

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University · Loyola Heights, Quezon City · 1108 Philippines

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Philippine Studies vol. 47, no. 4 (1999): 445–467

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The Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres

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In 1979 the leading historian of the Catholic Church in the Philippines during the twentieth century, the Rev. John N. Schumacher, S.J., commented: "One aspect of the history of the Philippine church which has been badly neglected is the role of religious women" (1979, 344). This article seeks to correct this deficiency in one specific respect by examining the role of the Sisters of Saint Paul of Chartres (SPC) in the reconstruction of Catholic education during the period of American occupation of the islands. The SPC were among the seven European congregations entering the Philippines between 1904 and 1912 at the request of the new American bishops who, together with the Spanish and Filipino congregations already present, undertook this work.¹ By the time of the Japanese invasion of December 1941, the 400 SPC sisters had become the largest feminine congregation in the country. Two hundred eight-one of the them were working in education and 119 in nursing. Approximately 90 percent of the 400 were Filipinas (Directorio Eclesiástico 1942, 176-79).² In common with the other congregations, they sought, in particular, to provide a high quality education for girls and young women, while at the same time becoming involved in co-education. In order to present an accurate account of SPC accomplishments, it will be necessary to make references to the reconstruction of the Catholic Church and its educational system, the introduction of the new American-derived public educational system, and the evolution of Philippine society under American rule and influence.

Crisis in Catholic Education

As a result of the Philippine Revolution against Spain (1896-1898), of the war between the United States and Spain, and of the American

occupation, Catholic education was in a severe crisis (Oppenheim 1970, 1-2, 18-19, 156). In 1898 the Philippines contained 5,600,000 Catholics; 900,000 animists, the majority of whom inhabited the mountains of Luzon; and 300,000 Muslims in Mindanao and smaller neighboring islands (Middleton 1903, 262-302; Hagspiel 1925, 236-37; Schumacher 1979, 429 [map]).

The new American regime abolished the public primary schools of the Spanish period, located in the towns and villages. These schools had been teaching Christian doctrine and prayers along with reading, writing, and arithmetic, mainly in indigenous languages to 200,000 children (Alzona 1932, 98, 189-97). The Americans installed an educational system modeled upon that of Massachusetts with instruction given exclusively in English. The teachers, numbering 1,000, were recruited in the United States. The great majority of them were active Protestants hostile to the Catholic Church and a Catholicism influenced by Spanish culture (Gardinier and Sevilla-Gardinier 1989, 42-44; Schumacher 1979, 347-48; Noone 1988, 102-3). Immediately, these American teachers began to prepare their best pupils to become their assistants through after-school and summer training courses. They hoped thereby to extend educational opportunities to the bulk of Filipino children. The American authorities showed repugnance towards the retraining of Filipino teachers of the preceding Spanish regime for the new system (Report 1904, 819-20, 855).

The Americans excluded religious instruction from the programs of the new public schools and forbade their teachers from volunteering to instruct the optional courses in religion that churches were authorized to offer. Because the Americans insisted on the use of English in these courses, which were generally scheduled after the end of the school day for thirty minutes three times weekly, the Church could not obtain teachers (De La Costa and Schumacher 1985, 43).³

The Church, which from 1903 was directed by four new American bishops, and from 1906 as well by the first Filipino bishop, lacked the financial resources to support a system of parochial schools.⁴ The faithful were unaccustomed to giving contributions for instruction because the Spanish regime had furnished the buildings and paid the salaries of the teachers. Furthermore, the ravages of the revolution and the resistance against the American occupation had diminished the capacity of the Filipinos to pay for education. Only the schools maintained by the religious congregations, including the secondary and higher institutions of the country, which had always counted on tuition fees, possessed the means to continue. But a large

part of the Spanish priests and nearly all of the sisters who constituted their personnel had left the country during the revolution and war. By 1903 some had managed to return or, as in the case of the Assumptionists, be replaced by English-speaking sisters from France and Ireland (De La Costa, and Schumacher 1984, 103; Oppenheim 1970, 22; Noone 1988, 39). Thus the 1903 census showed only 23,918 students in 314 Catholic primary schools, 2,242 in ten secondary schools, and 318 students at the University of Santo Tomas. Collectively these students represented only 7.5 percent of the total enrollment throughout the Philippines (Oppenheim 1970, 60, 179).

To aggravate the situation, the Church was undergoing a nationalist schism called Aglipayanism after the name of its leader, Father Gregorio Aglipay. At the start in 1902 he had the support of 25 percent of the Filipinos. While only 36 of the 675 Filipino priests joined this body, the Aglipayans occupied many Catholic churches and schools (de Achútegui, and Bernad 1960, 227-55; Schumacher 1979, 328; De La Costa and Schumacher 1985, 40-41). The Filipinos who separated from the Catholic Church became the most promising targets for the dozens of American Protestant missionaries who entered the Philippines in the wake of the military.⁵ These missionaries had considerable resources at their disposition (Gardinier 1994, 191-203). American civil servants showed sympathy towards both the Aglipayans and the Protestant missionaries. They also encouraged among the Filipino elite a free-masonry that was anti-clerical and often anti-Catholic (Schumacher 1979, 356; De La Costa and Schumacher 1984, 103; Sabio 1980, 133-38).

In this situation, the new American bishops who had replaced the Spanish bishops called upon several congregations from Europe which had not previously worked in the Philippines (Schumacher 1979, 341-45; Noone 1988, 171-73). The first congregation to arrive in 1904 was that of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres (SPC), which had already founded schools and hospitals in several countries of South-east and East Asia (Gobillot 1938, 147-212).

The Missions of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres

The Congregation of the Sisters of SPC was founded in 1696 to aid the French parish clergy in combatting ignorance and poverty among the poor and unfortunate. Thus the sisters became active as teachers and nurses. They received only subsistence allowances and

often they accepted difficult missions, including some already abandoned by other congregations. As a result, people called them 'the gleaners' (Verbiese 1929, 1-7; Gobillot 1938, 7-38).

Although the Sisters of SPC had, at the start, no missionary vocation, in 1727 they accepted the invitation of the French government to work in French Guyana among the indigenous peoples and black slaves. They educated both girls and boys to whom they taught the practice of several arts and crafts. They gained their own living by cultivating the soil and making clothing. Their work in this mission survived despite the disorders of the French Revolution. During the Restoration they established posts on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Thereafter they went to the Orient, first to Hong Kong and then to Indochina and other lands of South-east and East Asia. In their diverse foundations the sisters learned how to cope with the difficulties of a tropical climate. They succeeded in understanding the oriental cultures. Those sisters at Hong Kong learned the English language and some of them could teach it (Gobillot 1938, 73, 95, 101-212; Verbiese 1929, 33-41; Bord 1975, 19). As a result of the application of the French laws of secularization of 1901, the Sisters of SPC in Indochina lost their jobs in government schools and hospitals in 1904. Thus the congregation had personnel available at the very moment that the new American bishops were looking for teachers and nurses (Bord n.d., 113-21; Bord 1975, 16-19).

Education in the First Foundations of the Philippines

The Sisters of SPC accepted invitations from bishops who were able to provide school facilities and residences. As a result, they located in three provincial capitals that were important commercial centers: Dumaguete, a port of 14,000 residents on the island of Negros in the central portion of the country, in 1904; Vigan, a few miles inland from the north-west coast of Luzon, in 1905; Tuguegarao, in the Cagayan River Valley of north central Luzon, in 1907. Dumaguete was a center in the sugar trade.⁶ Some of its prosperous Spanish and mestizo *hacenderos* desired a school with boarding facilities for their daughters. At the start they were more concerned about preserving a knowledge of Spanish than in having their daughters learn English. The bishop, Monsignor Frederick Rooker, hoped that the sisters could establish a coeducational school for the children of the town which would compete with the new lay public school and the Silliman In-

stitute. The latter was a boys' school founded by American Presbyterian missionaries in 1901 and already known for the high quality of its instruction. (Silliman would admit girls beginning in 1912.) Catholics who were admitted to Silliman were required to study Protestant doctrine and attend daily chapel services. The sisters established a girls' primary school with boarding facilities. Most of the girls and some young boys, however, were admitted as day students. Some of the tuition received was used to give scholarships to needy children. In addition, the sisters opened a free school for poor girls and boys. They also offered classes in Christian doctrine to the children attending the public schools and to adults and prepared them for first communion (Villanueva 1973, 17-23, 26-27; Bord 1975, 17-25; Vaudon 1931, 587-92; Verbiese 1929, 65-66; Cahill 1938, 38-44; Aldecoa-Rodriguez 1989, 142-43).

At Vigan and Tuguegarao the sisters replaced Dominican Sisters who had provided primary and some secondary instruction during the 1890s but were unable to return. These schools received the daughters of the larger landowners who at Tuguegarao produced tobacco, and of merchants and professional people, who were able to pay a tuition. Both schools had boarding facilities, which enabled the schools to draw pupils from the hinterlands of their respective provinces as well as from the two towns. Whereas in Vigan English was the main instructional medium from the start, with Spanish as a subject, in Tuguegarao Spanish dominated in the early years because of the preference of the girls' families. At Tuguegarao a diocesan priest provided sufficient support for the sisters to open a free primary school for poor girls and boys as well. As in Dumaguete, the sisters in both towns taught religion to the children attending the public schools and adults (Bazaco 1953, 331-32; Lazo 1966; *The Echo Supplement* 1973, 2-17; Bord 1975, 31-32, 36-38; Verbiese 1929, 67-73; Cahill 1938, 45-53).⁸

From the start, the sisters of the first three foundations went into the barrios in order to reach the people who lacked the funds or the transportation to send their children to the Catholic schools (Vaudon 1931, 592, 601). Sister Albine du Sacré Coeur Garcia told of the difficulties of a trip in a cart drawn by a carabao across the flooded, muddy fields in order to arrive in the distant barrios of Candon during the late 1930s to teach the catechism. It was not easy for the sisters to remain clean or to keep in place the celebrated *cornettes* of the congregation. The sisters not only persisted but even found some vocations in these hamlets.⁸

The involvement of the sisters at Manila in running a school resulted from particular circumstances. A score of sisters arrived there in 1905 to work in a new Catholic hospital in the district of Intramuros, the old Spanish city (Bord 1975, 27–28; Vaudon 1931, 595–96). It was some of these same sisters who in 1906 would go to the island of Culion to serve the leprosarium that the American authorities were relocating there from Manila (Bord 1975, 32–36; Vaudon 1931, 596–99.)

From the start, the Sisters—In majority French but with Belgians, Irish, Chinese, and other nationalities—sought, by necessity, to recruit Filipinas as assistants.⁹ The Spanish sisters had admitted mestizas (Spanish-Filipino) to their congregations more often than Filipinas. For example, the Daughters of Charity of Saint-Vincent de Paul who had arrived in 1862, in 1898, had 184 sisters: 147 Spanish, twenty-two mestizas, fourteen Filipinas, and one Portuguese (Middleton 1903, 302). Filipino families were pleased to have the opportunity to entrust their daughters to a European congregation devoted to teaching and nursing.

At the start, the foundations themselves formed their own novices. But in 1910 there were enough of them to establish a novitiate in Manila (*The Echo* 1973, 4–13). Some Spanish-speaking middle class Filipino families of the district of Malate, where in 1911 the novitiate was installed in a new building, requested religious instruction for their children. From these classes, which first opened in 1912 as a kindergarten, developed a complete elementary school, the St. Paul's Institution for girls. Boys were admitted from the kindergarten through the second grade (St. Paul College, Manila n.d., 1–7).¹⁰ The sisters charged tuition because they bore the entire expense of constructing and maintaining the school as well as supporting themselves. They could concentrate on the education of girls because a co-educational parochial school was built nearby.¹¹

The American Regime and the Private Schools

During the years in which the SPC sisters were founding their first four schools, the American regime was beginning to regulate private education in ways that would have important effects for their work. Public Act No. 74 (Organic School Law of the Philippines) of 21 January 1901, established a secularized public school system. It did not interfere, however, with the rights of private education (Albarracin

1965, 61-64). One of its sections declared: "Nothing in this chapter shall be construed in any way to forbid, impede, or obstruct the establishment and maintenance of private schools" (Quoted in Albarracin 1965, 61).

Though a large majority of Filipinos sent their children to the new public schools, which charged no tuition at the primary level, a sizeable minority, especially those who could afford to do so, sent their children to private schools. The 1903 Census showed that 23.5 percent of primary students and 66 percent of secondary students were attending private schools. 17.5 percent of all private primary and secondary students were enrolled in non-sectarian schools and 7.4 percent in Catholic schools.¹² Private schools not affiliated with the Church represented in most cases and in varying degrees a defense of Filipino, Spanish, and Catholic values (Gardinier and Sevilla-Gardinier 1989, 42-50). Commenting on this matter, M.V. de los Santos in 1937 observed: "These private schools served at the time as the wall of contention against the danger of the complete Americanization of the Islands. No one can deny that without these positive manifestations, the moral, social, and intellectual contextures of the Filipino would have suffered changes which today would be greatly deplored." (Quoted by Hacbang 1939, 98).

As the years passed, the public school authorities became increasingly concerned about the consequences of the lack of a standard curriculum and the limited amount of instruction in English in many of these schools. Problems arose, in particular, when students from private schools sought to transfer to public ones. At another level, the private schools were not contributing as the Americans wished to their goal of preparing the Filipinos as citizens in a self-governing democracy (Albarracin 1965, 65, 71).

With these concerns in mind, the government passed Public Act No. 1459 of 1906, popularly known as the Corporation Act. It provided that a school, along with other establishments, could become incorporated. Only incorporated schools could obtain government authorization, which meant the right to grant diplomas and certificates. Recipients of the latter could transfer without loss of credit to public institutions and compete in civil service examinations. To secure authorization, private schools were required to meet "terms and conditions" set forth by the Secretary of Public Instruction. These requirements, as made clear the following year, included adoption of the structure and content of the public school programs as well as English as the language of instruction (Albarracin, 71-75).

In 1907 the Secretary announced a new four-year primary school curriculum that authorized private schools were also expected to follow. At the same time the private schools could teach additional subjects and in any language. In 1910 the government created a superintendent of private schools to work with them in obtaining authorization. The first superintendent, Peter O'Reilly, at the time of his appointment was the only Catholic among the thirty-seven provincial school superintendents. Under his leadership the private schools were encouraged to reorganize according to the public school norms as expeditiously as possible until all four primary grades and three intermediate grades could receive authorization, now also referred to as "approval" and "recognition". As in the public schools, older students who had received the bulk of their instruction in Spanish continued to be taught mainly in that language but also studied English. However, texts approved for government schools were translated into Spanish so that these students could have the same course content (O'Reilly 1911, 7-20; Annual Report 1910, 178-80; Oppenheim 1970, 28-36; Montomal 1939, 67-70; Isidro 1939, 48-49).

In the meantime the Church under its new bishops was reorganizing and beginning the reconstruction of Catholic education. In 1907 the first Provincial Council of Manila, during which parish pastors were directed to organize schools (for which there were few funds), Church authorities supported a policy of education in English (Kloesters 1950, 12). In 1911, the First Synod of the Archdiocese of Manila encouraged the introduction of the official programs in the Catholic schools (AAM 1911). The bishops, in particular, well understood that Catholics who had such a formation would have more influence in the new society that the Americans were creating. They should have been aware that they were contributing to the Americanization of their students, given the large amount of American history, literature, and music in the curriculum and the absence of Filipino history and culture. Their main concern, however, was the reconstruction of Catholic education with instruction in doctrine and morality that the public schools forbade (Oppenheim 1970, 122).

SPC adoption of the public school programs was hastened by the encouragement of Peter O'Reilly, who had observed the high quality of their instruction while he was serving as superintendent in Vigan. In 1911 the sisters there received government approval and recognition of their primary and intermediate levels, and in 1915 for their four-year high school program. Among the requirements for recognition were a collection of supplementary reading books in each

classroom during the seven elementary grades, a library of at least 500 books, and laboratory equipment for teaching the natural and physical sciences at the high school level. Classrooms had to meet certain standards on space per pupil, ventilation, and lighting. Playgrounds and equipment for physical education were also required (Verbiese 1929, 69-74; Oppenheim 1970, 32-33, 96; Catabang 1926, 128-35; O'Reilly 1911, 23).

The sisters at the other three schools also requested approval and began the processes for meeting the standards. Whereas Tuguegarao obtained official recognition through the intermediate level in 1913, Dumaguete was delayed until 1919 because of the need to reduce the large measure of instruction in Spanish only gradually. In that same year St. Paul's, Manila, received recognition for its elementary programs. Tuguegarao held high school classes from 1911 to 1915 but thereafter discontinued them until 1934 because of insufficient enrollment. Dumaguete opened high school classes in 1919 and St. Paul's, Manila, in 1924. All three high schools subsequently received government recognition (Cahill 1938, 38-63).

Until 1924 the SPC sisters devoted their energies to consolidation of their four educational foundations. The outbreak of the First World War, 1914-1918, hindered communications with the Mother House in Chartres and prevented sending out any new sisters as additions and replacements. Since 1911 eight sisters had been staffing St. Paul's Hospital at Iloilo on the island of Panay northwest of Negros. At both hospitals in Iloilo and Manila Filipino assistants received instruction in nursing. (Bord 1975, 23-25, 35-39).¹³ The sisters continued to recruit and form novices and postulants with a majority destined for teaching. During the years in which the SPC were able to provide only an elementary education for the Filipino sisters, the latter were employed as classroom assistants and monitors. Their assistance sometimes enabled a European sister to instruct more than one class at a time. After high school instruction was established, the Filipinas were assigned to teaching in the primary grades.¹⁴ Only rarely were lay women teachers employed (Cahill 1938, 38-59). The additional staff facilitated the expansion of enrollment in all four schools, as shown in the following statistics:

	Dumaguete	Vigan	Tuguegarao	Manila	Total
1912	127	102	103	—	332
1921	300	425	305	270	1300

(*Third annual report* 1912, 32; *OCD* 1921, 682, 696).

The official elementary programs included music, art, and domestic sciences, especially sewing, to which subjects the sisters added advanced instruction and greater specialization. They also taught religion daily and Spanish.¹⁵ Individual instruction in singing, piano and other instruments, and painting was available.¹⁶

In 1923, a quarter of a century after the imposition of American rule and almost two decades after the arrival of the first sisters of SPC, the Philippine congregation had forty-four missionary sisters, thirty-seven Filipino sisters, twenty-one novices, and twenty-seven postulants. While a portion of the sisters worked in nursing, the majority served in education (Bord 1975, 44). The availability of a growing number of Filipino sisters made it possible to consider the many requests from bishops and pastors to establish or assume direction of additional schools.

Developments in the Philippines

Before turning to the postwar expansion, it is useful to give attention to changes that were taking place in the Philippines under the American occupation which helped to shape the contexts within which Catholic educators carried on their work. First of all, the population increased rapidly to 10,314,310 in 1918 and to 16,000,000 in 1939 largely as a result of improved sanitation, health care, and diet that benefitted all classes though not equally. Thus there were much larger numbers of children and young people who needed education, including religious instruction. Despite the greatly increased population, the standard of living rose, in part because of government policies. Land under cultivation increased from 1,267,000 hectares in 1903 to 4,017,880 in 1935, and to 6,690,539 in 1939. The construction of irrigation systems that watered 715,000 ha. and mechanization of some portions of the agricultural sector facilitated the increase in both food production and export crops such as sugar, coconut, and abaca. Processing industries and textile factories developed while the mining of gold and other minerals increased. Much greater tax revenues facilitated expansion and updating of the roads (990 miles of roads in 1898 and 12,982,120 in 1935), railroads, inter-island shipping, and telecommunications (Corpuz 1967, 223–27; Abeleda 1988, 113–15; Agoncillo and Guerrero 1973, 425–29; Zaide 1937, 282–87).

Increased tax revenues also made possible much greater funding for education. Whereas the Spanish colonial regime had devoted only four percent of its budget to education between 1881 and 1895, the

American regime spent an average of 27 percent annually between 1904 and 1938. A rapid expansion of funding took place, in particular, from 1917 on after Filipinos gained control of both houses of the legislature. While the instruction in public elementary schools was always free, tuition continued to be charged at the secondary and higher levels. Thus private education could compete better financially with the public high schools that had been organized in the provincial capitals and larger towns under American direction as well as with the public undergraduate institutions (Doeppers 1984, 62-71).

The growth of the economy and education under American rule led to greatly increased opportunities for employment in the professions (including teaching), public service, clerical work, and skilled manual trades. Doeppers in his study of Manila from 1900 to 1941, during which time the population of the city quadrupled to 900,000, found that the percentage of its residents that could be termed middle class had tripled to eighteen percent (Doeppers 1984, 65-68). Similar developments took place on a smaller scale in provincial capitals and commercial centers (Cortes 1990, 104-8). Women came to hold an increasingly larger percentage of the teaching positions in primary schools. Women began to enroll in public programs in law, medicine and pharmacy, with the latter on the way to becoming a largely female profession by 1941. The Filipinization of the bureaucracy after 1913 and its very rapid growth under Filipino direction after 1917 (from 3,000 in 1903 to 22,000 in 1931) offered opportunities for the graduates of officially recognized Catholic institutions, including women, who were eligible to compete for them in the civil service examinations. Educated women could have a career outside the home because of the availability of competent help from the rural poor to do the household chores and look after the children. These helpers generally worked long hours in return for room and board, clothing, and a small payment (Doeppers 1984, 62; Ramirez 1936, 15-20).

During the early 1920s, an era of continuing prosperity following the boom of the World War One years, the Philippine Legislature commissioned a study of the entire educational system, including private schools, in order to make improvements and formulate future directions. This resulted in the Monroe Commission's Report of 1925. Among other things the Commission found that since 1900 500,000 children had completed primary education, 160,000 intermediate, and 15,000 secondary. But eighty-two percent of those who entered first grade never went beyond fourth grade (Agoncillo and Guerrero 1973, 407).

In 1925 approximately half of all school age children were receiving at least four years of primary education. Close to nine-tenths of them were enrolled in the public schools. In the same period half of the students in secondary and higher education were studying in Catholic institutions (Oppenheim 1970, 67-82).

By this time the Church had recovered from much of the devastation of the turn of the century. The Archdiocesan Synod of 1925 called for greater efforts to open parish schools wherever possible, even in the barrios. Several of the synod's decrees aimed at improved organization and support for church schools. In addition, renewed efforts were to be undertaken to provide religious instruction for those who were not attending Catholic schools. To this end, a common catechism was prescribed. By this time even more non-sectarian private schools had come into being to meet the increased needs at the intermediate, secondary, and higher levels. The synod also reminded clergy of their responsibility to foster vocations to the priesthood and religious life (AAM 1925, Second Diocesan Synod of Manila; Schumacher 1979a, 344; Oppenheim 1970, 91).¹⁷

As a result of the conditions discussed above, the Catholic leadership's response to them, and the efforts of clergy and sisters, the late 1920s and 1930s would see the further expansion of the Catholic schools and greater efforts¹ to provide religious instruction to Catholic children enrolled in the public schools. Because of the work of the Catholic schools since 1900, there were much larger numbers of educated lay people who could aid these efforts. Let us turn to the role of the SPC Sisters in these developments.

The Expansion of the SPC Schools

In 1924 the sisters organized an elementary school at Aparri, a port at the mouth of the Cagayan River at the northern most tip of Luzon, in 1924. The valley of this river is an important agricultural region. In 1937 they added the secondary level (Bord 1975, 65-66; Verbiess, 76; Cahill, 55-56).¹⁸

On the island of Mindanao, in the provincial capital of Surigao, and at Cantilan, on the coast a bit to the south, the sisters began a bit different type of educational work. For the first time, they assumed direction of schools where both the elementary and secondary levels were coeducational. At Surigao they also founded a boarding facility for girls. In these two schools, founded by Dutch

Fathers of the Sacred Heart Congregation, laymen formed an important part of the teaching staff. The main purpose of the secondary level was the formation of elementary teachers for an expanding system of parochial schools (Sabio 1980, 181–84; Cahill, 56–59).

In the 1930s the sisters also took charge of some coeducational parochial schools with only the elementary level along the northwest coast of Luzon to the south of Vigan—Narvacan, Candon, Santa Lucia—and at San Miguel in Bulacan Province north of Manila (Bord 1975, 63–66; Cahill, 59–63).¹⁹ Thanks to these small schools, there were some vocations to the priesthood, in particular, a bishop, Monsignor Edmund Abaya, who came from Candon.²⁰ During the 1920s and 1930s, the sisters in the four original foundations constructed new classrooms as well as some libraries, science laboratories, and domestic science facilities; this permitted an increase in the number of students—and eventually the organization of some specialized programs (St. Paul College, Manila, n.d., 2).²¹

In the meantime, following the Manila Synod of 1925, some bishops undertook programs to increase teaching of the catechism to the students of the public schools. At Tuguegarao, the Belgian bishop, Monsignor Constant Jurgens, enlisted the aid of the SPC Sisters at the Sacred Heart of Jesus Institution in training some of their students as catechists. Beginning in 1930 these assistants returned regularly to their home villages in order to teach religion to the public school students. Jurgens believed that it was necessary to use more lay people for this task because he could see that there never would be enough priests and sisters for this important work.²²

The much larger numbers of lay people with a good understanding of the faith made possible the organization of effective programs of Catholic Action from 1925 on. Archbishop Michael O'Doherty gave further impetus to this program in 1934 by appointing the future Rufino Cardinal Santos as Director of Religious Instruction.²³ Santos developed a set of instructional materials for the entire country, lesson plans, and procedures for dealing with the public school officials in whose facilities most of the classes were held. The University of Santo Tomas cooperated by organizing a course during the summer vacation to train the teachers and supervisors of catechists. At that moment 93 percent of the pupils of the country at the primary level were studying in the public schools (Noone 1989, 216, 252–54, 280–81; Corpuz 1967, 227).

The SPC Sisters participated in these programs. In the Malate District of Manila, several sisters were detached from St. Paul's Institu-

tion in order to direct this work. Aided by catechists that they prepared among their secondary students, and by young men from the Catholic high schools, they taught the catechism to 3,000 children from the public schools after the school day, three times a week, and after the Sunday masses (AAM 1936; AAM 1937; AAM 1938). The sisters at Dumaguete, Vigan, and Tuguegarao contributed also to this program of Catholic Action.²⁴

A report from the superior at Dumaguete in 1941 provides details on the program there:

To the work of education [in St. Paul's Academy] is joined that of teaching the catechism in the public schools of Dumaguete and the villages. The sisters share the work with the pupils three times a week from 1:20 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. On those days, the pupils sacrifice their siesta. There are thus eight public schools which receive religious instruction from seven sisters and 37 pupils, of whom some are former students and even married. Last year there were 1,860 children catechized; more than 1,130 made their religious duties. To this work is added that of the evangelization of the villages. In each village persons of good will are assigned to gather together the children in order to teach them the catechism. A sister has the task of touring these different barrios in order to inspect and to encourage the mistresses and pupils; she distributes candies and pictures made by the sisters.

During the long vacation which begins the week of Easter, daily except Saturdays and Sundays more than 400 children receive instruction and [those] who have not made their first communion come to prepare under the direction of a Visayan sister aided by the girls of the province, all former students. These children make their first communion towards May 15th. . . . Every Sunday two sisters go to the prison in order to prevent, if possible, the influence of the Protestants, who, six in number, are also offering instruction.²⁵

Not content to teach the catechism to the children of the working class, the SPC sisters devoted themselves to diverse activities on behalf of the most deprived. Thus, they founded an orphanage and small school at San Vicente, on the coast north of Vigan, in the 1930s.²⁶ In the same period, in the District of Singalong of Manila, the sisters assumed the administrative direction of the parish school for girls, which enrolled 3,900 pupils. In this district along the shores of Manila Bay, which was receiving thousands of new, mostly indigent immigrants from the provinces every year, the sisters established the Patronage of Our Lady of Lourdes, which included a busy, up-to-date dispensary and social services (Bord 1975, 71-72; Noone 1989,

216, 313). In addition, in 1936 Sister Marie Damien and Father Michael McNulty, S.J., founded an elementary school for the children of the lepers of Culion, who numbered 7,000 by that time (Bord 1975, 97). Finally, the sisters maintained a nursing school—one of the eight accredited by the government—at the St. Paul Hospital in Iloilo (Oppenheim 1970, 47). In 1927 the Irish archbishop, Monsignor Michael J. O'Doherty, had transferred direction of St. Paul Hospital in Manila to the Maryknoll Sisters.²⁷

During these same decades, the sisters were able to provide higher education for some of the most talented members of the congregation. The sisters had refrained from sending any of their high school graduates to the University of the Philippines, which had opened in Manila in 1908, because of the same anti-clerical and anti-Catholic influences present there as in the public schools. Then in 1921, following the American example, the length of the program for the bachelor's degree throughout the Philippines was increased from two to four years (Cahill 1938, 89–91; Oppenheim 1970, 105). But the Catholic institutions offering the degree still admitted only men. Thereafter, in 1923 the University of Santo Tomas, which had been founded in 1611 by Spanish Dominicans, replaced Spanish with English as its medium of instruction. In 1926 it opened a new College of Education to which women were admitted. By the mid-1930s twenty sisters (mainly Filipinas) had earned the Bachelor of Science in Education and eight the Master's in Education. From 1934 on other sisters enrolled in the normal course given by the American Maryknoll Sisters in the Manila suburb of Malabon (Alzona 1932, 349–50; Verbiessé 1929, 75; Cahill 1938, 54, 89). The graduates of the U.S.T., including Filipinas, became secondary school teachers and school principals. In the late 1930s the schools of Narvacan, Candon, and Santa Lucia had Filipino superiors (OCD 1941, 704–8).²⁸

Between 1938 and 1941 the foundations at Manila, Tuguegarao, and Dumaguete organized programs at the post-secondary level in elementary and secondary education, commercial sciences, home economics, and music. In 1941 these programs were enrolling over 100 students and were beginning to produce their first graduates. Once again, the congregation aimed to prepare Filipino sisters as teachers. But now it was giving at least equal attention to the education of lay women (St. Paul College Manila n.d., 2).²⁹

In 1941 the European sisters still directed most of the schools and taught a majority of the classes at the secondary and higher levels. The Filipino sisters were teaching all of the classes at the elementary

level. But by this time the foundations had been laid for a future in which the Filipinas would be able to replace the Europeans at all levels.³⁰

Conclusion

During the period of the American occupation, the SPC sisters, through their schools and their teaching of the catechism, contributed to the reconstruction of Catholic education in the Philippines. This education was no longer the system of the Spanish period but a new system oriented towards American purposes, in particular, preparation for citizenship in a democracy.³¹ But within the framework of this system, the education given by the sisters contributed to the creation of a much more numerous and better educated laity than before, and also to a larger and more efficient group of sisters.³² During the same period Spanish and American Jesuits, German missionaries of the Divine Word, and Spaniards from the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul (called the Paúles by the Filipinos) were working to create a more numerous and effective group of Filipino priests (Schumacher 1979, 339, 364; Gardinier 1994, 231–35). Thus the sisters contributed to a process which, in the following years, produced a Church directed by Filipinos and supported by active lay people which would become a vital force in contemporary society. Some of the consequences which have become apparent in recent decades include the identification of this Church with the problems of the masses of poor people, and its role in the overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos in February 1986 (Fabros 1988, 1–28; Abeleda 1988, 183–90).

Through their schools the sisters also educated women for life in a society that was rapidly evolving under the American regime. The Americans contributed to an economic and social evolution that permitted a much greater professional mobility for educated women. As a result of their education with the Sisters of SPC, hundreds of young women had access to new professional and business careers (Alzona 1939, 282–300; Alzona 1937, 59–66; Ramirez 1936, 15–20; Esperanza Marie 1949, 73–75).³³

The circumstances of the Second World War and independence in 1946 accelerated the process of Filipinization begun in the 1930s. Among the Filipino sisters there were university graduates and experienced school administrators who could assume the positions re-

linquished by the European sisters.³⁴ When the last few European sisters left the country in 1972, the Philippine province had 674 Filipino sisters and was operating more than thirty schools. Several of the Filipino sisters were already serving as missionaries in Indonesia, Thailand, and even in northern Michigan, USA (Directory of the Sisters of SPC 1988, 86).

Notes

1. Among the new congregations that arrived were the Sisters of Saint Paul of Chartres from France in 1904; the Benedictine Sisters from Germany in 1906; the Augustinian Missionary Canonesses from Belgium in 1910; the Holy Spirit Sisters from Germany, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary from France, and the Good Shepherd Sisters from Ireland in 1912. The Belgian Sisters worked closely with the Scheut Fathers (CICM) from Belgium and the Holy Spirit Sisters with the Divine Word Fathers (SVD) from Germany among the animists of northern Luzon. Collectively, the new sisters were engaged in education, nursing, and social work. Several congregations of Spanish sisters, including the Sisters of Charity, Augustinians, and Assumptionists, were able to resume some of their educational work. The Assumptionists replaced departing Spanish sisters with Irish and French ones who knew English. Three congregations of Filipino sisters—Dominicans, Augustinian Recollects, and the Religious of the Virgin Mary—were able to return to much of their educational work in Manila and the provinces that their members had begun during the late nineteenth century. See Schumacher (1979, 345), and Tormo Saenz (1991, 203–16).

2. Gobillot (1938, 225), indicates that in 1936 there were 238 Filipino sisters, 36 foreign sisters, and 98 novices and postulants in the Philippine Province. Zaide 1937, 190, lists 1,502 nuns in the Philippines in 1936, of whom 881 were Filipinas. The congregations with the largest numbers of Filipinas were the SPC (298), Daughters of Charity (230), Religious of the Virgin Mary (182), and Augustinians (68).

3. The Attorney General of the new American regime forbade Filipino teachers in the public schools from volunteering to teach religion after school and even on Sundays in their parishes. Public school teachers in the United States in this era enjoyed this latter option.

4. The new bishops were: Jeremiah Harty (Manila); Dennis J. Dougherty (Nueva Segovia, capital at Vigan); Thomas Hendrick (Cebu); Frederick Rooker (Jaro, capital at Iloilo); Jorge Barlin (Nueva Caceres, capital at Naga City). Monsignor Barlin had been the administrator of his diocese after the resignation of its last Spanish bishop in 1903. See Noone (1988, 39).

5. On this point, a Methodist missionary wrote: "Indirectly the Aglipay movement is of great help to Protestantism . . . by detaching the tens of thousands of members from a nominal connection with the Church of Rome, and leaving them without positive instruction in a more excellent way" (Stuntz 1904, 494–95).

6. Archives of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres, Philippine Province, in Antipolo (ASPC). R.G.I.S.02. Dumaguete. "St. Paul College of Dumaguete," 1–5.

7. ASPC R.G.I.S.02. Vigan. "History of Vigan"; ASPC R.G.I.S.02. Tuguegarao. "Brief History of St. Paul College, Tuguegarao, Cagayan," 1–4.

PHILIPPINE STUDIES

8. Interview, St. Paul College, Quezon City, 17 June 1989.

9. Information drawn from ASPC R.G.I.S.02. Dumaguete, Tuguegarao, and St. Paul College, Manila.

10. Judge Federico (Eric) Moreno, who was one of those boys later, during the 1930s, recalls the excellence of the instruction that he received (Interview, Quezon City, 31 July 1988).

11. Interviews with several sisters in Manila and Quezon City, July-August 1988 and June 1989.

12. Oppenheim (1970, 179), reproduces the following statistics from the Census of 1903:

Enrollments	Primary	Secondary
Private School (religious)	23,918	2,242
Private School (non-sectarian)	56,405	7,022
Public School	<u>261,615</u>	<u>4,747</u>
	341,938	14,091

13. ASPC. R.G.I.S.03. St. Paul's Hospital, Iloilo. "50 Golden Years of St. Paul's Hospital, Iloilo, Philippines, 1911-61," n.d., 1-7.

14. Interview with Sister Socorro Angela Reyes, Manila, 11 August 1988.

15. According to Mrs. Remedios Balmori Aquino, a student during the 1930s, the sisters taught French most often to those girls who already knew how to speak Spanish (Interview, Quezon City, 31 July 1989).

16. Interviews with several sisters who were pupils in the SPC schools during the late 1920s and 1930s, Quezon City and Antipolo, July-August 1988 and June 1989.

17. The statistics on the growth of Catholic education reproduced by Oppenheim 1970, 91, from official reports show that parish pastors had already made important efforts to organize and enlarge parochial schools and the religious orders to expand secondary and higher education:

	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	College	Total
1911-12	2,737	1,040	2,009	397	6,183
1915-16	7,579	2,017	1,773	765	12,134
1925-26	33,796	8,387	3,910	1,399	47,492

During the 1930s the growth of private education would be slowed by the effects of the world depression. Hacbang 1939, 32, reproduces the official statistics for 1937-38 for all of private education.

	Roman Catholic	Total Private Education
Primary	34,346	40,076
Intermediate	15,751	19,942
Secondary	12,973	36,637
Collegiate Cultural	1,353	3,039
Technical	5,334	16,922
Special	247	407
Collegiate	<u>n.a.*</u>	<u>2,774</u>
	70,004	120,052

*For Catholic institutions "collegiate" here refers to undergraduate instruction other than that offered in the University of Santo Tomas, which had 4,493 students in 1938-39 (Isidro and Hernandez 1939, 129).

18. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Aparri.
19. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Narvacan, Candon, Santa Lucia, and San Miguel.
20. Interviews with Sister Esperanza Oben, SPC Vigil House, Quezon City, 17 June 1989, and Sister Albine du S.C. Garcia, St. Paul College, Quezon City, 17 June 1989. Sister Esperanza Oben, who taught at Candon between 1937 and 1942, and Sister Margaret de Ocampo, who taught at St. Paul's Institution, Malate (1931-1935), Dumaguete (1935-1941), and later at San Miguel and Vigan, had pupils who later became doctors and lawyers. Among them were a score who later became active in social programs to aid the poor and unfortunate (Interview with Sister Margaret, SPC Vigil House, Quezon City, 17 July 1989).
21. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Tuguegarao, "Références sur la maison de Tuguegarao; Ibid., Dumaguete, "Rapport (1937-1941). The limited SPC archival records that survived the retaking of Manila in February 1945 by American forces provide few details about the outstanding leaders of the congregation in the Philippines. Among those who could be identified through the available materials and interviews were three missionary sisters: Belgian Mother Saint-Xavier Vermeersch who served as provincial from 1923 to 1935, and who spurred and guided the expansion of the interwar period, including new assignments, improved facilities, and higher education for the most talented sisters; Belgian Sister Anna de Jesus Verbiese, who, serving at St. Paul's Institution, Malate, worked to raise the level of the instruction during the 1930s and after, in part through further education for sisters, and to organize the first programs in higher education; Irish Sister Anne Cahill, who continued and expanded the work of Sister Anna in the Manila region.
22. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Tuguegarao, "Références sur la maison de Tuguegarao".
23. Concerning the program launched by O'Doherty, Columban Father Martin Noone commented thus: "Through catechetical instruction, systematically adapted to the early 'thirties, he [O'Doherty] gave priority to a sensible understanding of the Faith, then desperately needed for a two-fold reason; Filipino traditional Catholicism was largely a matter of usage, little comprehended, especially by the generation of tender age during the disturbances of the Revolution and furthermore largely neglected by the consequent shortages, and even apathy of priests, when instruction was most needed, exposed to the unrelenting pressure of arreligious (sic) government schools" (Noone 1989, 215-16).
24. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Dumaguete, "Rapport (1937-1941)"; Ibid, Tuguegarao, "Références sur la maison de Tuguegarao".
25. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Dumaguete, "Rapport (1937-1941)", 2 (translated by D. Gardinier).
26. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. San Vicente, "Rapport (1937-1941)."
27. For example, Sisters Socorro Angela Reyes and Stella de Jesus Villanueva gained renown for their excellent teaching. Sister Teresita Pacquing became principal at Tuguegarao in 1936 and Sister Stella de Jesus Villanueva of the high school at Surigao in 1937. Sister Albine Garcia served as superior of the sisters' community and school at Candon (Interviews with several sisters, Manila and Quezon City, July-August 1988 and June 1989; OCD 1941, 687-88, 704-8).
28. ASPC. R.G.I.S.03. "St. Paul's Hospital, June 6, 1930," throws light on the background of the transfer. Noone (1989, 173), mistakenly places the transfer in the 1930s.
29. ASPC. R.G.I.S.02. Dumaguete, "St. Paul College of Dumaguete," 5; Ibid. Tuguegarao, "Références sur la maison de Tuguegarao." The *Directorio Eclesiástico* of 1942 shows that the schools directed by the congregation had 5,422 pupils, who were be-

ing taught by 262 sisters and 43 lay people. At the college level were 43 students at Manila, 53 at Tuguegarao, and ten at Dumaguete (OCD 1941, 708). In 1938–1939, The Training School for Nurses of St. Paul's Hospital in Iloilo had 72 students. In the entire country there were 633 nursing students (Isidro and Hernandez 1939, 132–33).

30. Interviews with several sisters, Quezon City and Antipolo, July-August 1988 and June 1989.

31. While the sisters were sympathetic to the introduction of American democracy, they were troubled by other American values, including those emanating from Hollywood and popular culture. An eloquent criticism of the materialism and lax morals coming from the United States and having an impact on the attitudes and conduct of Filipino students is found in Reyes 1935, i–ii, 53.

32. Here are two examples of lay women who received their education with the sisters. Mrs. Esperanza Uy Que, who was born at Fukien, China, arrived in Manila at the age of seven. She did both her elementary and secondary studies at the St. Paul's Institution. In addition, she became one of the first four graduates at the collegiate level in commercial sciences in 1941. In the meantime, at the age of 13, she had received baptism in the church of Binondo District. Mrs. Que raised a family. At the same time she worked in the international commercial firm founded by her husband's family and participated in programs of social action in the Chinese Catholic community. In 1988 she helped to organize a dispensary and a meal program for the poor of a large Catholic parish, including the most needy, the squatters.

Miss Carmen Kanapi undertook her elementary and secondary studies with the sisters at Tuguegarao; she was finishing her senior year at the time the Japanese attacked in December 1941. At the school she belonged to the Crusaders and the Children of Mary. Later, during her studies at the University of Santo Tomas, the University of Chicago, and the University of Texas at Austin where she received her Ph.D., she participated in Catholic Action programs on behalf of the poor. Upon her return to the Philippines, she was appointed professor of biology at Santo Tomas where some years later she became the Dean of Sciences. Despite health problems, Miss Kanapi continued her involvement in social action programs in her parish during the late 1980s (Interviews, Quezon City and Manila, June 1989)

33. Mother Esperanza Marie 1949, 73–75, presents the statistics for women by occupation and profession.

34. Interviews with several sisters, Quezon City and Manila, July-August 1988 and June 1989.

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