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http://www.philippinestudies.net Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008 Education in the Ilocos During the Spanish Colonial Period, 1574-1898*
MARCELINO A. FORONDA, JR.

General aspects of education in the Philippines from the precolonial era to contemporary times have been surveyed and its more specialized aspects studied. Philippine education during the Spanish colonial era has also been surveyed. More specialized studies, like those on Jesuit education in the country, and others on the University of Santo Tomás, have been published.

By focusing mainly on the Spanish colonial period, appraisals had been made of the contributions of the Catholic church in the fields of elementary education, seminary education, secondary education for girls, and vocational and higher education. Presenting a thesis which is a departure from that taken by most scholars, Domingo Abella published a paper which sustained the view that prior to the mid-1850s higher education in the country was mainly

- *This paper is part of my larger project of writing the history of Ilocos, with grants from the Philippine Social Science Council/Ford Foundation and De La Salle University, which I would like to acknowledge here.
- 1. Antonio S. Isidro, The Philippine Educational System, 2nd ed., (Manila: Bookman, 1949); Florencio P. Fresnoza and Canuto Casim, Essentials of the Philippine Educational System, rev. ed., (Manila: Abiva Publishing Company, 1964); Arthur L. Carson, Higher Education in the Philippines (Washington. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961); and Paul P. Zwaenepoel, Tertiary Education in the Philippines, 1611-1972: A Systems Analysis (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1975).
- 2. Camilo Osias, Education in the Philippines Under the Spanish Regime (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1917); and Evergisto Bazaco, History of Education in the Philippines (Manila: University of Santo Tomás Press, 1953).
- 3. William C. Repetti, Jesuit Education in the Philippines The University of San Ignacio, 1623-1768 (Manila, 1940); Horacio de la Costa, "Jesuit Education in the Philippines to 1768," Philippine Studies 4(1956):127-55; Alberto Santamaria, "Estudios históricos de la Universidad de Santo Tomás de Manila," Unitas 15-16 (1936-1938); Juan Sánchez y García, Sinópsis histórica documentada de la Universidad de Santo Tomás de Manila desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días (Manila, 1928); and Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, Reseña histórica de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Santo Tomás de Manila (Manila, 1911).
 - 4. See Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines, The Contribution of the

EDUCATION IN ILOCOS 113

for the benefit of Spaniards, peninsular or creole, or Spanish-Philippine mestizos.⁵

To my knowledge, however, no specific study has so far been conducted on education in any particular region in the Philippines, much less the Ilocos, during the Spanish colonial period. This paper, therefore, inquires into education in the Ilocos region during the Spanish regime, and it is hoped that it might be of some help to regional educational planners in charting out policies by relating past efforts to present undertakings.

It has been said that a Spanish friar, Fr. Sebastián de Baeza, opened a primary school in the town of Bantay "in the very same year of the Franciscans' arrival in 1577." This was "followed by many others in the following years," the Franciscan chapter of 1580 having finally decreed that a school must be constructed beside each church that they were to establish.

Practically nothing is known of this school, inasmuch as documents on it have still to be found. What seems probable, if it ever existed at all, is that it must have been a very informal one attached to the nearby church where the children of Spaniards most probably were taught the basic rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, with a heavy dosage of religion.

But probably due to the poor arid land and harsh climate, only a few Spaniards opted to settle in Ilocos, and thus, subsequent schools established by the Spaniards in the region were meant primarily for the native population.

To be sure, such schools were primitive by present-day standards. "The schoolhouse, to which (these) children commuted from the church," as Onofre D. Corpuz, now president of the University of the Philippines, who had earlier studied education during the Spanish colonial period, has pointed out, "was a sorry affair. It was often a rude shed with a thatched roof supported by bamboo posts, but without walls. Or it may have been a stable corner in the town hall (another decrepit structure of bamboo and palm fronds) or a parish residence. There were no supplies. . . the children learned

Catholic Church to Education in the Philippines: Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourth National Convention (Manila: The Association, 1952).

^{5.} Domingo Abella, "State of Higher Education in the Philippines to 1863 — A Historical Appraisal," Philippine Historical Review 1,1 (1965): 1-46.

^{6.} Apolinar Pastrana, "The Franciscans and the Evangelization of the Philippines (1578-1900)," Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas 39(January-February 1965):90-91.

^{7.} Ibid.

to write with sticks or their fingers, on banana leaves or in the sand which was collected in sandboxes. The system of instruction in those schools, presided over by a teacher who was a creature of the friar, was to keep the simple mind simple, and to drive deep into it the roots of meekness and obedience."

A manual for curates of the Augustinian Order published in 1792° gives a graphic picture of the activities of pupils studying in these schools.

All the pupils assembled in the church as the church bells rang for the holy mass each morning. From there they marched in single file to the school. After they had seated themselves, the teacher inspected the pupils to find out who were dirty, who wore torn clothes and who among the girls failed to bring kerchief or shawls, whose finger nails were untrimmed, or those who did not wash their faces, hands or feet. Offenders were whipped.

Classes were held up to 9:30 A.M. At ten pupils with folded arms, and in single file, following a pupil who carried a cross, went to the church. They chanted *Pammati a nalagda* (Firm Faith) while waiting for the others. In church they recited in the Ilocano language the Our Father, the Our Lord Jesus Christ, the *O Nagloriaan*...(O Glorious...) and a prayer to the Blessed Trinity, after which they returned back to the school following the same manner, singing the *Pammati a nalagda*, after which they returned home.

At the time of the vespers they returned to school. They read their lessons, while the teacher inspected them as in the morning, looking out also for those who slouched. The teacher then taught the children to be habitually obedient, to be respectful and clean, as enjoined by the *caton* and to take care of the body and soul.

Lessons were then resumed. At four in the afternoon, the children, chanting the *Pammati*, returned to the Church, where they were taught the days, months, and year, thus, their minds were prepared for the examination of conscience in anticipation of the reception of the sacrament of confession and communion, both of which they would receive when they were older.

^{8.} Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), a 47

See Appendix to Fernando Rey, Confessonarios para caso de Necesidad, (Sampaloc, 1792), pp. 20-29. A paraphrased translation of the Ilocano text is given in Onofre D. Corpuz, The Philippines, pp. 49-50. I myself used the original text, and the paraphrase is mine.

Finally, they recited the rosary and learned the rudiments of confession, and ended the day by reciting the prayer, *O nagloriaan*.

As was to be expected, all these exercises were meant to make devout and good Christians of the pupils. To those who "(showed) this inclination, and who (were) quiet and devout, the priest gave prizes such as rosaries, medallions, crosses, so that those who (were) lazy (would) be inspired, either from envy or from the desire for the prizes, to follow their example."¹⁰

From the very beginning, these parish schools which, as a result of the union of church and state, received whatever help they could from both the church and state, were in effect the public schools of the time. It would be more than 200 years later in 1802, when the Bishop of Vigan would recommend the establishment of a grammar school in Vigan, which was then the capital city of the whole of Ilocos.¹¹

Nothing is known about this school; its curriculum, number of students, physical plant and others. And while it was probably true, as Vicente Barrantes has pointed out, that before 1863, when it was decreed to establish a network of primary schools in the whole archipelago, "there hardly existed in the whole archipelago a single primary school worthy of the name. . . the educational institutions there exist only in embryonic stage," it was equally true that attempts had been made, at least in the Ilocos, to have a network of schools, as the following statistics would show: 13

Towns in Ilocos	Number of		
	Tributes	School Children	Total Population
Namacpacan	2,668	226	3,856
Balauan	2,583	691	5,645
Bangar	2,320	723	5,559
Tagudin	1,628	667	4,221
Santa Cruz	3,042	823	6,885
Candon	2,608	780	6,034
Santa María	3,060	1268	7,226

^{10.} Casimiro Diaz, Párrocho de Indios Instruidos, Idea de un Perfecto Pastor (Manila, 1745), pp. 110a-b.

^{11.} Letter of Fr. Manuel Aparicio to governor-general, 11 March 1803, Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano y Boletín Oficial de la Provincia del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, 11 (Enero de 1919), pp. 122-28.

^{12.} As cited by Abella, p. 23.

^{13.} Mapa de Almas en este año de 1804. Augustinian Archives in Valladolid, Leg. 105.

	Number of		
Towns in Ilocos	Tributes	School Children	Total Population
Narvacan	3,049	1373	7,034
Santa Catalina	3,773	1447	7,637
Bantay	2,738	680	5,446
Magsingal	2,435	893	5,277
Badoc	2,860	1126	7,312
Paoay	5,695	1941	11,744
Batac	6,314	2162	13,184
San Nicolás	2,926	1105	6,641
Vintar	3,865	1469	8,354
Dingras	3,863	1094	7,621
Piddig	2,366	654	5,523
Laoag	9,568	3021	19,489
Bacarra	5,059	636	9,239

A year later, in 1803, a Spanish friar wrote the Manila governor-general appraising him, in effect, of the situation of these schools in Ilocos.¹⁴ That the situation of the schools was far from satisfactory can be gauged from the friar's letter. The friar, for instance, recommended that school teachers should be compensated with salaries commensurate with their positions so that, he said, such teachers could better perform their calling.

He added that it would be better if the local town treasury (caja de comunidad) could buy catechisms, spelling books (cartillas), and other books to be distributed to the most diligent pupils. Lack of books, he went on to say, was the usual reason why not many pupils attended school.

But this lack of interest in going to school was mainly due to the disinterest of the parents as well as the negligence of the teachers, and also to the fact that the leading citizens (principalta) of the towns were the ones who were least interested in sending their own children to school, thus providing a bad example.

Interest was not lacking, however, in what would be the very first attempt to establish a vocational school in the region.

As early as 26 May 1807, a school for weaving (escuela para hilar y teger) had been planned in Bantay, whose inhabitants were

Statistics on Vigan, which was the capital of the province of Ilocos, are unavailable. The towns enumerated above were under the Augustinians, from whose sources the above figures were taken.

^{14.} See note 11, above.

hardworking both in farming and in the manufacture of sugar and weaving ordinary cloths. Part of the plea for the school was to introduce the manufacture of new textiles, which up to that time were being imported and sold by foreigners.¹⁵

By 1822 the Seminary of St. Paul had been established in Vigan. ¹⁶ The seminary was established primarily to train future priests for the Ilocos region. Earlier, the diocesan priests of Vigan were trained at the San Juan de Letrán College in Manila, a procedure which the Vigan bishop, who supported their studies, found too expensive for the diocesan coffers.

From the very beginning the seminary was beset by financial problems, so that by 1848 after 26 years of existence, it had to close. Another reason for its closure was the lack of students who desired to study for the priesthood. Still, the problem of training priests remained, so that inspite of the scarcity of vocations and the difficulty of obtaining funds, the seminary was reopened in 1852.

By 1845, a school for young people (escuela de jóvenes) was established in the towns of Ilocos. No mention was made, however, of whether or not these were separate schools for boys or girls, as had been the customary practice in the past.¹⁷

A possible effect of this attempt to establish schools on a wider scale was the fact that by 1848, mention was made of the population becoming very literate and civilized. 18 It would not be until 1863, however, when an enlightened Spanish monarchy would formally pass a law decreeing the formal establishment of primary schools throughout the whole Philippines, 19 an act which was to exert a strong influence on Philippine education for the rest of the Spanish colonial period. While the decree did not specifically refer to the Ilocos region alone, it might be necessary to review some of

^{15.} Erección de Pueblos, Ilocos Norte, División de Ilocos, 2a. pieza. Philippine National Archives.

^{16.} The data for this section of the paper are taken from Pedro Lora, Jr., "The Seminary of Vigan (Spanish period), 1822-1900," in 1822-1972 Jubilee (Vigan: The Immaculate Conception Seminary, 1972), pp. 25-43. This article collates data from some unpublished and published sources on the Vigan Seminary.

^{17.} Expediente sobre las escuelas para la educación de los Jóvenes de los pueblos de dicha provincia. Vigan, 16 de Junio de 1845. Philippine National Archives, Exp. 94.

^{18.} Mapa general de las almas que administran los PP. Agustinos en estas Yslas Filipinas en el año de 1848, in Augustinian archives, Valladolid.

^{19.} This law was promulgated in Madrid on 20 December 1863. The Spanish text of this law has been published in various sources. An English translation is in Camilo Osias, *Education*, pp. 105-12.

its salient points, inasmuch as it defined the direction that education was to take in the Philippines during the remaining years of the Spanish colonial regime.

At least one school of primary instruction for males and another for females were to be established in each town in the Philippines where both native and Chinese children were to be taught. Primary instruction was obligatory for children between seven and twelve years old who did not have some kind of schooling either in their homes or in existing private schools. Parents who did not comply with this duty would be admonished and fined.²⁰

The over-all supervision of the schools was to be exercised by the governor-general, with the assistance of the "superior commission of primary instruction," to be formed by the Archbishop of Manila, and seven members of well-known ability appointed by the governor-general.

Primary education was free, except for the children of parents who could afford to pay a fee. Paper, writing exercises, ink and pens were also to be given free to the pupils.

Parish priests were to supervise the religious instruction on Christian morals and doctrines to be given in the school building, the church, or in any other place designated for that purpose. Provision was also made for the religion classes for adults living in the community. Well lighted and ventilated schools were to be situated in the most central sections of the towns and barrios. In the absence of teachers who were graduates of the Superior Normal School for Men, which was later to be established in 1865 in Manila, teachers who had formal training in some school could teach in the public schools. To be a teacher one (1) must be a native of the Spanish possessions; (2) must be of good religious and moral conduct; and (3) must have attained the proper age.

For his services the teacher of the lowest category would be paid a monthly salary of from eight to twelve pesos a month; those of the intermediate category, from twelve to fifteen pesos a month; and those of the highest category would receive from fifteen to twenty pesos a month. The salaries of teachers, as well as the establishment of schools, the purchase and care of the school supplies and equipment, and the rental of the building if there

^{20.} This portion of the study is based on the provisions of the said law.

should not be a public one in use, would be paid out of the local budgets.

The teacher was to enjoy certain privileges: free housing for himself and his family in the schoolhouse, but with a separate entrance, or allowance for rent. Aside from his salary, he was to receive dues from the wealthy children; and he was exempted from paying taxes and from working in community projects like building roads and bridges. He would be given retirement benefits after at least 25 years of service at attaining 60 years of age, or when he became physically incapacitated to discharge his duties as teacher.

Women teachers could also teach in the public schools upon the presentation of teaching certificates issued by the office of the governor-general. They were to receive a monthly salary of eight pesos if they had the certification; if not, they received six pesos monthly. In either case, they would also receive the dues paid by the daughters of the wealthy parents, and were either given free housing in the schoolhouse, or provided allowance for the rental of a house.

One of the expected results of the improved system of education was to teach the Spanish language effectively. During the previous centuries of Spanish colonial rule in the country, not many Filipinos spoke the language inspite of the various orders and decrees of the Spanish monarchs that it be taught in the then existing schools.

The lack of efficient teachers to teach Spanish, not to say the fact that, compared to Spanish-America, only a small number of Spanish settlers came to the Philippines (possibly on account of its great distance from Spain and the lack of gold and silver, which the Spanish-American countries had in abundance) contributed to the fact that the Spanish language was not widely used in the Philippines. It was easier for the Spanish friar, who was practically the only Spaniard living in most Ilocos towns at that time, to learn the Ilocano language and conduct his activities in it, than for him to teach the Ilocanos Spanish.

The educational decree of 1863, therefore, provided that natives who did not speak, read, and write the Spanish language 15 years after the establishment of a school in their respective towns would not be eligible for the office of municipal mayor, or to form a part of the principalia (the elite) class, unless they enjoyed such right by virtue of a special life grant.

How well the implementation of the decree affected education in the entire Ilocos region may be gauged by the progress of education in Abra province, which at that time was not actually in the mainstream of cultural life in the Ilocos. In 1868, or three years after the promulgation of the decree, the provincial governor of Abra province reported that each Christian town and barrio in the province (there were still many pagans living in the province at that time) already had their school buildings, one for boys and another for girls. Earlier, he said, only one school building was found in the entire province.²¹

The relative prosperity of the Ilocos region in the mid-1800s made it possible for a few wealthy Ilocanos to send their sons to study at the University of Santo Tomás and at the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán (founded in 1630), both in Manila.

Among the few from the Ilocos region sent to Manila by this time was Father José Burgos (1837-1872), an Ilocano-Spanish mestizo from Vigan who studied both at Letrán and Santo Tomás, obtaining two doctorates and a string of minor degrees from the latter institution. One of the best-educated Filipinos of his time, Father Burgos led the fight for equal rights for his countrymen. He was eventually executed by the Spanish authorities for alleged complicity in an antigovernment uprising. He is now considered by his countrymen as the precursor of Philippine nationalism.

By the 1880s as a result of the indigo and tobacco trade in the Ilocos region, both of which products commanded a good price in the world market at that time, more Ilocanos were able to send their sons to study in Manila and even to Europe.

The Luna brothers, the internationally-known painter Juan Luna (1857-1899) and the chemist and essayist Antonio Luna (1866-1899), were sent to Spain to study, and became among the more prominent members of the Filipino reformist movement in the mother country who fought for the passage of reform laws for their country. The Luna brothers were eventually to become involved in the Filipino fight for independence, first against the Spaniards, and later, against the Americans at the close of the nineteenth century.

But the Vigan seminary, earlier established in 1822, continued to be the training center of the intellectuals of the whole Ilocos. As

EDUCATION IN ILOCOS 121

in the previous years, its main objective was still to educate future priests of the Ilocos, but by the year 1867 it articulated another objective — to train the youth of the region, an implication that students who did not prepare themselves for the priesthood were also admitted.²² These students could attend any of the existing courses, and others could be opened as the resources of the seminary permitted it.

Only legitimate children were admitted in the seminary. Each prospective student was to present his baptismal certificate and the marriage certificate of his parents. Information about the legitimacy of the applicants, whenever possible, would be obtained, and only the bishop could exempt, under exceptional circumstances, illegitimate children. This, however, would exclude cases when the applicant was suspected of being the son of a friar or a priest ("nunca cuando se sospechase que el pretendiente es hijo de persona consagrada al servicio del Señor"). Only those of good moral character, good health, and who were free from contagious diseases, and whose family's reputation was beyond cavil were accepted.

Externs (i.e., day students who lived outside of the seminary) would not be admitted to classes in moral theology, which was offered only to those being trained for the priesthood. Students paid 72 pesos per year to cover board, lodging, tuition and other miscellaneous fees.

Famulos-capistas, that is to say, working students (literally, servitors and servants), were also admitted, as seminary space warranted it. To be accepted as fámulos-capistas, aside from the requirements about legitimacy and others above-mentioned, one must know how to read and write and should be no more than 12 years old. Well-behaved students of good moral conduct were to be preferred although they might be poor. The fámulos-capistas were to pay a yearly due of 48 pesos to cover board, lodging, and matriculation fees. They were, however, expected to help in the upkeep of the rooms, in cleaning the chapel and classrooms, in opening and in closing the gates, and in ringing the bells to announce each of the scheduled activities. In short, they were to be the immediate servers of the colegiales, or the full-paying students.

^{22.} This and the following sections of this paper are based on *Estatutos del Seminario Conciliar de Nueva Segovia en la Ciudad de Vigan*. (Binondo: Imprenta de Manuel Sánchez y Cía., 1867).

The seminary rules were very specific regarding the conduct and duties of the seminary students.

All students of the seminary should guard purity and modesty. No one should leave his room unless he was decently dressed, wearing pants and shirt.

They should avoid disputes among themselves about their respective provinces, birth, talents, wealth, their good qualities and defects, nor should they utter offensive words. They should be respectful toward each other, avoiding the use of the familiar $T\dot{u}$ but instead use the formal *Usted*, when speaking to each other.

They should not disturb the silence by running, by boisterous shouts, or any other kind of noise. They should not whistle, nor play any musical instrument during the study periods and hours designated for silence and for meditation; nor should they dirty the walls and the floors, and in all instances should they always procure to guard composure and gravity.

During the recreation periods they should speak, play, and entertain themselves with moderate joy, in order to return later to their studies with more application.

In the spirit of charity, the seminary students should inform the vice-rector about those who escape at night, those who were engaged in impure games, those who write and receive love letters, and those who have relations with women. Those who know about the infraction of these rules but fail to advise the vice-rector about them would be expelled, together with the delinquent student.

Inasmuch as the student entered the seminary not only to be instructed (instruirse) but to be educated (educarse), the seminary student should always aim to attend the religious exercises, frequent the sacraments, read instructive and beneficial books, and avoid reading novels and other books which dissipate the spirit and destroy good morals.

To see to it that the regimen of the seminary was strictly observed, the seminary authorities prepared a rigorous daily schedule which all the seminary students were required to follow to the letter. From the time the students woke up at 4:45 A.M. to the time they retired at 10:00 P.M., the students' day was divided into a strictly programmed regimen of prayers, meditation, study, more prayers, more meditation and more study, broken up only to include meals, classroom instruction, short recreation periods, siesta, and brief walks within the cloisters.

The rather regimented life at the Vigan seminary did not fail to attract, much less did it repel students; on the contrary, more students applied for admission, not due to the strict regimented life to be sure, but to the prestige value in the region attached to being a graduate of this school. By 1872 more lay students were accepted in the seminary. In that year, 27 students were enrolled in the Department of Theology, 49 in Philosophy and 156 in the *Gramática* (High School) Department, or a total of 232 students. By 1890 enrollment increased to a total of 513 students, broken down into 5 deacons, 4 subdeacons, 60 boarders (or *colegiales internos*), and 444 day students (*colegiales externos*), which was indeed a big enrollment for those times.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, many Ilocano graduates of the Vigan seminary, as well as of the University of Santo Tomás and of the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán, established secondary schools, otherwise known as *latinidades*, *institutos*, or *colegios* in their respective hometowns or in the bigger towns. Private secondary schools were thus established in the late 1880s by Ilocanos themselves in Laoag, Vigan, Badoc, and Agoo.²³

For many years, the Vigan seminary was practically the only institution of higher learning in the whole Ilocos region, and many of its graduates eventually became the religious, intellectual, and cultural elite of the region.

Isabelo de los Reyes, nationally known newspaperman, folklorist, politician, religious leader and initiator of the Philippine labor movement, was an alumnus of the seminary. And so was Gregorio Aglipay, revolutionary general, religious reformist and founder of the indigenous Philippine Independent Church which broke away from Rome. Other distinguished alumni were wellknown in various professions, and some became prominent members of the revolutionary government, while other graduates eventually became nationally prominent in politics and in government during the American colonial regime that followed.

In 1890, a Catholic religious order of nuns established the Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Vigan to cater to the

^{23.} Among these may be mentioned the Instituto de Badoc (Ilocos Norte) founded by Mariano Espíritu in 1887, the Instituto de Vigan, founded by G. Jiménez, and the Instituto de Laoag founded by Vicente Crisóstomo. See Bazaco, *History of Education*, p. 321.

education of the daughters of the leading citizens of the entire Ilocos region.

Six years later, the Philippines saw the outbreak of the revolution against Spain. While originally the revolution was centered around the greater Manila region and in Central Luzon, it eventually spread to the Ilocos region. By 1898, with the occupation of the bigger Ilocano towns by the Philippine revolutionary forces, Spanish rule had ended in the Ilocos, and a new era in Ilocos history had begun to unfold.