. The eminent attorney, Felipe Calderón, and the scholar, Mariano Sevilla, inspired by patriotic feelings, helped to secure part-time volunteer teachers, to raise funds, and to recruit pupils.²⁴

Patriotism, indeed, lay at the heart of the motivations of the organizers of the Instituto de Mujeres, who selected "For God and Country" as its motto. The Filipinos had not been able to prevent the establishment of American colonial rule or a new school system which largely excluded the Filipinos' indigenous, Catholic and Spanish heritage. But a handful of dedicated patriotic women with some help from men could create an institution which reflected their own values and aspirations for changes in society and the state.

Initially, the teachers, who had received their education in the Spanish-language normal schools and sisters' institutions, gave all instruction, except for the class in Tagalog, in Spanish. By 1902, it became clear that the American regime, which had begun to regulate private education, would recognize the diplomas of only those schools which taught in English. Indeed, in 1907 the government prescribed that the private schools had to start teaching the public school program in English and had to use the textbooks selected by the Department of Public Instruction. At the same time the private schools were not prevented from teaching in, in addition, any other subject which they wished to offer and in any language.

By that time the teachers of the Instituto had been able to learn English well enough to teach in it and to undertake the official program, which included American literature, history, geography and government. Thus from 1907 the Instituto gave instruction mainly in English. Spanish was still taught in every primary and secondary grade, but Tagalog was transferred to the secondary level. Rosa and the other teachers prepared textbooks for teaching these languages at the various grade levels. By coincidence in 1907 the Instituto, which had opened seven years before with kindergarten (*jardin de la infancia*) and four primary grades and then had added another grade annually, possessed the complete primary and secondary programs.

The study of Spanish literature covered not only the standard European authors but also the works of Filipino authors. This literature included the writings of the reformers and revolutionists of the period from the 1870s to the end of the 1890s. Former Instituteñas Pilar Ibañez and Felisa Icasiano recall memorizing, under Rosa's

24. Information on the Instituto de Mujeres comes from the sources given in footnote 13 and the responses to our questionnaire kindly provided in June 1987 by Mrs. Caridad Z. Sevilla, Pilar Ibañez, Felisa Icasiano and Policronia Caraballido.

direction, "Mi Ultimo Adiós" of José Rizal and other patriotic writings. Rosa and other teachers perceived Spanish culture, especially to the extent that it was rooted in Roman Catholicism, as the source of many social values which were worth preserving. While the Filipinos had indigenized many aspects of the Catholicism brought by the Spanish in the process of making it their own religion, much of their understanding of the faith and their worship took place in terms of the Spanish cultural inheritance. Until American missionaries from such congregations as the Jesuits, Maryknoll, the Carmelites and the Divine Word arrived with religious literature in English, the prayers and religious literature not in indigenous languages continued to be in Spanish.

Rosa believed that language is the vehicle for making quick decisions. Therefore, in addition to teaching the students to read, write and speak Spanish, Tagalog, and English, she produced plays, held oratorical contests and poetry readings, and organized debates in all three languages. Among the plays were some she had written in Spanish—"La Mejor Ofrenda," "El Sueño del Poeta," "La Reina del Carnaval," "Prisionera de Amor," and "La Loca de Hinulugang Taktak."

In order to give particular attention to the needs of women, Rosa organized a much more extensive program in the domestic arts than existed in other schools. It is described by Caridad Z. Sevilla, principal from 1921 to 1949:

Cooking was taught in the intermediate grades and through high school. The practical arts including needlepoint in grades one and two; drawn work, darning and patching in grade 3, hand-sewn panty and chemise in grade four, flower-making in grade five, embroidered doilies and table runners for grade 6, and floss silk embroidery on velvet in grade 7, baby's layette including christening robe for first year high school, sewing white undergarments for second year, simple dresses for third year, and evening gowns for fourth year.²⁵

The students were learning these skills not merely to practice them personally or to teach them to their daughters but to be able to instruct servants in the event that they became professional and business women. So that they would better know how, they studied what Rosa called "Maternal Pedagogy." The availability of competent yet inexpensive servants made it possible for middle- and upper-class women to consider careers outside the home. Rosa foresaw the entry of women into the labor force on a much larger scale in the light of the changes that were occurring in western and Filipino society. She herself had

25. Responses to questionnaire (June 1987).

experienced the importance of having a profession when she had to support herself and her siblings.

In 1910, a year after her marriage to the artist Emilio Alvero, Rosa gave up the directorship of the Instituto while remaining a teacher part-time. Susana Revilla then became director until her death in 1917. Rosa, by that time the mother of four lively sons, returned as director and kept that position for the rest of her life. In 1920 many of the director's duties in the daily operation of the school, which by that time had some three hundred students, were assigned to its first principal, Estela Romualdez. She was succeeded the following year by Caridad Zialcita, an Instituteña recently graduated from the University of the Philippines, who would in 1925 marry Rosa's youngest brother, Paulino. Caridad remained principal until 1949.

After a number of years, the Instituto began to accept boarders from the provinces from grade one onward.²⁶ Early on, Rosa made provision for working students to earn portions of their expenses as she had done at the Assumption Superior Normal School. She also organized free night classes staffed by volunteers under the rubric of the Little Flower Institute to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, and vocational subjects to adult men and women. She personally was involved in visiting the Bilibid Prison at Azcarraga on Sundays with her sons in tow to teach catechism and to give encouragement. From these experiences came her advocacy of indeterminate sentences for prisoners as a means of encouraging their rehabilitation. After seeing the suicide of a pregnant unmarried girl, she enlisted the aid of the American Archbishop, Monsignor Michael J O'Doherty, Instituto faculty and alumnae to found the Good Shepherd House for unwed mothers. While these social and educational works had a primarily local impact, Rosa also made the Instituto the agency for change in the wider society and in the state. Among these issues were making Tagalog the national language, securing suffrage for women, and achieving independence from American rule.

26. "The Boarders hewed closely to the cloistered life of sisters. They awake to the ringing of the bell starting their day with morning prayers, followed by bathroom activities, dressing and hearing the six o'clock Mass in the school chapel, then breakfast and attendance at morning classes. At noon the boarders have their lunch at the refectory with the half boarders. Then they take their nap as afternoon classes start at two o'clock. At recess in midmorning and midafternoon the boarders eat a snack in the refectory. After classes end, the Rosary is said before students are dismissed. The boarders enjoy their relaxation in the playground before they have their supper after the Angelus. Study period follows thereafter; then at nine in the evening the boarders say their common evening prayers before calling it a day. The Mass, Holy Hour and Benediction is said every First Friday in honor of the Sacred Heart. Weekends those boarders who do not leave for home hold musical programs and games in the afternoons." Mrs. Caridad Z. Sevilla's response to questionnaire (June 1987).

Rosa saw the need for a national language of indigenous origins as essential for achieving national independence and unity and for developing a society which reflected Filipino values and aspirations. She chose for this role her own tongue, Tagalog, which was the first language of about one-fifth of the Filipinos, concentrated on Luzon Island, and the *lingua franca* for much of the rest. To facilitate this goal, she assembled other vernacular authors, who first organized "Ilaw at Panitik" (Light and Letters) and then the "Kapulungang Balagtas" (Balagtas Association). It was named for Francisco Balagtas, the author of the epic *Florante at Laura*, a poetic drama employing an ancient Tagalog literary form.²⁷ In collaboration with the country's leading vernacular poets, José Corazon de Jesus (Huseng Batute) and Florentino Collantes, Rosa presented the first *balagtasan* at the Instituto. The *balagtasan* was called "a poetic joust" because it involved an extemporaneous debate in metered rhymed verse.²⁸ It created a literary and patriotic sensation, which helped to popularize the movement for Tagalog as a national language. The members of the Kapulungang Balagtas were thereafter able to bring their views on the language question before the legislature. Through further literary presentations at the school and through the syndicated articles in the newspapers for which she regularly wrote, "El Debate" and "La Defensa," and the Sunday edition of "La Vanguardia," Rosa sought support for the goal of the government.

The American colonial regime involved representative institutions at both the municipal and national level for which elections were held. As in the United States prior to 1918, only men were allowed to vote. From 1916 Rosa became part of the movement to obtain suffrage for women. She collaborated closely with Pura Villanueva Kalaw and Pilar Hidalgo Lim. To achieve this end she co-founded the Federación Católica de Mujeres (later called the Catholic Women's League) and the Liga de Damas Filipinas (League of Women Voters). She toured the country organizing chapters of these organizations. To activate women, she co-founded a magazine, *The Woman's Outlook*, and wrote articles in her various newspapers. She held forums at the Instituto. The goal was achieved in 1937 through a constitutional plebiscite in which the women, by a vote of 447,725 in favor and 44,407 opposed, endorsed suffrage for themselves.²⁹

27. Agoncillo and Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, p. 62.

28. See Amado Hernandez, "Ang Mga Bagong 'Propagandista.' Panulatang Tagalog Sa 1900-1941," *Philippine Studies* 17 (1969):195-219.

29. Fely I. San Andres, "Woman of Molave." Molave, a hardwood found in the Philippines, symbolizes strength and durability.

Two years earlier, in 1935, the United States had agreed to establish a Commonwealth for the Philippines under which, after a ten-year period of self-government, the country would achieve full independence. Rosa, like many others, had involved herself and the Instituto in this struggle. Among other things, teachers, students, and alumnae had gone door-to-door to gather funds to promote the cause of independence.

After over a quarter of a century as the guiding spirit of the Instituto Rosa began to feel that she lacked sufficient formal education to deal effectively with changing Philippine society and education. Therefore in 1928 she enrolled in the School of Education of the University of Santo Tomás, where she earned the Bachelor of Science in Education in 1931, the Master's in 1934 and the Doctorate in Philosophy in March 1935. Her dissertation, "Crítica sobre el actual sistema educacional en Filipinas" deals with the shortcomings of the American-derived educational system and the measures needed to correct them.³⁰ Rosa thereafter became the first dean of women at Santo Tomás, a position from which she resigned in 1939 in order to run for Congress, the national legislature under the Commonwealth. Though she lost, she had again pioneered.

By the outbreak of the Second World War and the Japanese occupation of the Philippines in December 1941, the Instituto had educated many hundreds of women to be Christian wives and mothers, patriots and career women. Among the best known internationally are Luz Banzon Magsaysay, wife of President Ramon Magsaysay, and Aurora A. Aquino, wife of a noted politician and mother of Benigno Aquino, a leader of the opposition to the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos. The list of distinguished graduates includes many in public affairs, education, medicine, law and business.³¹

30. The doctoral thesis of 215 pages was printed by the University of Santo Tomás on 30 August 1936.

31. A representative sampling of the Institute's might include Belen Gonzales Estayo, Natalia Soledad Baltao, Susana Rivera Silva, Josefa Gonzales Coquia, Luningning and Mabini Mercado in business; Flor de Lis Santiago Sañosa, Sr. Caritas de St. Paul Sevilla, S.P.C., Sr. Miriam Raymond Victoriano, S.P.C., Lourdes Aromin Rimorin, and Dolores Velarde Buenaventura in education; Dr. Pura Reyes, Dr. Catalina Ramirez, Dr. Natividad Aromin, Dr. Magdalena Ymson, Dr. Leonor Rivera in medicine; Concepción Felix Rodriguez in politics; Loreto S. Arambulo in social work; Corazon Alvano in banking; Nelia Manalo Concordia, Basilia Manotoc de Dios in music; Lygia Icasiano Berberabe in law; Concepción Fonacier, Dean Norma Villanueva Lerma in pharmacy; Dr. Emilia Sevilla Cuevas in dentistry; Angelica Abalon Cabañero in librarianship; Felisa Icasiano Icasiano in interior decoration; Antonia Sarmiento, Teresa De Jesus in parish work, and Paz Buenaventura Naylor in linguistics.

The trials of the war years had aged Rosa. Though she lived until 1954, cancer during her last years sapped her energies and affected her judgment. No longer a pioneer, crusader, and visionary, she made some unwise decisions on finances and personnel that in 1949 effectively put an end to the Instituto in the form in which it had been conceived. On 3 July 1948, she had received a decoration from the President of the Philippine Republic, Elpidio Quirino, and Pope Pius XII sent his delegate Monsignor Piani to Manila to confer upon her knighthood in the Order of St. Elizabeth. On 8 February 1979, the National Historical Institute marked her centennial with a symposium on her role in community, religious, and social development. Her work in education formed an important part of every one of those categories.

CONCLUSION

The program created at the Instituto de Mujeres by Rosa Sevilla and her colleagues, all educated in the final decades of Spanish rule represented both a defense and an assertion of their values and aspirations. Faced with an American-organized public school system which embodied the values of a predominantly Protestant nation and neglected essential aspects of the Filipinos' indigenous, Catholic, and Spanish heritages, the teachers included the missing subjects while yielding to the necessity of teaching the American programs. Their definition of the essential was shaped by the patriotic struggle of the late nineteenth century, which rejected Spanish colonialism but not Spanish culture or a Spanish-influenced Roman Catholicism. That struggle, together with resistance to American rule and plans to Anglicize the Filipinos, influenced Rosa and her colleagues to develop Tagalog as a means of promoting their national identity. Whereas the Americans introduced coeducation, the teachers chose to continue educating women separately from men. Their vision of women involving themselves in public affairs and having business and professional careers as well as families reflected the persistence of traditional Filipino ideas about the status and roles of women and their response to current social changes under the impact of the West.

The Instituto educated many hundreds of women between its founding and the outbreak of the Japanese War. Most of them married and raised families; some of them became active in public affairs or had careers. Several of the Instituteñas from the 1920s and early 1930s, when asked in 1987 to discuss their educational experiences, saw the most valuable aspects as the thorough instruction in Catholic doctrine which had nourished their Christian faith, in moral and social con-

duct, and in patriotism. They also cited the excellence of the teaching in Spanish which had provided them with a cultivated view of life and a means of international communication. Mrs. Caridad Z. Sevilla further noted the enduring importance of the social awareness and responsibility, resourcefulness, and adaptability which the Instituteñas developed.³² These observations reinforce the conclusion that the Instituto helped its students to preserve the best of the past while preparing themselves for an active Christian life during the era when their country was both coming increasingly under American influence and heading for independence.

32. Responses to questionnaire (June 1987).