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Some Notes On Education In Cebu Province, 1820-1898

FREDERICK FOX and JUAN MERCADER

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century, cultural historians point out, vast numbers of the world's people could neither read nor write. South and Central America, Africa, and immense areas on the continent of Asia found themselves with particularly heavy proportions of these unfortunates. Even at the period's close the problem remained far from solved; for, of the population then over ten years of age, the percentage of illiterates was 70 in European Russia, 59 in Spain, 92 in India, 75 in Mexico, and 93 in Egypt.¹ Indeed, the Unesco publication of 1955, the *WORLD SURVEY OF EDUCATION*, makes the appalling estimate that "at least half of the world's children were not receiving any kind of school education in the year 1952."²

Scarcely before the turn of the twentieth century can it be said that the concept of universal elementary education had achieved truly extensive realization, except possibly in certain regions in the United States and West Europe where already for some time the strong triple prod of the industrial revolution, religious expansionism, and a line of highly articulate social theorists, had been active.

¹ "Illiteracy," *CYCLOPEDIA OF EDUCATION* (New York: Macmillan, 1914), III, 383.

² Unesco, *WORLD SURVEY OF EDUCATION* (Paris: Unesco, 1955), p. 17.

Into this less than flattering picture of the world's performance relative to the education of the common man, set the Philippines. What was Filipinas in the nineteenth century? An obscure tropical island-cluster in the distant East Indies possessing a population of less than six million. What of her education? Were her people like those of her populous neighbors, India and Indonesia, more than 90 percent illiterate?³ In particular, what were the elementary school conditions in the individual Philippine province of Cebu? This paper attempts a cautious and exploratory reply to the last question by piecing together fragments of data about the nineteenth-century schools of Cebu gathered both from printed publications and interviews with actual participants. More than half of the towns of the province were visited during the course of the study.

GEOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC FEATURES

Cebu, although more than 300 sea miles from Manila, the archipelago's governmental, commercial, and cultural capital, nevertheless lies close to the geographic heart of the country where important domestic shipping lanes cross between East and West Visayas, and between Luzon, Mindanao, and Borneo. Shaped like a great rough-hewn compass needle pointed north by north-east, it stretches 140 miles from latitude $9^{\circ} 25'$ north to $11^{\circ} 16'$. Up its center almost from end to end runs a *cordillera* ranging in height from 1,500 to 2,000 feet. Thus, except for the rather narrow strips bordering the coasts, level land is scarce and somewhat less than fertile. Rainfall and temperature when compared with the pattern prevalent elsewhere in the Archipelago inclines to be moderate and relatively uniform over the entire year's cycle.

Such was the land that confronted Magellan in 1521, and Legaspi in 1565. And such it was in the nineteen-hundreds, though, to be sure, substantially modified by three centuries of human intelligence and labor. A highway of packed limestone now wound down the entire east coast linking 21

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

towns. A similar road skirted a major portion of the west shore where another 20 or so towns nestled serenely. Planted groves of coconut now replaced the wild along the coral beaches and mountain paths. Corn and sugar fields waved between towns of framed wood and squared stone. Steam-driven ships now rode at anchor in Cebu City harbor alongside the paraos and bancas.

The people who possessed and cultivated this island were Visayans, speaking their own version of the region's common tongue. Their number was large, 516,432⁴ in 1885. Indeed, by the end of the century no province in the country exceeded Cebu in population size, Pangasinan and Iloilo being her nearest rivals.

Providing adequately for the physical and cultural needs of this multitude with such slender resources as the island offered, presented a problem of perennial gravity. Harvests of corn, sugar, coconut, bananas, cacao, and pineapple furnished a basic supply of food and fuel. Fish brought a necessary protein element to the diet. From abaca and maguey fibre coarse cloth and sacking were woven. Argao grew a little cotton. Coal mined at Compostela drove the engines of a fair number of inter-island steamers. Among all these, however, the only money-earners of any consequence were sugar, abaca, and late in the century, copra. Even these depended precariously on world market prices which fluctuated widely.

In addition to small-scale agriculture, fishing, and mining, trade appears to have served as an important source of income for Cebuanos even from the days of the earliest historical record. Indeed, until about 1850 Cebu seems to have reigned as a commercial center of the Archipelago second only to Manila. Upon the development of the great sugar farms of Negros, however, and the designation in 1855 of Iloilo as an

⁴ESTADO GENERAL DE PUEBLOS DEL ARZOBISPADO DE MANILA Y LOS OBISPOS SUFRAGANEOS, 1885 (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1886), pp. 65-66.

international port of entry, she definitely lost to Iloilo her leadership status, at least in the sphere of foreign trade. Her inter-island business apparently suffered no similar eclipse.

Table I presents a few statistical indicators of Cebu's foreign trade over the span 1889-1894. Notable among them is the strange lowness of Cebu's import level and Iloilo's overall peso volume pre-eminence. It is not unlikely that just as the great bulk of Iloilo's export produce consisted of export sugar from Negros, so, much of Cebu's exported abaca was grown in Samar and Leyte.

TABLE I
AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE IN PESOS OF IMPORTED
AND EXPORTED PRODUCTS BY PORT, 1889-1894

Port	Value of Exported Goods	Value of Imported Goods	Total Value
Manila	21,144,316	20,753,790	41,898,106
Iloilo	6,257,718	2,991,400	9,249,118
Cebu	2,682,201	167,958	2,850,159
Zamboanga		6,937	6,937
	30,084,235	23,920,085	54,004,320

Source: José Algué (editor), *EL ARCHIPIELAGO FILIPINO* (Washington: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1900), Vol. I, p. 304. Tables I and II.

All in all, the per capita yield of these various economic undertakings by the breadwinners of Cebu proved disappointingly meager.⁵ For, while a certain comfortable level of living was produced, there was not enough surplus to finance any but a most modest development either in the physical or cultural spheres.

SAN ILDEFONSO, 1595-1768

The first known *colegio* to be established in Cebu following the advent of the Spanish administration was the Colegio

⁵ *Memoria descriptiva de la provincia de Cebu correspondiente al año instruida en el cuestionario redactado al efecto por el Gobierno General.* M.S. Philippine National Archives (U.P. division).

de San Ildefonso founded in Cebu City by the Jesuits in 1595.⁶ The curriculum offered, although in the early years primary, later acquired certain elements of a secondary nature. The Jesuit staff of 1656, comments Pastells, numbered only four instead of the usual six. The Society was suffering a manpower shortage.⁷

About 1735, a school building and church, both of stone and of generous dimensions, were completed on a plot of ground bordering the north edge of the Fort San Pedro Plaza and fronting on the present Calle Martires. Unhappily, these fine new facilities were not long to be enjoyed by their builders; for in early 1767 regalist Charles III ordered the banishment of all Jesuits from the Spanish dominions. Thus, having terminated their 173rd year of distinguished instructional service to Cebu and her neighboring provinces in June of 1768, the Jesuit fathers withdrew and the doors of San Ildefonso were closed.⁸ It was a day of disaster for Philippine education.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, 1820-1863

The weight of evidence presently available suggests that elementary education of a rudimentary kind prevailed rather widely in Cebu province prior to the establishment of the governmental school system in 1863. Some of this evidence is general and indirect in that it relates to conditions common at the time to the entire country. Some, on the other hand, is direct and specific to Cebu.

"It was a usual practice in parishes conducted by the religious orders", writes Eladio Zamora, "for the pastor to have constructed in each barrio two schoolhouses of light but ade-

⁶ W. C. Repetti, "Philippine Vice Province, 1595-1605" (Vol. II of the HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Manila: Private Printing, 1935), pp. 25-30.

⁷ Pablo Pastells, HISTORIA GENERAL DE FILIPINAS (Barcelona, 1934), IX, 212.

⁸ RESEÑA HISTÓRICA DEL SEMINARIO-COLEGIO DE SAN CARLOS DE CEBU, 1867-1917 (Manila: McCullough, 1917) pp. 3 ff. and p. 236. Hereafter abbreviated to *R.H.S.C.*

quate material, one for boys and one for girls". Reading, writing, religion and arithmetic were taught to all, sewing to the girls only. The parish appointed and paid the teachers.⁹ Father Zamora spent twenty-three years in various towns of the Visayas and spoke the language fluently. Eduardo Navarro adds that in the poblacions where the principal churches were located, the ground floor of the parish rectory frequently served as the center for the instruction of the poblacion's boys.¹⁰ Of the 52 Cebu parishes in 1867, thirty were under the direction of religious-order priests, ten Recollect and twenty Augustinian.¹¹

Tuition in these parish schools was free, the government sometimes helping out the enterprise by furnishing the salary of the boys' school teacher.¹² Both Barrantes and Jagor affirm this. The latter, following his observational tour of the Bicol region in 1859, declared: "In all the pueblos there are schools. The schoolmaster is paid by the government..."¹³

Collateral to these depositions by Zamora, Navarro, Jagor, and Barrantes is a statement appearing in the well-known INFORME SOBRE EL ESTADO DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS EN 1842 of Sinibaldo de Mas: "In each town [pueblo] there is a suitable building for the use of the school to which all the children must go except during the months of sowing and harvest."¹⁴ Mas was a Spanish writer and diplomat who lived in the

⁹ Eladio Zamora, *LAS CORPORACIONES RELIGIOSAS EN FILIPINAS* (Valladolid: Andres Martin, 1901), pp. 234-273.

¹⁰ Eduardo Navarro, *FILIPINAS. ESTUDIO DE ALGUNOS ASUNTOS DE ACTUALIDAD* (Madrid: Minuesa de los Rios, 1897), p. 143.

¹¹ Obispado de Cebu. *PASTORALES Y DEMAS DEPOSICIONES CIRCULADAS A LOS PARROCOS DE ESTA DIOCESIS DE CEBU POR LOS SENORES OBISPOS O SUS VICARIOS GENERALES* (Manila: Sto. Tomas, 1884-85), II 289-290.

¹² Vicente Barrantes, *APUNTES INTERESANTES SOBRE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS* (Madrid: El Pueblo, 1870), p. 152.

¹³ Feodor Jagor, *TRAVELS IN THE PHILIPPINES* (London: Chapman-Hall, 1875 trans. from *REISEN IN DEN PHILIPPINEN*. Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1873), pp. 156 ff. A number of years was spent in the preparation of this volume, including two years in the Islands themselves.

¹⁴ "Public Instruction," Vol. II, No. 12.

Philippines for a considerable though undetermined period sometime between the years 1834 and 1842.

The INFORME declaration is confirmed by the Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Mallat in his carefully prepared study, *LES PHILIPPINES* (1846). In fact, Mallat asserted, "The three R's were more widely taught in the Philippines than in most of the country districts of Europe."¹⁵ Mallat's study of 1846, according to Dr. E. D. Bourne of Yale (1902), "is the best of all the modern works on the Philippines."¹⁶

Such is the tenor of the general testimony concerning the state of elementary schooling in the Philippines in the mid-nineteenth century. We turn now to examine the evidence that touches the education of Cebu specifically.

Hilarion Diez held the opinion that: "There are many villages such as Argao, Dalaguete, Boljoon [in] Cebu and several in the province of Iloilo where not a single boy or girl can be found who cannot read or write."¹⁷ Diez lived in the Philippines for many decades as a parish priest, prior, and provincial, finally dying in 1829 as the Archbishop of Manila.

Santos Gomez Marañón occupied the bishopric of Cebu from 1829 to 1847. In those days the diocese comprised 143 parishes and included the islands of Cebu, Bohol, Panay, Negros, Samar, Leyte, the Marianas, and Mindanao. In July 1835, Bishop Marañón, having just returned to Cebu from an official visitation of this vast territory, wrote a pastoral letter to his clergy concerning his observations. Among other points relative to the schools, he said:

We noticed that in several [various] towns [out of 143] only a few boys and girls attend school... Our pastors, therefore, must bend every effort that all go daily to school, and that the men and women teachers

¹⁵ Jean Baptiste Mallat de Bassilan, *LES PHILIPPINES* (Paris: Bertrand, 1846), I, 386.

¹⁶ "Historical Introduction" (Vol. I of *THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS*, eds. E. M. Blair and J. A. Robertson. 55 vols.; Cleveland: Clark, 1903), p. 41.

¹⁷ Cited by Sir John Bowring, *A VISIT TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS* (London, 1859), p. 355. Sir John was Governor of Hong Kong.

carry out competently their work of instructing these children in reading, writing, and Christian Doctrine.... We are well aware that the children of the distant barrios cannot be present at the poblacion school; but if the pastor is zealous, and sincerely desires the good of all his parishioners, as he should be, he will see to it that schools are established in those barrios, that the teachers are paid, and that the children are required to come.¹⁸

The Bishop evidently regarded large and regular attendance at the parish schools as the normal and proper practice. Where such practice was not in force he strongly urged its implementation even in the farthest barrios. There was no questioning of the existence of town schools.

Granting freely that in some places, perhaps in many, this instruction recommended by the Bishop of Cebu was limited in scope and low in quality, one must still ask whether the elementary schooling offered elsewhere in the contemporary world outside the urban centers was substantially superior. Familiarity with the historical records of the so-called common school in those days leaves one with a very grave doubt that it was. One must be as alert to avoid the Scylla of under-evaluation as the Charybdis of an over-estimate.

Even of England, shortly after the coronation of Victoria, Sharpless lamented: "In 1845 there was a sort of summation of results. From a careful inquiry by a committee, it appeared that one in six of the children at school could read, one in four could write, and not two per cent had mastered arithmetic as far as the rule of three."¹⁹ A decade later, the state of New South Wales in Australia appointed a similar commission to examine its elementary education. One statement appearing in the report submitted complained that "the condition of the schools, as regards instruction, is deplorable in the extreme... Few schools are worthy of the name."²⁰ The

¹⁸Obispado de Cebu, *op. cit.*, I, 20.

¹⁹Isaac Sharpless, *ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS* (New York: Appleton, 1897), p. 8.

²⁰D. C. Griffiths (ed.), *DOCUMENTS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES 1789-1880* (Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1957), p. 93.

reader will notice that both of these citations concern nations interested enough in their schools to inquire about them and to publish the results. What is to be feared of the state of elementary education in those countries which either provided no schools, or if they provided them, never bothered to investigate or make public what was going on in them?

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1863-1898

The year 1863 marked a turning point in Philippine education. On December 20 of that year Queen Isabel II of Spain signed a Royal Decree which ordered the foundation in the Philippines of an elementary school system financed and administered by the government. The Decree was accompanied by three detailed *Reglamentos* and was followed, over the next four decades, by innumerable memoranda and circulars regulating every important phase of the enterprise.

The principal change wrought by this legislation lay not in that it introduced local free elementary schools, since many parishes already provided these, but in that it set up a national system under government control. This displacement of organized religion from its predominance in education was a familiar move in the history of the nineteenth century. Sometimes, in the process, the Church was able to retain her own schools and exert wide influence besides. Such was the case in the Philippines. At other times, however, as in France under the Laws of Association, she lost both, at least temporarily, to the selfish malice of fanatical secularists. Changes other than administrative promoted by Isabel's 1863 legislation, such as teacher training, compulsory attendance, a broader curriculum, and greater public treasury support, brought definite improvement to Philippine education.

SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION

One of the first headaches suffered by each of the newly designated superintendents of public instruction in Cebu, namely, the provincial governors, arose in the discovery of the number and dispersed distribution of the children to be educated.

In 1885, for example, Cebu province was divided into 52 municipalities with a reported aggregate population of 516,432. The municipalities were in turn subdivided into an estimated 764 barrios, each with an average of 677 inhabitants. Put somewhat differently with the school question in mind, in the typical Cebu municipality in 1885, about 15 per cent of the children resided in the poblacion proper while the remainder lived in some 14 barrios outside the poblacion, at distances varying with the area covered by the municipality. Table II lists the specific population count for each of the municipalities in 1885.

TABLE II
POPULATION BY TOWNS IN CEBU PROVINCE, 1885

Cebu	9002	Barili	16462
S. Nicolas	20258	Pinamungahan	10930
Pardo	8857	Toledo	7653
Talisay	15074	Balamban	10833
Minglanilla	16765	Tuburan	9193
Naga	14292	Bantayan ..	14332
S. Fernando	12159	D. Bantayan	14389
Carcar	24391	S. Remigio	6710
Sibonga	22531	Bogo	13622
Argao	29696	Tabogan	7028
Dalaguete	18914	Borbon	4395
Alcoy	2474	Sogod	6428
Boljoon	5883	Poro	6634
N. Caceres	2778	S. Francisco	5523
Santander	3548	Pilar	4865
Oslob	5389	Catmon	5682
Samboan	12169	Carmen	6187
Ginatilan	12166	Danao	15838
Malaboyoc	11472	Compostela	4562
Alegria	8277	Liloan	8357
Badian	9195	Mandawe	10887
Moalboal	11213	Opon	12745
Asturias	5246	Cordoba	5073
Dumanjug	9129	Talamban	6343
Consolacion	4124	Santa Fe	2978
Ronda	3774		

Source: ESTADO GENERAL DE LOS PUEBLOS DEL ARZOBISPO DE MANILA Y LOS OBISPOS SUFRAGANEOS, 1885. Pp. 65-66.

NUMBER OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Article 8 of the *Reglamento para las escuelas* (1863) stipulated that there were to be two public elementary schools in every Philippine municipality regardless of its population size. One was to be for boys, the other for girls. Further pairs of such centers were to be provided under certain specified conditions of population increase or location. Wherever at all possible, according to the common custom of the nineteenth century, the two sex groups were to be housed in separate buildings.

In the academic year 1868-69, roughly four years subsequent to the legal inauguration of the government system, Cebu province found herself with 44 towns and 49 schools.²¹ By 1892, the number of towns had risen to 52 and the number of public schools to 104.²²

The ARCHIPIELAGO FILIPINO explains that the Philippine public educational system comprised three classes of school: 1) the town school; 2) the *visita* school; and 3) the pagan-territory school. Official records were kept only of the town schools.²³ Evidently, therefore, the above-cited 104 include only the two schools in each of the fifty-two poblacions or municipal centers. The number of public barrio or visita schools in Cebu is unknown. One notable reference to such establishments occurs in the RESEÑA HISTORIA DEL COLEGIO DE LA INMACULADA CONCEPCION: 1880-1930. Whereas the report of 1892 alluded to in the previous paragraph mentions only one public school for girls in the municipality of Cebu, the HISTORIA explicitly states that the *Escuela Municipal de Niñas* founded in 1880,

²¹ Vicente Barrantes, LA INSTRUCCION PRIMARIA EN FILIPINAS (Madrid: El Pueblo, 1869), p. 156.

²² Daniel Grifol y Aliaga (ed.), LA INSTRUCCION PRIMARIA EN FILIPINAS (Manila: Chofre, 1894), p. 338. This is an official school classification list.

²³ José Algué (ed.), ARCHIPIELAGO FILIPINO (Washington: G.P.O., 1900), I, 341-342.

was so named "in order to distinguish it from the public schools in the other barrios of Cebu."²⁴

THE BUILDINGS

The German non-city school of 1895 was usually a two-story brick structure resembling an ordinary family home. One floor was reserved for the teacher and the other for class instruction.²⁵ The average number of classrooms per school was 1.5. In India, between the years 1854 and 1902, only a limited minority of the elementary schools had their own buildings. Most of the instruction was conducted in temples, mosques, and other public places.²⁶ Of Georgia in the southern United States at approximately this same period, Orr comments: "While some communities furnished good [school] houses, others used dilapidated shanties without adaptation to needs or comfort."²⁷ Siam's practice was similar to India's. With but few exceptions in the capital city of Bangkok itself, boys attended class in the Buddhist temples. The girls, if taught at all, were taught at home.²⁸

It is highly probable that as in Germany, Australia, and elsewhere in the contemporary world, the Cebu school houses of the sixties, seventies, and eighties bore a close resemblance to the family dwellings of the region. Gradually, more permanent, spacious, and institution-like structures were erected. In this development Cebu was assisted not inconsiderably by her extensive deposits of lime and the convenient location of her towns along the sea. A large number of her late nineteenth-century schools were constructed either of squared

²⁴ BREVE RESEÑA DEL COLEGIO DE LA INMACULADA CONCEPCIÓN Y DE OTRAS OBRAS BENEFICAS, 1880-1930. (Cebu City: Private Printing, 1930), p. 34. See Grifol, *op. cit.*, p. 338. Hereafter abbreviated to B.R.C.I.C.

²⁵ Levi Seeley, THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM OF GERMANY (New York: Kellog, 1896), pp. 128-234.

²⁶ Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA (Bombay: Macmillan, 1951), p. 366.

²⁷ Dorothy Orr, A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GEORGIA (Durham, N.S.: Duke University, 1950), p. 227.

²⁸ "Siam," ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA (9 ed.) XXI, 853.

limestone mined on the coral beaches, or of a masonry mixture of lime, sand, and gravel. These were usually one-story affairs with large wooden-grilled windows and a nipa roof. The pupil capacity of individual buildings ranged from about 100 as at Dumanjug to perhaps 500 as at Argao.

Customarily the school sites fronted on the town square. The first American superintendent of public instruction reports to Washington:

One Filipino community is very much like another, and yet in certain respects there is a very great difference. Nothing is more noticeable to one who travels about the island of Cebu, for example, than the conformity to a common type in the arrangement of most pueblos. A large church of stone with tiled roof faces a plaza in the center of the town. To one side and frequently connected with the church by cloisters is the convent or residence of the clergy. On the other side of the church, perhaps, or at no great distance from it, stands the tribunal, the town hall of the municipality; and on the other side of the plaza the schools—one for boys another for girls.²⁹

World War II and the naturally destructive effect of time and human neglect have succeeded in obliterating almost totally these historic educational memorials. Indeed, as far as these writers are aware, Cebu now possesses but one genuine and relatively complete Spanish public elementary school house. This stands serenely under two great acacia trees beside the sea at Dalaguete. Fragments, in the form of weather-beaten walls and weed-covered foundations such as those at Argao, Oslob, and Dumanjug, are somewhat less rare.

PUBLIC TOWN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

From the question of school number and building type we turn our attention to the yet more obscure problem of actual school attendance size. The reader should note that our interest is not in mere registration statistics, but with regular physical presence at class. He should likewise bear in mind

²⁹ "Report of the General Superintendent of Instruction," REPORT OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION: 1902 (Washington: G.P.O., 1903), p. 944.

that the attendance enumerations here recorded do not include children either at public barrio schools³⁰ or at private schools.³¹

Statistical reports covering public elementary education in the various provinces of the Archipelago appeared rather frequently in the GACETA DE MANILA, the official daily bulletin of the insular government, from 1867 until approximately 1880. Figure I is a photostatic copy of one such report. Subsequent to 1880, for some unknown reason, similar records found place in its pages more and more rarely. Thus, we possess Cebu Province attendance tables for 1868 and 1876, but none for the later decades. The total provincial attendance count for July 1868 was 12,876.³² For the year 1876 it was 14,796.³³ Since the province population in 1868 was reported as 318, 715, and in 1876 as 400,125,³⁴ we have a public elementary school attendance proportion of, in the first case, 1 in 25, and in the second 1 in 27.

Table III reveals how, on the basis of the above cited index Cebu province compares with certain other peoples of

³⁰ Domingo Alcosoba, master of a highly respected private school at Barili in the 1890's, declares that around Barili in his time there were many barrio schools, but that these were parish establishments. Personal interview, Danao, Cebu, October 20, 1960.

³¹ Cebu Province seems to have enjoyed an ample number of private schools. In Dumajug, for example, two operated. One, having a student body of some 40 boys and girls was conducted by the Pastor, Fr. Antonio Medalle, in the parish rectory. This school provided a broader and more thorough elementary curriculum in preparation for secondary studies at San Carlos and the Inmaculada in Cebu City. Interview. Eladio Alpuerto, Regina Corro, and associates. Dumanjug, Cebu, July 28, 1960.

A second school directed by Juan Lozada counted some 20 boys in the first of what appears to have been a three-grade curriculum. The Dumanjug community regarded Lozada as a well-educated man. Interview. Vicente Matanug. Dumanjug, Cebu, October 2, 1960. Matanug studied in this school.

³² GACETA DE MANILA, August 7, 1868.

³³ GACETA DE MANILA, 1876, p. 2070.

³⁴ *Ibid.* The population count for 1868 is given by Barrantes, INSTRUCCION PRIMARIA, pp. 156 ff.

the contemporary world. Actually, of the nations listed, only England excels Cebu in her proportion of persons attending public elementary schools.

TABLE III

RATIO BETWEEN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
ATTENDANCE AND THE GENERAL POPULATION
OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1868-1895

Country	Year	Ratio
India ^a	1881-82	1 in 100
American Indian ^b	1870	1 in 55
Roumania ^c	1883	1 in 44
Ceylon ^d	1871	1 in 43
Chile ^e	1892	1 in 34
Costa Rica ^f	1894-95	1 in 32
Cebu ^g	1868-69	1 in 25
England ^h	1867	1 in 12

Sources: ^aS. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA*, p. 345.

^bU.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION REPORT: 1870, p. 347.

^c"Roumania" in *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA* (9 ed.) XXI, p. 16.

^d"Ceylon" *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA* (9 ed.) V, p. 367.

^e"Chile" in *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA* (9 ed.) V, p. 261.

^f"Costa Rica" in *BOLETIN OFICIAL DE MAGISTERIO FILIPINO*, III (Enero, 1897), p. 12.

^gSee footnote previous paragraph.

^h"England" in *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA* (9 ed.) VIII, pp. 248-249.

Published material being silent or incomplete concerning school attendance between 1876 and 1896, our only recourse for data was to approach living survivors of the era directly. Two or more old folks who actually studied in the Spanish primary schools were interviewed in each of six representative towns. Three of these towns, Argao, Dalaguete, and Oslob were located on the east coast ranging in distance out of Cebu City from 64 to 116 kilometers. The other three, Barili, Dumanjug, and Ronda, occupied sites across the mountains on the opposite coast, the closest being 64 kilometers from the

provincial capital. Our opinion was that the extent and kind of education found to have prevailed in these six poblacions would, by and large, be typical of the poblacions of the province as a whole.

Table IV is a list of the attendance estimates for various years during the last decade of the century prepared for us by our informants in the six selected towns.

TABLE IV
ESTIMATED REGULAR ATTENDANCE AT THE
PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF SIX
POBLACIONES, 1890-1896

Town	Years	Boys	Girls	Total
Argao	1890	220 ^a	200 ^a	420
Dalaguete	1894	100 ^b	100 ^c	200
Oslob	1893-1900	300 ^d	300 ^e	600
Barili	1893-1896	200 ^f	200 ^g	400
Dumanjug	1894-1896	160 ^h	55 ⁱ	215
Ronda	1892-	80 ^j	80 ^j	160

Informants: a—Ananias Quintanar, interviewed September 11, 1960; b—Fidel Buenconsejo (September 1, 1960); c—Fausta Bahanas (October 6, 1960); d—Joaquin Sayoso (September 5, 1960); e—Dorotea Mirasol (August 30, 1960); however, Juan Luna, a close relative of the head maestra at the Oslob girls' school declares that the attendance approached 650 at the girls' center and 550 at the boys' center (Letter, October 4, 1960); f—Pedro Carreon (October 4, 1960); g—Visitacion Arquisola (October 4, 1960); h—Demetrio Recamora (July 27, 1960); i—Pelagia Llenos Vda. de Zulueta (July 24, 1960); j—Lorenzo Villalon (July 25, 1960) and Pio Boquias (October 23, 1960).

Other informants:

Dumanjug: Eladio Alpuerto, Regina Corro Vda. de Recamora, Rosalia Alpuerto, Dorotea Llenos Vda. de Quirante, Zacarias Melgar, Gabriel Alpuerto, and Magdalena Zozobrado.

Danao: Antonio Lao.

Naga: Sabas Algoso.

Argao: Francisco Ruiz, Maria Comello, and Maura Lucero de Mendez.

Barili: Bartolome Pañares, Flavia Arquisola.

Carcar: Domingo Alcoseba.

Moalboal: Brigido Gako, Vicente Gador.

Alcantara: Emiliano Pulgo.

These attendance assessments work out to an average of 164 for each of the twelve schools studied. On the basis of this figure, admittedly a very rough approximation, the extrapolated estimate of Cebu Province public town school attendance between 1890 and 1896 comes to 17,056. While this may seem somewhat too bright a picture, the writers' own inclination after months of rather extensive and detailed inquiry is more towards acceptance than rejection. Certainly, 17,056 would not be an excessive total if we were to include in it the children going to barrio, parish, and private schools.

CURRICULUM

Regardless of the elaborate program of study which in numerous countries appeared in government legislative gazettes, the disappointing historical fact is that the typical elementary school of the nineteenth century outside the urban centers, taught as the all but exclusive substance of its curriculum, reading, writing, and arithmetic. In the then powerful nations of the West, England, France, and Germany, as well as among certain peoples of Asia, religion occupied with these an equally basic and indispensable status. Skills, attitudes, or information above and beyond these three or four "R's" might or might not show up on the instructional schedule. Some schools provided history and geography, science and music, hygiene and drawing; others provided one or two of these; still others, none. Even within a given country or province, curricular content varied from place to place depending on the kind and level of the teacher's education, the availability of books and equipment, the demands of the environment, etc.

The typical Cebu curriculum as described by our old folks in the six towns consisted largely, as elsewhere in the nineteenth century world, of the three "R's" arranged roughly into three levels of work. Christian doctrine received considerable emphasis. There was a modicum of geography and history. Gradually, as more and more teachers trained at the normal schools in Manila, at San Carlos and Inmaculada

Colleges in Cebu City took charge of the province's schools, increased attention was paid to the broader curriculum.

Classes usually met in the mornings from 8 to 10 o'clock and in the afternoons from 2 to 4 o'clock. Thursday and Sunday were the customary weekly holidays, although in a school or two Saturday replaced Thursday. The academic year lasted approximately ten months, but the vacation period appears not to have coincided in all the municipalities. Governors were allowed by law to designate the planting and harvest seasons as the school's annual vacation. The average pupil remained at school about three years.

The organic educational laws of 1863 required Spanish as the medium of instruction in the public elementary schools except with the beginners. The Cebu classrooms used both Spanish and Visayan, different teachers, apparently, using and demanding different proportions of the one or the other. By degrees, however, under the influence of the growing number of instructors educated in the colleges of Manila and Cebu City, Spanish acquired wider and wider prevalence. In this matter, Dalaguete followed a unique arrangement. There, the first three years of the curriculum were conducted entirely in Visayan. A fourth year with a broad curriculum was taught wholly in Spanish. The Augustinian parish priest acted as the maestro for this group which included both boys and girls.

TEACHERS

The Cebu Province section of Expenditures in the *Presupuesto Municipal* for 1890 made salary allocations for 244 teachers. On the basis of this number of teachers and 17,056 as the average attendance during the 1890-1896 period, the Cebu pupil-instructor ratio turns out to be 70 to one. In the German schools, generally judged to be one of the best educational systems in the world at that time, the prevailing proportion stood at one instructor for every 66 children.³⁵ Enormous

³⁵ Seeley, *op. cit.*, p. 242. The ratio applied to the 1891-1892 period. In their well-known sociological study, *MIDDLETOWN IN TRANSITION* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939) R.S. and H.M. Lynd remark:

classes (according to modern norms) under the care of one teacher and a band of pupil monitors were not uncommon phenomena far into the late nineteenth century. Matthew Arnold describes a public school in Paris where 200 boys shared the services of 2 teachers, and 200 girls the services of one teacher and 14 monitors. This establishment, Arnold wrote, was "a good specimen of its class," that is, a city public school conducted by laymen.³⁶ The school law (1857) of Holland reflected this same trend. Article 18 read: "If the number of pupils in one school shall exceed 70, the headmaster shall be assisted by one apprentice teacher; in schools not exceeding 100, by one assistant teacher."³⁷

Among the stout-hearted and high-minded men and women who manned the Cebu classrooms during the final decades of the century in the face of this and a plethora of other difficulties, our reminiscing alumni recalled these:

At Argao: Cornelio Meñosa (N.), Cristeto Villahermosa, Filomena Lucero, and Sabina Mondragon.

At Dalaguete: Pedro Sendalo and Eleuteria Osorio.

At Oslob: Gregorio Buscas, Luciano Sabandal, Estanislao Luna, Meliton Rendon (S.C.), Domingo Cortez (S.C.), Rufo Cabilto (S.C.), Mariano Quiboquibo (S.C.), Baldomero Rendon (S.C.), Juana Durban, Maria Lagare, and Catalina Luna.

At Barili: Jose Lim (N.), Cipriano Estrada, Saturnino Echavez, Mrs. Irena Flores Concepcion, Isabel Causin, and Asuncion Arriaga.

At Dumanjug: Lorenzo Corro (S.C.), Vicente Segovia, Hospicio Gandiongco (N.), Sotera Alpuerto, Leoncia Salazar, and Magdalena Zozobrado (C.I.C.).

At Ronda: Mariano Encarnacion (N.).

The initials S.C. identify those reported as educated at San Carlos, N, those reported as educated at the Escuela Normal de Maestros in Manila, and C.I.C. those known to have been trained at the Inmaculada College, Cebu City. Of

"In 1889-90 the average per-teacher load in Middletown [Muncie, Indiana] was 58 pupils, and in the lower grades this went up to 80." p. 228.

³⁶ Matthew Arnold, *POPULAR EDUCATION OF FRANCE* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), pp. 97 ff.

³⁷ Arnold, *Ibid.*, Appendix. p. 274.

most of those without initials we possess no information. The San Carlos men listed for Oslob represent but five of a total reported teaching staff of twelve.³⁸ Remarkable about the above-cited roster of remembered mentors was its almost perfect agreement with the names appearing in the official Philippine government directories for 1892 and 1897.³⁹ The recollections of our eye-witnesses evidently merited cautious trust.

SCHOOLS FREE

Although the organic school law of the Philippines ordained that better-off children should pay a small monthly tuition fee as a supplement to the teachers' salary, the provision was, in practice, all but completely ignored. Similar ordinances appeared in the nineteenth-century school legislation of France, England, Germany, and Australia, obviously under the still powerful spirit of *laissez-faire*.⁴⁰ The alleged reasons for their inclusion was that people would not value that which came to them totally free, and that parents exempt from all direct school charges whatsoever would grow irresponsible toward the education of their children. Among the twelve survey schools, eleven were completely free and open to any child, rich or poor, who might wish to profit from the instruction offered. The twelfth, the boys' school at Dalaguete, is reported to have charged the colossal sum of two centavos a week.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The operation of an educational institution necessitates two major types of expenditure: first, the cost of constructing, equipping, and maintaining the building, and second, the continuing salary and supply expenses of the instructional and administrative staff. The Philippine system's finance plan charged the first type to the *Obra Públicas* (Public Works)

³⁸ Juan Luna. Letter. October 4, 1960.

³⁹ GUIA OFICIAL DE FILIPINAS: 1892, p. 705.

GUIA OFICIAL DE FILIPINAS: 1897, pp. 732 ff.

⁴⁰ Germany. Seeley, *Op. cit.* p. 136; Holland. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-20: France. *Ibid.*, p. 99; Australia, Griffiths, *op. cit.*, ("Public Instruction Act of 1880" Art. 11), p. 164.

department of the provinces, with the result that we cannot know what amounts were spent on schools and teachers' houses until these are sifted out from expenditures on roads, bridges and town halls.

The second type of expenditure, the current costs of salaries, supplies, and rental [for teachers' homes and school buildings], were carried under two headings, — *Ensenanza Pública* (Public Instruction) and *Arrendamientos* (Rentals). The Provincial budget shouldered these expenses until about 1881. Subsequent to that date they became the obligation of the municipalities. Since a number of these Provincial and Municipal budgets are extant both in our own Philippine National Archives and in the Library of Congress, Washington, Cebu's allocations for this second type of expense are definitely available for certain sample fiscal years. Table V presents data for four such sample years. Notice should be taken that the amounts listed in column two, except for that assigned 1895-96, are the sum of two separate allocations, one for *Ensenanza Pública* and the other for *Arrendamientos*. Because of the merger in May, 1893 of the Provincial and Municipal budgets into one budget called the *Fondos Locales*, the 1895-96 total represents a combination of not two but three distinct allotments, the two previously mentioned, together with the estimated Cebu portion of a ₱100,000 national allocation for school supplies to be distributed among approximately 200,000 children.

TABLE V
AMOUNTS ALLOTTED IN THE PROVINCE OF CEBU
FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SALARIES,
SUPPLIES AND RENTALS, 1880-1896

Budget	School Salaries, Supplies, Rental	Total Allotted All Services	Per cent of Total Allotted Education
1881-82 (Municipal)	₱17,572 ^a	29,355	60
1884-85 "	18,011 ^b	40,030	45
1890- "	19,740 ^c	53,692	
1895-96 (Fondos Locales)	35,828 ^d		(34.7) ^e

- Sources: ^a *Presupuesto Municipal: 1881-82 Gastos.* Provincia de Cebu. *Ensenanza Publica* (ch. 3) and *Arrendamientos* (ch. 8)
- ^b *Presupuesto Municipal: 1884-85. Gastos.* Provincia de Cebu. *Ensenanza Publica* (ch. 3) and *Arrendamientos* (ch. 8)
- ^c *Presupuesto Municipal: 1890. Gastos.* Provincia de Cebu. *Ensenanza Publica* (ch. 3) and *Arrendamientos* (ch. 8). This sum of ₱19,740, however, does not contain an allocation for school supplies. A Decree of January 16, 1889 created a National Board of Supply to manage this service for all of the provinces.
- ^d *Fondos Locales: 1895:96 Instruccion Publica* (ch. 1) and *Arrendamientos* (ch. 7). Add ₱7,500 as Cebu's share of the national school supply allocation of ₱100,000 (ch. 1. Art. 3); 15,000 pupils at ₱0.50 per pupil.
- ^e The percentage allotted public school salaries, supplies, and rentals in all of the provinces as a group, including Cebu. Henry Frederick Fox, "Current Expense Appropriations for Public Elementary Education, 1881-1896 PHILIPPINE STUDIES II (No. 4. 1954), pp. 341-359.

When a government spreads its public service finance burdens over two or three separate budget levels, one must be careful of one's judgments. A deficiency at one level may be balanced out at another. In the present case, one's simplest reaction to the table's data is that although the Cebu town coffers possessed precious little treasure, the lion's share of what they had, they bestowed on public elementary education. One wonders how many towns of the contemporary nineteenth-century world appropriated one-third of their available funds to educate, howsoever imperfectly, the children of the common man.

COLEGIO DE LA INMACULADA CONCEPCION

Second only to San Carlos in general cultural influence and in the preparing of teachers for the public schools of Cebu was the Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepcion. This institution was founded in Cebu City in 1880 by Bishop Benito Madridejos, Fr. Fernando de la Canal, and a group of young women who called themselves *Hermanitas de la Madre de Dios*. Classes opened solemnly May 30 of that year with the attendance of

30 boarders and 37 day scholars. Hilaria Salinas, trained in the normal school division of the Escuela Municipal de Niñas of Manila and holder of an official teacher's certificate, filled the office of directress.⁴¹

The Inmaculada campus occupied the entire block across Martires Street from San Carlos. The building was a square surrounding a very extensive patio. Over the years 1880 to 1896 its student body of which a large proportion hailed from towns outside the capital city, averaged 340 annually.⁴² The *GUIA OFICIAL DE FILIPINAS*: 1890 reported an administrative and teaching staff of 12.⁴³ The curriculum offered appears to have comprised a rather broad mixture of both primary and secondary content. It reminds one of the study program followed by the English middle-class girls' secondary school described by Anne Clough in *MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE* for October 1866: "The curriculum consisted of the three R's, grammar, geography, history, and a little French and music."⁴⁴ Tuition amounted to a modest two pesos per month.⁴⁵

Among the more significant events of the Inmaculada's first decades of operation, two may be recalled. In 1890, so pleased was the National Board of Public Instruction with the high quality of the school's training that it approved the Inmaculada as an institution whose graduates were eligible to take the examination for the official *maestra* certificate.⁴⁶ The second of the more notable events occurred five years later when the management of the College passed into the hands of the Sisters of Charity. In a dramatic ceremony of fusion January 29, 1895 the Hermanitas as a group joined the Hijas de la Caridad.

⁴¹ B.R.C.I.C., p. 22.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴³ *GUIA*: 1890, p. 152.

⁴⁴ Cited by R. L. Archer, *SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1921), p. 233.

⁴⁵ Questionnaire-interview. Nena Fortich Escaño. Cebu City, December 28, 1957.

⁴⁶ Records of the Escuela Normal de Maestros, Manila. *LIBRO COPIADOR*: 1864-, p. 375. The Director of the Escuela Normal de Maestros was an ex-officio member of the National Board of Public Instruction.

Not far from the Inmaculada in the heart of the old Cebu settlement, two other centers offered primary instruction for girls, both free. One was the Asilo de San Jose organized in 1890. Members of the *Hermanita* band guided the domestic, vocational, and academic training of this group of 70 orphan girls.⁴⁷ The other was the *Escuela Municipal de Niñas* which began its educational work in 1880 under the direction of Cirila Miranda, a licensed maestra from Concordia College, Manila.⁴⁸ The Cebu Ayuntamiento furnished the salaries for the two staff members. Between 60 and 200 little girls attended this school annually.⁴⁹

COLEGIO-SEMINARIO DE SAN CARLOS

Following the abrupt and spectacular demise of the Colegio de San Ildefonso in 1768, the fine stone building and church appear to have remained for some years unoccupied. Observing this fact and needing a more suitable domicile for his diocesan seminary, Bishop Mateo Arévalo finally succeeded in 1783 in securing the compound from the government. He bestowed the name San Carlos on this quasi-new establishment. It was an ecclesiastical seminary only, and continued as such down to 1867.

In that year a fresh era opened in the now centuries old development of San Carlos. For, hardly had the newly appointed seminary administrators, the Spanish Paules Fathers, unpacked their trunks, before the citizens of Cebu petitioned them and the Bishop to admit lay students to the seminary classes. The request was granted.

The program of studies operative at this time at San Carlos comprised two levels of work. The lower or secondary division lasting six years included Spanish, Latin, Rhetoric, Literature, History, and Philosophy. The upper or univer-

⁴⁷ B.R.C.I.C., pp. 29 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴⁹ BREVE RESEÑA HISTÓRICA DE LOS PADRES PAULES Y LAS HIJAS DE LA CARIDAD EN FILIPINAS: 1862-1912. (Manila: Santos-Bernal, 1912), p. 195.

sity division taking four years provided Canon Law, Moral and Dogmatic Theology, Asceticism and History. The recently admitted lay students took the lower six-year set of subjects.⁵⁰

By 1890 the enrollment of non-seminarians had so mounted that a complete five-year Bachelor of Arts program was substituted in their favor for the previous six-year non-degree sequence. Simultaneously, a complete department in primary letters was introduced distinct from the boys' public school organization begun some two decades before. This new division known as the *clase preparatoria* enjoyed an average annual student count of some 200.

Table VI pictures the phenomenal growth of the school over the short span of thirty years. In addition to its size, the student body of San Carlos seems also to have been notable for the breadth of its local representation. On the basis of the proportion occurring in the Freshman A.B. class of 1894-95, more than 75 per cent of San Carlos parents resided in towns outside Cebu City⁵¹. Secondary education was not being confined to a small clique in the provincial center. Except for a small registration fee, tuition in all departments of San Carlos was *gratis*.⁵²

The second batch of boys receiving elementary instruction on the San Carlos campus alluded to above were the pupils of the public school operated on the ground floor of the college wing behind the church. About 100 lads yearly attended this establishment whose public character became official on August 5, 1871 when the Governor General formally accepted San Carlos' offer of facilities and an instructional Staff.⁵³

Over and above the two primary instruction groups on the San Carlos campus, Cebu City possessed at least four

⁵⁰ R.H.S.C., pp. 10 ff.

⁵¹ Personal Interview. Rev. Natalio del Mar. Sibonga, Cebu, October 20, 1960. Fr. del Mar, born in Cebu City in 1886 is an alumnus of San Carlos.

⁵² "Variedades", BOLETIN ECLESIASTICO DEL OBISPADO DE CEBU III (April 24, 1895), 133-141.

⁵³ R.H.S.C., p. 19.

TABLE VI
ENROLLMENT AT THE COLEGIO-SEMINARIO
DE SAN CARLOS 1867-1896

Year	Upper Studies	Secondary Studies	Preparatory Studies	Total
1867-68		52	200	644
1870-71		104	200	904
1875-76		220		
1880-81		310		
1885-86		359		
1890-91	67		377	
1895-96	80		624	

Source: RESEÑA HISTÓRICA DEL SEMINARIO-COLEGIO DE SAN CARLOS: 1867-1917, p. 28. The second column includes both upper and secondary studies.

other centers where boys might receive an introduction into the world of learning. The largest of these was a second boys public school, the *Escuela Municipal de Niños*, located on the south side of Colon Street between Jakosalem and Mabini.⁵⁴ There, two maestros, Filemón Veloso and Misael Suico, had charge of between two and three hundred youngsters. The remaining three were private schools conducted by Martín Medalle, Graviano Samson, and Antonio Obiña, each having approximately one hundred students. Maestro "Ating" and Maestro "Tonio" asked the very modest fee of ₱0.50 per month for their mentorship efforts.⁵⁴

RECAPITULATION

In a nineteenth-century world where perhaps 25 per cent of the children participated in the benefits of primary school instruction, distant, dependent, and impecunious Cebu succeeded in providing these benefits to some 20 per cent of her sons and daughters. In a world where the typical non-urban

⁵⁴ Personal interview. Natalio del Mar. Sibonga, Cebu, October 20, 1960.

⁵⁵ Present site of the Star Theatre.

school taught the three "R's", frequently to immense classes with a heavy emphasis on oral instruction and memory learning, Cebu also taught the three "R's", frequently to immense classes with a heavy emphasis on oral instruction and memory learning. This is not to claim that Cebu's schools were objectively satisfactory either in number or quality. Far from it. At the same time, they appear not to have been substantially less in number and quality from that offered by the typical non-urban community of the contemporary world. Our past is decidedly richer than we are sometimes inclined to believe.



Convento. Oslob, Cebu. Type of Parish
Boys' School before 1863



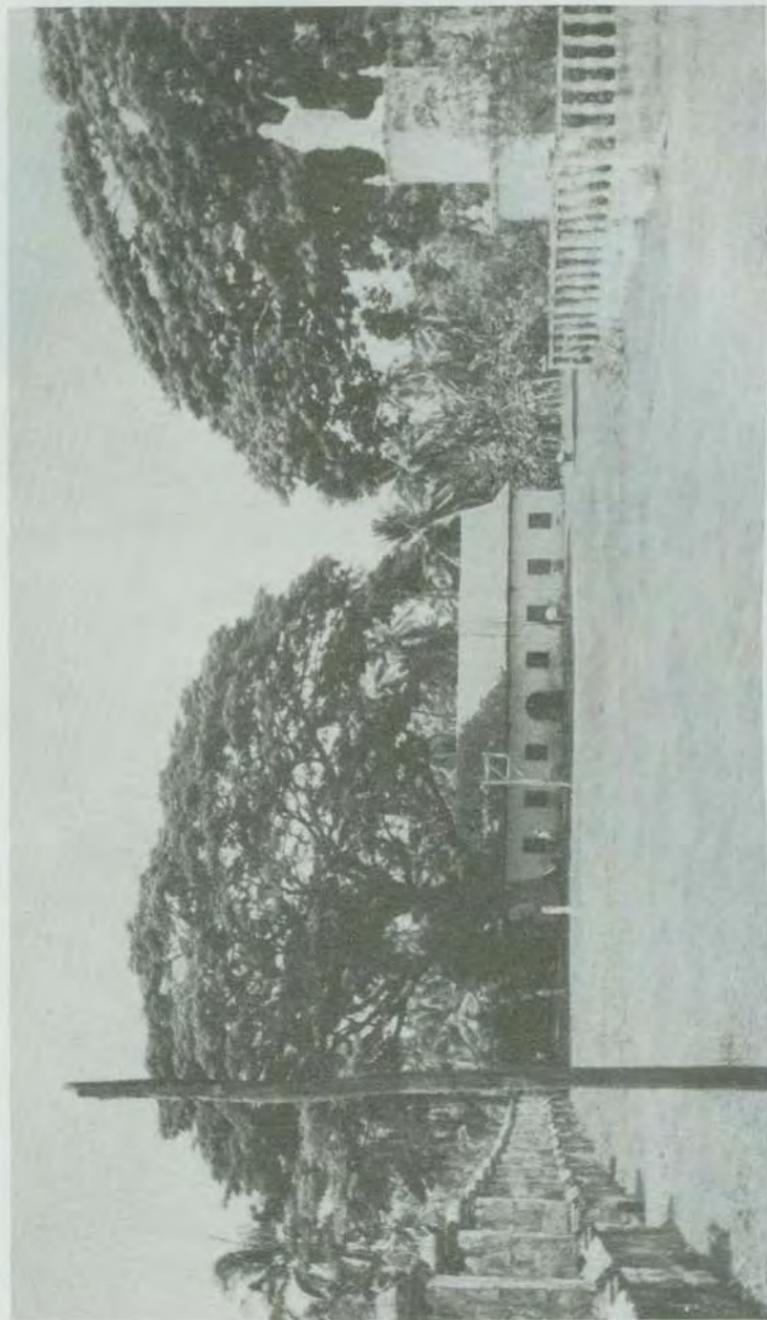
Colegio de San Ildefonso
Building reported as completed in 1735



Ruins of the Escuela Publica de Niños
at Argao, Cebu



The Escuela Municipal de Niñas
Cebu City, 1896



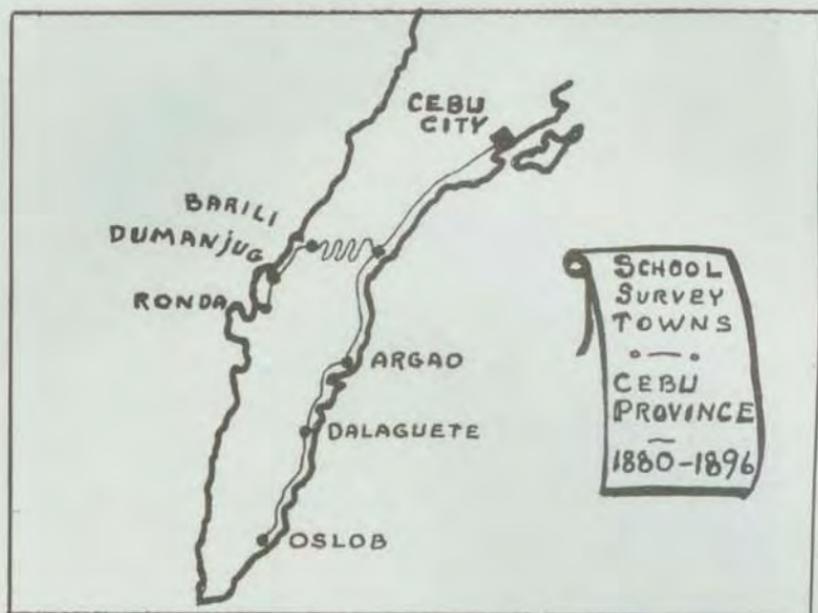
The Escuela Publica de Niñas, Dalaguete, Cebu

GOBIERNO M. Y P. DE CEBU.

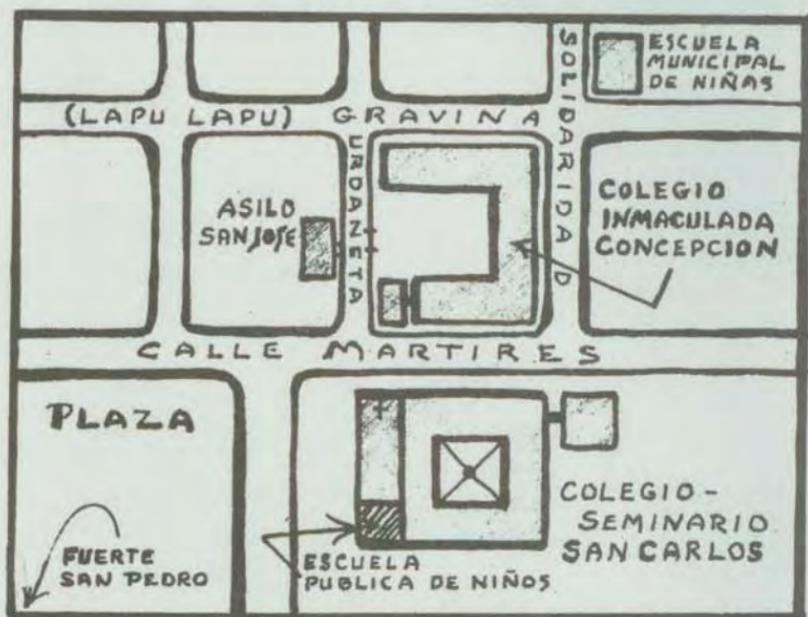
RELACION DETALLADA del número de niños y niñas que han asistido á las Escuelas de los pueblos de este Distrito en el mes de Setiembre último, formada en vista de los datos que han remitido á este Gobierno los respectivos Gobernadorcillos.

PUEBLOS.	Niños y niñas asistentes en dichos mes.	De paga.	Que asisten gratuitamente.	Que asisten con ayuda.	Que pertenecen á las Escuelas de niñas.	OBSERVACIONES.
Ciudad, natu- rales.....	444	28	2	142		
Id., mestizos.	683	30		683		
San Nicolás...	293			293		
El Pardo....	353	43		350		
Talisay.....	430	9		430		
Minglanilla..	445	25		415		
Naga.....	299		33	257		
S. Fernando..	421		103	318		
Carcar.....	507		217	290		Los 217 alumnos asistiendo á las escuelas en los trabajos agrícolas y en la persecución de langostas.
Sibonga.....	880	30		880		
Argao.....	660	12		660		
Daraguete...	230	30		230		
Alcoy.....	280	20		280		
Boljoon.....	295	20		295		
N. Cáceres...	380	30		380		
Ostob.....	420	25		420		
Santander...	350	24		350		
Samboan...	380	20		380		
Ginatitan...	415			415		
Malaboyoc...	215			215		
Alegria.....	280		21	259		
Badian.....	400	11		400		
Moalhoal...	185	20		185		
Aleántara...	395	27		395		
Dumanjug...	345	20		345		
Baril.....	380	74		380		
Pinaroengaj.	157	22		157		
Toledo.....	300	13		300		
Ralamban...						
Tuburan...						
Bantayan...	438	28		438		
San Remigio.	230	25		230		
Bogo.....	312	14		312		
Baán Bantay.	247			247		
Tohgou.....	300	25		300		
Borbon.....	166	13		160		
Sorod.....	340	11		340		
Poro.....	265	8		265		
S. Francisco.	339	20		330		
Pilar.....	211		6	205		
Carmon.....	360	12		360		
Cármen.....	325	20		325		
Danao.....	540	15		540		
Compostela..	497	4		497		
Liloan.....	370	20		370		
Mandaue...	350		18	332		
Opon.....	230	13		230		
Córdova.....	225	15		225		
Talauban...	311	8		311		
Suma...	16221	554	400	15912		

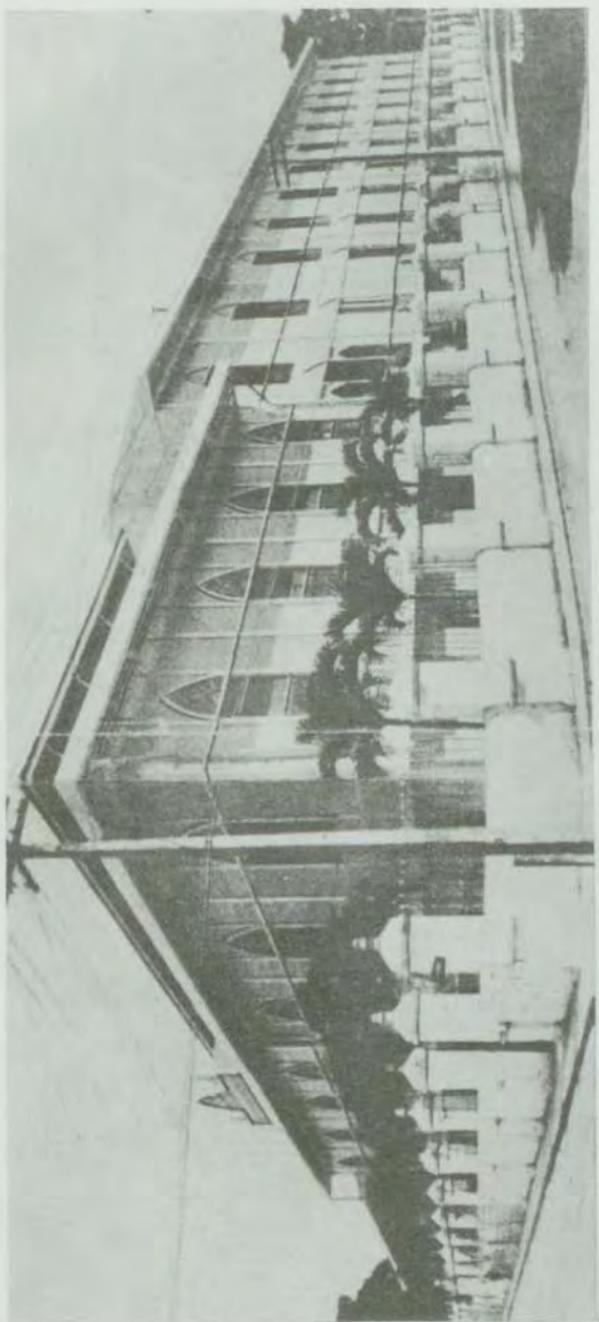
Cebú 5 de Octubre de 1868.—Joaquín Manot.



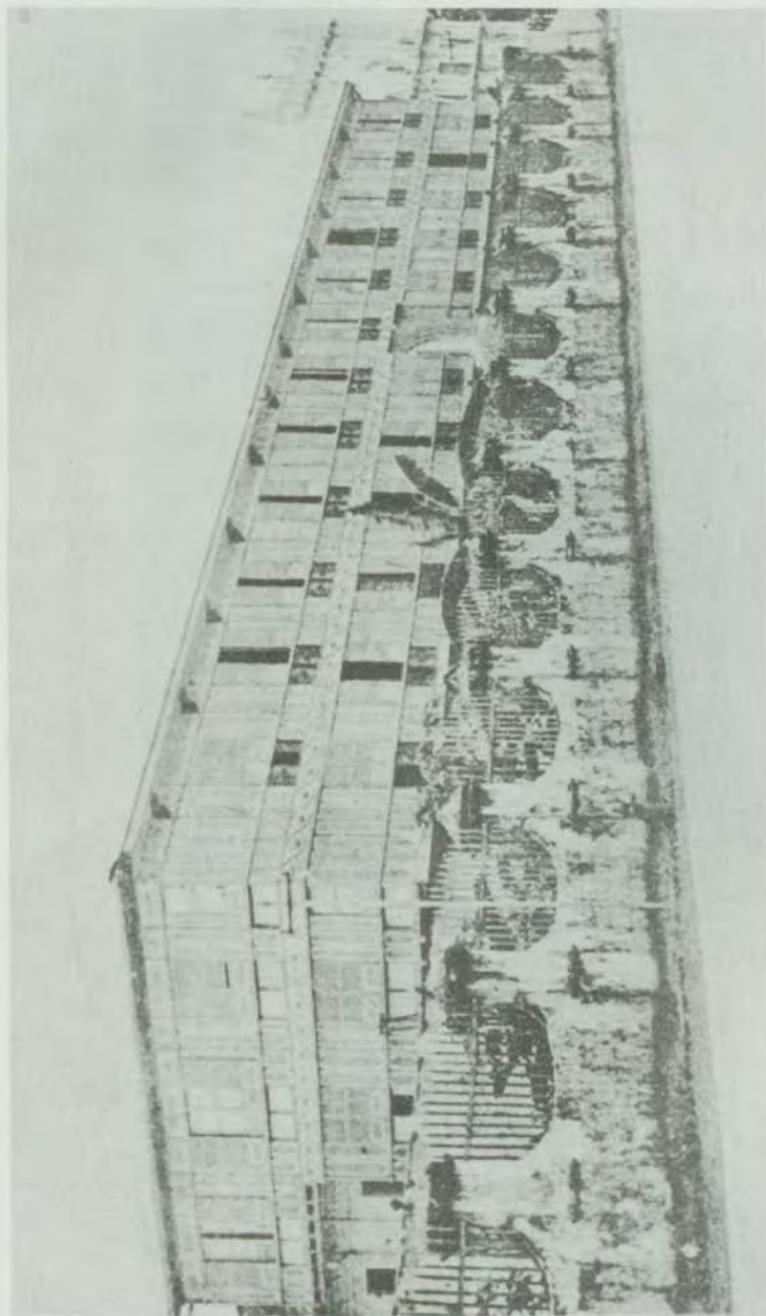
Location of the School Survey Towns



Cebu City Showing Location of Principal Schools, 1896



Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepcion, Cebu City



Colegio-Seminario de San Carlos, 1896