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H. de la Costa

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

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Jesuit Education in the Philippines to 1768

H. DE LA COSTA

THIS survey of Jesuit educational establishments in the Philippines prior to the expulsion of the Society from the Spanish dominions in 1768 is based principally on the documents preserved in the central archives of the Order and other European collections. Due to the dispersal or destruction of the records of the Philippine Province of the Old Society after its suppression much valuable material has been lost, so that even so brief a narrative as this must be pieced together from a variety of miscellaneous sources. But in spite of the numerous gaps in our knowledge and the spotty quality of the information that we do possess, we are able to reconstruct the main outlines of no mean achievement, eminently worthy of being commemorated in this Ignatian number of PHILIPPINE STUDIES.

BEGINNINGS

The first Jesuits to be sent to the Philippines arrived in Manila in 1581. They were Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez, priests, and Nicolás Gallardo, a lay brother. They came at the same time as the first Bishop of Manila, the Dominican Fray Domingo de Salazar. Two years later, on June 18, 1583, Bishop Salazar wrote to Philip II of Spain recommending the establishment of a Jesuit college, where the sons of the colonists could be taught how to read and write, and courses in grammar, arts and theology could be given. He suggested that the college

be opened at the royal expense until someone could be found to give it a sufficient endowment. Governor Ronquillo and the royal treasury officials made the same recommendation.¹

Philip II approved the proposal in principle and ordered the governor "to discuss with the Bishop of the Islands how such a college can be established, and how the religious who are to conduct it may be provided with what they need, and from what funds," and to send a report. Governor Santiago de Vera wrote back that after holding several conferences with Bishop Salazar he believed the best way to support the college would be to assign it an annual income of one thousand pesos from the royal treasury of Mexico. While these negotiations were in progress Bishop Salazar asked Sedeño to open a course in moral theology for the priests of the diocese and a number of candidates for ordination. Sedeño gave the task to a new arrival, Ramón Prat, who gave a series of lectures on the tract *De Sacramentis* in 1585.²

The Father General of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva, was little inclined to approve the opening of a college for extern students. The Society had too many such colleges already in proportion to its available manpower. He much preferred that the Jesuits in the Philippines devote themselves to the evangelization of the natives rather than make any commitments to conduct a school for Spaniards which, once opened, would be difficult to discontinue. However, Acquaviva had the opportunity in 1589 to talk the matter over personally with one of the members of the first band of Jesuits sent to the Philippines. This was Alonso Sánchez, whom a general assembly of the colonists accredited as their agent to the courts of Madrid and Rome in 1586. He convinced Acquaviva that the special needs of the Philippines justified making an exception to the general policy of retrenchment, and the residence at Manila was accordingly raised to the status of a college, with Sedeño as its first rector.³

Although this authorization reached the Philippines in 1590, it was not until five years later that classes were actually begun. On June 11, 1595, nine Jesuits arrived from Mexico; with these reinforcements Father Sedeño felt that he could make

a start. He notified the Governor, Don Luís Pérez Dasmariñas, of his readiness to comply with the request for a Jesuit college, and on September 5, 1595, Dasmariñas in the name of the King assigned an annual subsidy of one thousand pesos for the support of twelve scholars to be chosen from among the sons of the conquistadores of the Islands or of other settlers of good standing. The candidates for these scholarships whom the Father Rector of the college considered eligible were to be presented by him to the Governor for approval. The college was to be called the College of San José; a suitable edifice was to be built with the funds provided, and this edifice was to bear the royal arms. The treasury officials were commanded to take note of this grant and disburse the sum allocated from the royal revenues.⁴

The newsletter sent by the Philippine Jesuits to Rome in 1596 reported that "in the beginning of last year classes of Latin and moral theology were opened, both of which were in demand in these parts; and the latter by the clergy and candidates for holy orders, the former as a means of occupying the minds of youth and thus preserving them from the temptations of the city. Two priests are engaged in this work. Father Montoya, the Latin master, inaugurated his course with an oration at which the Governor, the cathedral chapter, the municipal council and a large number of citizens were present. Being a novelty it was well received. The same gathering graced the inception of the course in moral theology." The phrase "in the beginning of last year" may reasonably be taken as July or August 1595, since these annual newsletters were usually dispatched on the galleon which sailed for Mexico in June, and report events from June of the preceding year.⁵

Here, then, was a Jesuit college started under government auspices, with a subsidy that made provision for every important requirement except one: the teachers. Dasmariñas was quite explicit on this point. "These 1,000 pesos," he said, "are to be spent on the said college, which is to be called San José, only for its construction and for the necessities of the said scholars and for nothing else, even though it be in the same house, and not for the Fathers of the Society, either in large or small quantity." He had no suggestions to make as to how Father

Montoya, the rector of the college and the other members of the community were to feed and clothe themselves.

But maintenance for the fathers was providentially assured in another way. On October 20, 1595, Captain Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa and the Jesuit Vice-Provincial, Ramón Prat,⁶ jointly drew up a legal instrument the principal terms of which were as follows. Figueroa was to complete at his expense the church and residence which the Jesuits had under construction, and to make over to the Vice-Provincial the sum of 21,000 pesos, which was to be invested at the current rate so as to yield a revenue of 1,500 pesos a year. In consideration of this endowment Figueroa was to be acknowledged as the founder and patron in perpetuity of a College of Manila, with all the rights, privileges and graces which the Society was accustomed to impart to the founders of its colleges according to its constitution. On November 8 of the same year the signers of the original document added a clause to clarify the purpose of the endowment, namely, that the college was to be a house of studies "in which instruction is given and lectures held as opportunity offers and according to the usage and custom of the Society."

The civil authorities apparently thought that Figueroa's endowment amply sufficed not only for the living expenses of the Fathers but also for the maintenance of the College of San José; consequently they transferred the San José subsidy the following year to another educational project which the Jesuits had in mind. This was a college for natives similar to that established by the Fathers of the Mexican Province at Tepotzotlan in 1584.⁸ Alonso Sánchez had proposed it to Acquaviva in 1589 as one of the most promising lines of endeavor for the Jesuits at Manila. It would do a great deal of good, he said.

for the children are of a happy and affectionate disposition, not at all bashful or shy, well affected towards us, lively and very intelligent. By winning them we shall also win their parents, brothers and relatives and almost the whole region and get them to come to catechism lessons, confession, communion and spiritual conferences. Moreover, the children will learn our alphabet, language, culture, civil and Christian usages, and spread them in their villages afterwards. Not only will they supply the colony as a whole with trusted interpreters, but some of them can serve as

companions to our men on missionary expeditions; in fact, many of them could be missionaries and catechists themselves. Teachers of reading and writing could be recruited from them and almost the whole charge and care of the seminary could be transferred to them, for the work that they are doing for the other religious communities and in our own house proves that they are quite capable of all these things.⁹

Father Prat who shared Sánchez's enthusiasm for the project readily consented to the altered arrangements without giving much thought to whether the available funds were sufficient to carry all these enterprises. He borrowed some of the Figueroa endowment to start a building for the college of natives; without waiting for it to be finished he gathered together a number of Tagalog boys and had them taught reading, writing, arithmetic and music in the College of Manila. Unfortunately the government fell into financial difficulties and was forced to discontinue the subsidy in 1599. This put a stop to the project; but as we shall see later the idea was not entirely abandoned. It was realized in a modified form in the mission schools, or *seminarios de indios*, which the Jesuits begin to establish on their own account in their principal mission centers.¹⁰

THE COLLEGE OF SAN JOSÉ

This same year, 1599, Father Diego García arrived in the Philippines. He had been sent in the capacity of Visitor to place the work of the Vice-Province on a more stable basis. He found that although the government was no longer supporting the College of San José, the Fathers had managed to keep it going. The enrollment in the Latin class was under thirty, but the students seemed to be making progress. They staged a program of *bienvenida* for the newly arrived Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fray Miguel de Benavides, O.P., and the Latin speeches, epigrams and eulogies delivered on that occasion might be taken as a specimen of their work; unless, as Father Repetti suggests, they were really the work of the professor.¹¹ Father García believed, however, that they would make even better progress if they were resident students living in community under the closer guidance and supervision of their teachers. Accordingly he took steps to put the College of San José on a

new footing which resulted in what was, in effect, a new foundation. He caused a residence hall—a modest affair of wood with a *nipa* roof—to be erected near the Jesuit house and church, probably on the foundations of the unfinished building of the college of natives. He then obtained permission from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to establish in it a boarding school giving courses of instruction not only in grammar but in arts and theology, with the power to confer degrees. It would retain the name of San José, but since the government was no longer supporting it, and since the endowment of the College of Manila enabled the Jesuits to give free tuition but not free board and lodging, the students would be charged one hundred pesos a year for their living expenses.

The idea found favor with the citizens of Manila and late in August 1601 the new College of San José was inaugurated with an enrollment of thirteen. Mass was said for the first time in the new building. The governor, the *audiencia*, religious and lay dignitaries attended. They were met at the door by the scholars in their academic gowns of tawny *jusi* cloth with scarlet trimmings. Pedro Tello de Guzmán, the governor's nephew, and Antonio de Morga junior, son of the historian and jurist, served the Mass. After Mass two other scholars delivered some Spanish verses and a Latin oration explaining the nature and aims of the college. In the afternoon the students and their masters went in academic procession to the government house to pay a ceremonial visit to the governor and *audiencia*. It is to this date that the present Seminary of San José can trace its origin through a continuous existence as an educational entity of three and a half centuries.¹²

The *josefinos* scarcely had time to settle down in their new house when it almost burned down. The incident is important because it helps us to identify the site of the College. The Annual Letter of 1602 tells us that the fire started in some houses outside the *Puerta Real*, and since San José was just inside this gate, next to the city wall, sparks from the burning houses threatened to set its *nipa* roof on fire. "The more agile scholars," the Letter says, "extinguished the sparks, while the others who were unable to help fell on their knees in the garden and

besought Our Lord to save them from the flames. . . Our Lord was pleased to preserve the house."¹³

One hundred pesos for board and lodging was not a small sum in the early seventeenth century; not everyone could pay it. This limited the enrollment of San José during its first years to the sons of the wealthier citizens. The *Misericordia* or *Confraternity of Mercy*, a charitable association of laymen, occasionally gave grants-in-aid to poor but capable students; but the Jesuits' hope was to be able some day to award completely free scholarships. Once again, it was Figueroa who came to the rescue. In 1595 he received royal authorization to organize an expedition for the purpose of reducing the island of Mindanao to the Spanish allegiance. Before setting out the following year he made his last will and testament, under date of March 16, in the town of Arévalo in Panay. After providing for his wife and children, he considered the possibility of his daughter Margarita, or the second child of which his wife was pregnant at the time or both, dying before they came of age. In the event that anyone of his children should die as a minor, he willed that four-fifths of that child's inheritance should revert to the mother, Doña Ana de Oseguera. One-third of this four-fifths, however, was to be deducted, and this one-third, together with the remaining one-fifth of the whole, was to be set aside as an endowment for a college. From this endowment

a house is to be built near the residence of the Society of Jesus in the city of Manila, fit to serve as a college and seminary for boys, where all may enter who wish to learn their first letters. I request and charge the Provincial that is or shall be of the Society to assume the direction of this seminary and provide suitable teachers for it. And the money left over after the construction of the said house must be invested for the support of the said teachers and boys, and the patron and administrator of the said college must be the said Father Provincial, without whose leave and permission no one may enter it.¹⁴

Having drawn up and signed this will, Figueroa set sail for the Rio Grande de Mindanao, now the Cotabato River, where he intended to commence his campaign. He entered the river's mouth on April 21 and landed his troops—214 Spaniards and 1500 Filipinos—near Buhayen, a Moro stronghold. He was ambushed while advancing on the fort, was mortally

wounded by a sword stroke on the head, and died six hours later. His wife, Doña Ana, gave birth to a second daughter, Juana, after his death. In 1604 little Juana perished in the wreck of the galleon *San Antonio*, and the clause of Figueroa's will providing for this contingency went into effect. The share of her inheritance which eventually became the endowment for the College of San José consisted of investments in Mexico and the Philippines valued at 35,500 pesos and a ranch on the island of Panay with 14,000 head of cattle. The legal formalities by which this endowment was applied to San José were completed on February 28, 1610. They did not make it a different institution from that founded by Father Diego García in 1601, but they gave it a new legal status as an *obra pía*, distinct from the Society of Jesus but under the administration and control of its Philippine superiors.¹⁵

No detailed plan of the courses of instruction given in the College of San José during the seventeenth century has come down to us. However, it is fairly certain from the information given in the annual newsletters and other sources that the general plan of studies prescribed for Jesuit colleges of the period was followed as far as circumstances permitted.¹⁶ Elementary schooling does not seem to have been given at San José but in a day school attached to the College of Manila which shall be described later. The next stage, grammar, was taught in three graded classes, lower, middle and upper, in each of which the scholar ordinarily spent a year. The master was a resident Jesuit priest and sometimes, though rarely, a scholastic. "Grammar," of course, meant Latin grammar, the objective of these classes being the mastery of Latin required to take the next two courses: Humanities or Poetry, and Rhetoric. These were also a year in duration and taught at San José by a resident master. Their objective was the formation of habits of logical thought, balanced judgment and clear, persuasive speech through the study of selected classical Latin authors. None of the so-called social sciences were taught formally, but from the "prelections" or explanations of the classical text given by the instructor, and the "erudition" demanded by him during the recitation and disputation periods, the student picked up informally a fairly broad acquaintance with history and some

insight into the workings of human nature, both individual and collective.

The five-year plan of studies just described (variously called "grammar," *estudios de gramática*, the humanistic curriculum) was looked upon as a unified whole, preparatory to the higher or university studies which immediately followed, but at the same time complete in itself. Those who did not intend to take a degree left San José at the end of Rhetoric; those who did, or who planned to study for the priesthood, continued to reside at San José but attended lectures in the College of Manila.

Certain points of domestic discipline are given in a custom book of 1620 which has been preserved.¹⁷ The scholars went to confession once a month; they received communion as often as their father confessor permitted. The rector gave a monthly instruction on the proper reception of these sacraments. There was reading at table during dinner and supper; each took his turn. A chapter of Scripture was read, then the life of a saint. But "when someone is ready there shall be a sermon, especially at supper; and at times in place of reading, at the judgment of the Rector, there shall be a speech or the recitation of a selection from one of the class subjects." The scholars also took their turn serving at table. No one was permitted outside the College overnight except in case of illness. Punishments were meted out for breaches of discipline and remissness in studies. For older boys they took the form of "abstention from part of their food, or a private or public reprehension, always taking into consideration the character of the offense and of the offender." For small boys, it was the rod; but the chastisement must be administered "in a manner to show a spirit of kindness, love and tenderness"; the tenderness no doubt interior on the part of the chastiser, exterior on the part of the chastised.

Table 1 gives the figures at present available on the Jesuits and students who composed the community of the College of San José during the period under review. It should be noted that the figure under "Jesuits" includes the lay brothers who were attached to the community but resided as administrators in the San Pedro Tunasan, Lian and Calatagan estates, which

formed part of the San José endowment. No figures are given for Faculty since, as has been pointed out, the scholars of San José were taught partly by resident masters, partly by professors of the College of Manila.

Besides the scholarships provided by the College endowment (*becas de fundación* or founder's burses), other scholarships were endowed from time to time by citizens interested

Table 1

JESUITS AND STUDENTS IN THE COLLEGE OF SAN JOSÉ,
1601-1768.

Year	Jesuits	Students
1601	2	12
1603	2	20
1612	2	12
1618	2	17
1621	2	19
1624	4	24
1630	5	41
1643	3	44
1651	5	30
1656	5	20
1659	6	26
1665	3	16
1672	5	30
1675	5	22
1687	6	32
1694	7	32
1701	6	26
1719	8	30
1737	8	40
1740	8	40
1753	8	49
1768	6	41

Sources: Annual Letters and Catalogues in RASJ; Colin-Pastells III, "Appendix"; Expulsion Proceedings, 1768, in Archives of the Philippine Vice-Province.

Table 2

DEGREES CONFERRED BY THE COLLEGE OF MANILA ON
STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF SAN JOSE, 1601-1768.

Degree	No.
Doctor of Theology	11
Doctor of Canon & Civil Law	1
Doctor of Canon Law	3
Doctor of Civil Law	3
Licentiate in Theology	2
Bachelor of Theology	5
Master of Arts	43
Master of Philosophy	7
Licentiate in Arts	2
Licentiate in Philosophy	1
Bachelor of Arts	46
Bachelor of Philosophy	22

Source: Repetti, *San José*, ch. 14.

in the education of youth (*becas de donación*). There were fifteen of the latter in 1740; we know the donors of nine of them. The number of founder's burses varied with the income from the College properties; in 1740 there were nineteen. Students who did not hold scholarships continued to pay a yearly fee which remained pretty constant at between 100 and 125 pesos a year until 1768.¹⁸

No register of students of San José for the period we are considering has so far come to light. A comparatively recent history of the College gives the total number of students registered prior to 1768 as 992.¹⁹ Father Repetti has identified 221 of them.²⁰ His list of alumni includes one archbishop, eight bishops, 40 members of the secular clergy, 11 Augustinians, 11 Recollects, three Dominicans, eight Franciscans, 46 Jesuits and 93 laymen. Table 2 gives the kind and number of degrees conferred by the College of Manila on students of the College of San José up to 1768, as far as our present knowledge goes.

Although San José was founded primarily for the education of "Spaniards of good birth," no difficulty seems to have been made in admitting boys of mixed parentage who met the

scholastic requirements. As early as 1599 Bishop Benavides noted that "the Fathers of the Society of Jesus admit into their classes mulattoes and *mestizos*," and when the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in 1762, there were four Chinese *mestizos* enrolled at San José.²¹

Pure-blooded Filipinos do not figure among the regular students until the eighteenth century. However, they were admitted in the capacity of domestics. The annual newsletter of 1665 is careful to note that they were not domestics in the same sense as "those who are called *muchachos*," that is, servants properly so-called. In fact, they brought servants of their own when they came to reside in the College, for most of them belonged to prominent Pampanga families. They were taught how to read and write, and "one of our priests looks after their spiritual welfare, teaches them the catechism, exhorts them to frequent the sacraments and stirs them to the practice of virtue. so that when they return to their homes they may be an example to the other *Pampangueños*." These were probably the pages "in rich livery" who headed the San José contingent in the glittering parade with which Manila paid honor to the Immaculate Conception in 1619. They were followed on horseback by the Spanish scholars, who wore their academic gowns of tawny silk "with facings of fine scarlet cloth and shoulder trimmings of lace," their caps ablaze with gold and precious stones and their necks hung with jewelled chains; clearly, in spite of official moanings and groanings, their parents were not doing so badly in the galleon trade! In 1665 the Pampango students and their servants who resided at San José numbered more than sixty.²²

THE ESCUELA DE NIÑOS

Before we go on to consider the higher studies of the College of Manila, attention should be called to the elementary school attached to that establishment. Very little information about it has hitherto appeared in print. We cannot say exactly when it was started, but it is reasonable to suppose that when the Fathers began to teach Latin grammar in 1595, a lay brother was assigned to instruct Spanish boys in their first letters. The existence of the school is attested to by the annual news-

letters, where these small boys wind in and out at the head of processions lustily singing hymns and chanting the catechism, or suddenly pop out of contrivances on platforms to recite verses of welcome to some newly arrived governor or archbishop. An eighteenth-century source gives a daily order of time for the *escuela de niños* which cannot have been much different from that followed in the preceding century.²³ The morning order was as follows:

At six-thirty the boys go to school. From six-thirty to seven they sharpen their pens. At seven they form two rows and chant the Hail Mary and other prayers. They go to the church where they hear Mass. After Mass they return to school in good order. They begin class by reciting a cadenced prayer on their knees. Thus by eight o'clock those who are learning to read are reading and those who are learning to write are writing their copy, and this shall be until nine o'clock. From nine to ten the written copies are corrected; first, the copies of those who write large, who shall have finished first, then the copies of those who write medium, and after that the copies of those who write in small letters. While the copies are being corrected they are to chant the catechism beginning with *Todo fiel cristiano* [Every faithful Christian].

Nothing else is scheduled for the morning. In those days Manila lunched at eleven, because this enabled everyone to take a siesta and still have enough daylight left to wind up the affairs of the day. The pens that had to be sharpened were, of course, quill pens; pencils had not yet come into use. Apparently all the boys in the reading and writing class occupied one large classroom, but were divided into several sections. There was a lowest section of those who were just learning to read. Then three writing sections, composed respectively of beginners ("those who write large"), boys who have progressed sufficiently to form medium-sized letters, and the proficient who could write a small, probably a cursive hand. There was, as we shall see presently, a fifth section composed of those who were learning sums. The following was the afternoon order.

The boys come to school at two o'clock. Pens are sharpened from two to two-thirty. At two-thirty class begins with a prayer as in the morning. Then those who are learning to write are given lessons in continuous or letter writing; first, those who write small in order that they may have more time to do their copies,

then those who write large; and these latter shall be assigned the model that they are ready for. From two-thirty to three-thirty those who are learning to read do their reading assignments; at three-thirty they begin to recite in order and without confusion. Those in writing are to work on their copies until they finish, which shall be until four-thirty. From four o'clock to five, as in the morning, while correction is going on, they chant the table [of prayers] and recite the catechism. At five o'clock they say the holy rosary on their knees for the space of a quarter of an hour. . . . During the morning and afternoon sessions attention shall be paid to those who do sums at the time most convenient.

It seems clear from this that graded models were given to those in the writing sections. The Spanish expression here translated as "model" is *primer renglón*; I take it that the teacher wrote a line of script at the top of each boy's sheet for him to copy, adapting the script to the boy's abilities. The more proficient boys were given as models several lines of continuous script and eventually a specimen letter. While those in the writing sections were being set their tasks, those in the reading section were preparing the lesson which each one was later to recite to the teacher. Each writing boy, as soon as he finished his copy, presented it to the teacher for correction. While individual correction was going on, those who had finished their tasks chanted in unison the questions and answers of the catechism, which they were supposed to know from memory. All this probably sounded like bedlam to the casual passerby, but it was organized bedlam, in which everyone was kept continuously occupied, without so much as half a minute in which to fashion a spitball. Or so it was fondly hoped. Busiest of all, perhaps, was the teacher, who was advised not to try to do everything himself, but to share the work with his assistant. This assistant, probably a layman, helped him to correct copies and hear lessons; he also supervised the pen-sharpening period; but his main function was to apply the rod of chastisement in due measure to the proper place.

The weekly holiday was probably Thursday, as in the upper classes. On Saturday afternoons there were no regular lessons in reading and writing. Instead, some of the boys committed the catechism to memory while others answered questions on it. Towards the end of the period teacher told a story from

the Bible or an anecdote to illustrate devotion to the Blessed Virgin. At four o'clock the boys went to the church to take part in the Saturday devotions to Our Lady, after which class was dismissed.

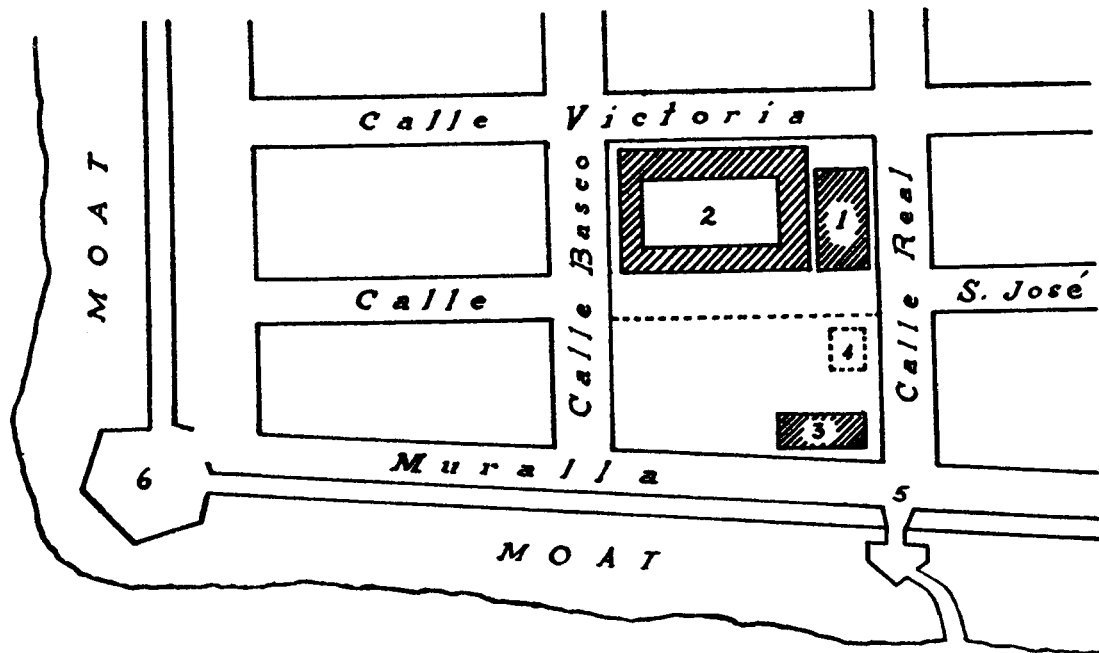
THE COLLEGE OF MANILA

It is clear from what we have already seen that in 1610 the Jesuit compound near the Puerta Real was the seat of three distinct educational institutions: the Escuela de Niños, a day school for Spanish boys learning their first letters, the College of San José, a boarding school for students of grammar, arts and theology, founded by Father Diego García and endowed by Estéban Rodríguez de Figueroa, and the College of Manila, established originally as a residence and subsequently founded as a college also by Figueroa. It was in the College of Manila that the scholars of San José who were candidates for degrees attended lectures in philosophy, theology and law, along with the Jesuit scholastics, that is, the younger members of the Philippine Province who were studying for the priesthood.²⁴

The Society of Jesus had been empowered by Pope Julius III to confer degrees on its own members; this privilege was extended by Pius IV in 1561 to include extern students in Jesuit colleges who fulfilled the requirements for graduation. Gregory XIII confirmed the grant in 1578, and Gregory XV, by his Brief "In supereminenti" (July 9, 1621), specifically authorized Jesuit colleges in the Spanish Indies to confer university degrees; the latter document was published with the royal *exequatur* in Manila on July 30, 1623.²⁵

On August 7, 1648, the Rector of the College of Santo Tomás of Manila, Fray Martín Real de la Cruz, O.P., filed a petition with the Audiencia that the Rector of the College of Manila be restrained from conferring university degrees on the students of that College. The petition was based on the allegation that Innocent X, by a Brief of November 20, 1645, had authorized the erection in the College of Santo Tomás of an Academy, and that according to the terms of this Brief only the Academy of Santo Tomás and no other institution within a distance of three thousand leagues had the power to grant degrees. The Rector of the College of Manila, Francisco Colín,

THE JESUIT COMPOUND IN THE WALLED CITY



1. Church of San Ignacio.
2. College of Manila.
3. College of San José.
4. Escuela de Niños?
5. Puerta Real.

6. Bastion of Nuestra Señora de Guía. The construction of an earlier fort on this site is said to have been supervised by Sedeño.

At the request of the Jesuit Fathers, Calle San José was closed to traffic between Calle Basco and Calle Real. Calle Real was renamed General Luna Street during the American regime, and the Jesuit com-

prayed that the petition be denied, alleging that the Brief in question explicitly stated that the Academy of Santo Tomás was being instituted without prejudice to any third party. The decision of the Audiencia of Manila, handed down on October 22, 1648, was that "by reason of the creation of the University of Santo Tomás de Aquino in the Islands, the power of conferring degrees granted by the Supreme Pontiffs to colleges of the Society had ceased, except the power to confer degrees on its own members, on the poor, and on the rich whom the University should refuse to graduate."

The decision was appealed to the Council of the Indies at Madrid, which examined the pleadings submitted by both parties with its customary slow deliberation. Finally, on August 12, 1652, it reversed the decision of the Audiencia of Manila and ruled that "until a university of general studies shall be established in the city of Manila, both the said colleges of San Ignacio and Santo Tomás may make use of the power to confer degrees, and may actually confer them on those who shall have studied and taken courses in the faculties of arts, philosophy and theology in the said colleges or in each of them." Moreover, the Council decided a subsidiary question brought up in the course of the suit, namely, which of the two colleges of Santo Tomás and San José should have precedence over the other in public functions and ceremonies where both were present. "With respect to precedence," declared the Council, "let seniority be observed as between the Colleges of San José and Santo Tomás; in view of which let the said College of San José have and enjoy it, as being the older." Upon a motion for reconsideration on the part of Santo Tomás the Council reviewed this decision and reaffirmed it by a definitive decree (*auto de revista*, November 25, 1652).²⁶

The philosophical or arts curriculum in Jesuit colleges as prescribed by the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 took three years. Completion by the student of the humanities curriculum (one year of Poetry and one of Rhetoric) was a prerequisite. The first-year subjects were Logic and Introduction to Physics, the professor basing his lectures on Aristotle's logical treatises. The second-year subjects were Cosmology, Physics, Psychology and Mathematics. Aristotle's *Physics*, *De Coelo* and *De Ge-*

neratione (Book I) were the texts on which the lectures were based. Mathematics was studied from Euclid. The third-year subjects were Psychology, Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy, expounded from Aristotle's *De Generatione* (Book II), *De Anima*, *Metaphysica* and *Ethics*.

The theological curriculum took four years, with courses in Scholastic Theology, Moral Theology, Sacred Scripture and Hebrew. In the Moral Theology course a weekly discussion of practical moral cases was prescribed. Canon law was treated in this course before it was taught as a separate subject. The *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas formed the basis of the course in Scholastic Theology.²⁷

The 1752 revision of the Custom Book of the College of Manila gives the daily order of classes. It may be summarized as follows.

Theology

8:00	Moral Theology or Canon Law
8:45	Recess
9:00	Scholastic Theology
10:00	Recess
3:00	Scholastic Theology
4:00	Recess
4:15	<i>Conferencias</i> or Cases of Conscience
5:00	Recess

Philosophy

8:00	Lectures
9:00	Recess
9:15	Recitation; Exercises
10:00	Recess
3:00	Lecture
4:00	Recess
4:15	<i>Conferencias</i>
5:00	Recess

Since no textbooks were used, the first part of each lecture period consisted in the professor dictating the lesson while the students took notes. The rest of the period was devoted to explaining or expanding the more difficult points. During the recess those who wished might go out to the corridor for

a breath of air, but the professor was to remain at his desk to answer any questions the students might have, leaving only when the next class was ready to begin.

Moral Theology and Canon Law were two-year courses. The Custom Book implies that they were taught by separate professors; early in the seventeenth century, however, there seems to have been only one professor for both. There were two professors of Scholastic Theology. The professor who lectured in the morning was said to occupy the chair of prime; the one who lectured in the afternoon, the chair of vespers. Since these two courses ran for four years, and since no separate course in Sacred Scripture is indicated, it must have been in one or the other of these courses that the subject was covered. There does not seem to have been more than one class of theologians and one class of philosophers in any one year. The beginning student merely joined the cycle as given.

The Custom Book does not elaborate on the *conferencias* scheduled for the last period in the afternoon. It does say, however, that on Tuesdays the period was devoted to the discussion of a practical moral case, or "case of conscience," in the theological curriculum. All the priests of the community were obliged to join the theology students for this discussion. The case was posted one or two days in advance, and several students or priests were told off to look up the opinion of some recognized authority. The period began with a brief review of the case discussed the previous Tuesday. This was followed by a statement of the case under discussion. Then those assigned presented the solutions of the authorities they had consulted, one after the other. Finally, the *Padre Resultor*, the priest appointed to solve the case, explained and defended his solution.²⁸

We also learn that it was during this period of *conferencias* that the candidates for the Bachelor of Theology degree fulfilled one of the degree requirements. This was a series of specimen lectures during which the candidate, after giving a brief exposition of some assigned topic, was subjected to questioning by three other students designated as objectors. We can only guess at what other forms the *conferencia* might have

taken. The Professor of Moral Theology and the Professor of Canon Law were supposed to take charge of it by turns, which suggests that they did not lecture but merely presided over a class conducted by the students themselves, either as a review or as a discussion period. It would also be the appropriate time, both in the philosophical and the theological curriculum, for short lecture series or seminars in what we would now call special or auxiliary disciplines.

The second morning period in the arts curriculum was apparently devoted to various forms of student activity: individual recitations, informal disputations, quizzes, etc., whereby the professor could make sure that his lectures were being assimilated. It is, in fact, surprising how much time this plan of studies gave to class exercises not only in the lower grades of grammar but even in the university disciplines. At practically every turn we find the student giving an account of what he has learned, or whether he has really learned it.

Formal disputations in philosophy and theology were held every month. These took place on Saturdays from 3 to 5. A defendant was appointed to explain and prove a thesis or group of theses against two or more objectors. Objections and replies had to be framed in the rigorous syllogistic form developed by the medieval schools.²⁹ At least once a year a public disputation or "act" in philosophy was held and another in theology. Invitations were issued for these public disputations and the theses to be defended were printed and distributed in advance. Anyone in the audience could dispute with the defendant after the appointed objectors were finished. At the public disputation of 1609 two military officers got up and argued learnedly with the defendant, to the amazement and edification of all present and the encouragement of the students at seeing "learning joined with arms, both equally honored."³⁰ An exceptionally capable student might be permitted to hold a "grand act," in which he undertook to defend against all comers a list of theses covering the entire field of philosophy or theology. These grand acts were held in the college church and lasted for four or five hours, two or three in the morning and two in the afternoon. They were usually scheduled to coincide with the provincial congregations which

met every four or six years and brought Jesuits from every part of the Province to Manila.³¹

Public disputations in mathematics as well as philosophy and theology were held after 1750, when the Marquis of Obando founded a chair of mathematics in the College. The Augustinian bibliographers Pérez and Guemes list mathematical disputations for the years 1758, 1759 and 1762. In 1762, Don José de Sousa y Magallanes defended certain "mathematical theses relating to astronomy for the computation of the planets, and for the calculation, prediction and observation of eclipses of the moon and earth (the sun does not suffer eclipse)." Father Pascual Fernández, Professor of Mathematics, presided at the disputation.

The successful conduct of a public disputation was one of the requirements for a master's or doctor's degree. Thus in 1764 José Juan Pimentel y Sotomayor defended certain *theoremata doctoralia* in the hall of the college, and in 1767 Father Luis Carro declared himself ready to defend a number of *quodlibeta* for the purpose of obtaining the doctoral degree in the faculty of theology. Occasionally a newly appointed member of the Jesuit faculty would inaugurate his course with a public disputation, as in 1757 when Father José Andrés inaugurated his afternoon course of philosophy by defending the proposition: "Between the metaphysical predicates of the same created individual only a *distinctio rationis ratiocinata* exists, which is made by a purely formal precision."³²

The student was eligible for the degree of Bachelor of Arts after one and a half years of course work in the faculty of arts.³³ He was required to pass an oral examination before three examiners, each of whom would cover three areas or topics. The first examiner covered terms, propositions and oppositions, and syllogisms. The second covered predicables, predicaments and the matter of Aristotle's *Prior and Posterior Analytics*. The third examiner covered physics, the matter of Aristotle's *De Generatione*, and the definition of the soul.

Completion of the philosophical curriculum (three years) was required for eligibility for the licentiate in arts; in addition to which the candidate seems to have been expected to

spend a year in preparation for his examination, although the Custom Book is somewhat obscure on this point. The first degree requirement was a *repetición*, that is, the delivery of a prepared lecture on a text of Aristotle selected by the candidate himself. This was to be done in the presence of the Rector of the College and the professors and students of the faculty of arts. It was to last one full hour by the hour-glass, after which the candidate was to answer a number of questions proposed by the students, with no subsumptions allowed. The second degree requirement was a *lección*, that is, a quasi-ex-tempore lecture on a subject assigned to the candidate. The procedure was as follows. At the end of the *repetición* the Aristotelian corpus was opened before the Rector at three places at random. Of the questions treated in the pages that fell open, the candidate selected one, and was then given forty hours in which to prepare a dissertation on it, to be delivered before the same audience and for the same length of time. At the end of the hour he was to answer three or four arguments, that is, questions with subsumptions, or "lines," proposed by the professors of the faculty. After this ordeal the faculty cast a secret vote, and if it was one of approval the candidate was awarded his license to teach on the spot. The licentiate in arts could obtain his master's degree at any time thereafter by presenting a minor act (*actillo*) on a philosophical question treated with a measure of originality. After a brief exposition of the question he was to answer arguments proposed first by the Rector of San José, then by a master of arts, and lastly by a student.

The requirements for the bachelor's degree in theology were two years of course work and three specimen lectures given during the afternoon *conferencias*, as described above. After two more years of course work the bachelor was permitted to try for his licentiate. As in philosophy he was first asked to give a *repetición*. This was to be the exposition of a scriptural text in such a way that its dogmatic implications were made clear. At the conclusion of the lecture the dogmatic sense of the text was to be framed scholastically in the form of theses. Three arguments by student objectors were to be answered without subsumptions. Note that this is the

same directive as that given by the Custom Book relative to the philosophical *repetición*; it is not clear whether the intention was to save time, or to prescribe that the candidate's replies were to be definitive, that is, admit of no subsumptions.

Next came the quodlibetal disputation. The candidate posted twelve theses which he was prepared to defend against any student in the faculty. Six of these theses were in scholastic and six in positive theology.³⁴ During the morning session of the disputation three student objectors asked the candidate to explain and prove one of the six scholastic theses, after which each presented his "line" of argument. The same procedure was followed in the afternoon session, with three other students attacking one of the positive theses. At the end of the session the three points for the *lección* were chosen at random in the presence of the Rector, in the same way as in the faculty of arts, except that this time the selection was made from the first three books of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. The same term of forty hours was given to the candidate to prepare, but instead of one *lección* he was required to give two: one of an hour's duration on one of the three points and the other of three quarters of an hour on another. He was then subjected to questioning by four doctors of the faculty, after which his fate was decided by secret ballot. The doctorate of theology was obtained in the same manner as the master's degree in arts—by the presentation of a minor act on a *cuestión curiosa*, that is, one in which the candidate's ability for original thought could be examined.

The Custom Book makes no mention of the requirements for degrees in canon and civil law, although chairs in these faculties were founded by the King in 1733.³⁵ It may be that since these courses were taken under *regius professorships*, it was the royal Audiencia and not the College that prescribed the requirements for graduation.

Some time after the canonization of St. Ignatius Loyola in 1622 the College of Manila began to be called the College of San Ignacio. In the second half of the seventeenth century it was also occasionally referred to as a university, although at first it granted degrees only in arts and theology. There

was more warrant for the name after the establishment of the law faculties; for this reason the appellation "Universidad de San Ignacio de Manila" becomes more and more frequent in the documents after 1733.

PROVINCIAL COLLEGES

During his sojourn at Cebu in 1594-1595, Father Antonio Pereira started an elementary school for Spanish boys which Brother Gaspar Garay continued after his departure. In 1598 a grammar school was added at the request of the first Bishop of Cebu, Fray Pedro de Agurto O.S.A., but was later discontinued because of insufficient enrollment. The theological faculty of the College of Manila was transferred to Cebu for a brief period during the disturbances occasioned by the Chinese uprising of 1639. However, the elementary school was the only Jesuit educational institution in Cebu that lasted until 1768.³⁶ Other Jesuit houses, such as those at Cavite, Iloilo and Zamboanga are called colleges in the documents, but they were colleges only in the sense that they were supported at least in part by an endowment which carried with it the obligation either of maintaining an elementary school or of supporting missionaries engaged in the study of the native languages.

MISSION SCHOOLS

The mission territory of the old Jesuit Province of the Philippines included a number of Tagalog towns near Manila, the Visayan islands of Samar, Leyte, Bohol and part of Negros, and the Subanun settlements of northern Mindanao. The territory was divided into districts, in the principal town of which the missionaries had their permanent residence. From this residence they set out at stated times to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments in the subordinate mission stations of the district, which were called *doctrinas* or *visitas*. It was a fixed policy from the very beginning that these mission residences should have attached to them an elementary school for native children.

Father Alonso de Humanes, a member of the first group of missionaries sent to Leyte, gives us an account of the establishment of the school of Dulag.³⁷ Here, where they intended to set up their residence, the Fathers brought together from Palo and other neighboring settlements about sixty boys, many of them sons of the *datos* or chieftains of the region. They were quartered in the town but spent the day in the Jesuit compound, where they were taught Christian doctrine, reading, writing, arithmetic and music. Later, in order to relieve the townspeople of the burden of supporting them, the boys were transferred to a boarding school in the mission compound itself and maintained out of the living allowances given to the missionaries by the *encomenderos*.³⁸

Humanes was delighted at the enthusiasm with which the boys took to their studies. Lacking pens and paper, they used the traditional writing materials of the Malays: chipped stones and smooth strips of split bamboo. We can still see them through Humanes' eyes, breaking up in groups of four during their lessons to help each other with their exercises. They even learned to play the flute; and soon they were assisting at the liturgy as choir boys and mass servers, and accompanying the Fathers on missionary expeditions as catechists and interpreters, just as Alonso Sánchez had predicted to Acquaviva.

Similar schools were founded in the other residences and contributed powerfully to the rapid conversion of the towns from which the boys were recruited and to which they returned to succeed their fathers as *datos*, headmen or village elders. In the course of the seventeenth century elementary schools for girls were started under the care of female school-teachers. Eventually the Fathers were able to hand over the conduct of the boys' schools to laymen, usually products of the schools themselves. In a number of cases these schoolmasters were *donados*, that is, lay assistants who bound themselves by private vow or promise to the service of the mission and observed a quasi-religious rule. The subjects, methods and order of time in the mission schools were the same as those in the Escuela de Niños of Manila.³⁹

CONCLUSION

It will be gathered from this brief account that the educational work of the Jesuits in the Philippines prior to 1768 was greater in extent, more varied in its offerings and more exacting in its standards than current textbooks and surveys of the history of education in this country would lead one to suspect. There were elementary schools strictly so-called, that is, not mere catechism classes, even in such comparatively remote provinces as Samar long before the educational reforms of 1863. It is even arguable that elementary education lost rather than gained ground in the nineteenth century, in the sense that less children were taught relative to the total population, and were taught less well.

As for secondary education, the scholars of the College of San José took fewer courses than the modern college student, but it is permissible to doubt whether one learns any more about human nature and social dynamics from Government 1 or Sociology 12b than from Cicero's *Pro Archia* or the satires of Horace as taught in what St. Ignatius and his first companions called "modus et ordo Parisiensis"—the method and order of Paris, the mother of universities. And impressive though the titles, footnotes and bibliographical apparatus of our master's theses and doctoral dissertations are, one is tempted to wonder how many M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s today would have the training in analysis, exposition and argument to survive a quodlibetal disputation, or the readiness of wit and grasp of his subject to prepare a *lección* on forty hours' notice.

Two other aspects of Jesuit education during the Spanish colonial period may be mentioned. The first is that the Jesuit contribution to this field was not by any means unique. Other missionary orders were doing comparable work in similar institutions both in Manila and the provinces. The other is that the colleges and schools described above were administered by a Province whose total membership seldom rose above one hundred and fifty at any time during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And there are indications⁴⁰ that shortly before Charles III exiled the Society from all his dominions the Philippine Jesuits were planning to expand their education-

al work to provide secondary schools and centers of higher learning for native Filipinos in the provinces under their spiritual care.

* * *

¹ Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. (3 v., Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), I, 351-353; II, 247. *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas* (9 v., Barcelona, 1925-1936), II, n. 3012.

² Royal *cédula* dated Barcelona, June 8, 1585, in Colín-Pastells I, 351. Letter of Vera to Philip II, written in 1587 or 1588, *ibid.* I, 353-354. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, October 4, 1585, in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (RASJ), Philippine section, volume 14, folio 8v. Pedro Chirino, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús* (ms., 1610), lib. 1, c. 19.

³ Acquaviva states the reasons against the establishment of a college at Manila in his replies to the *postulata* or petitions of the Provincial Congregation of Mexico, dated May 9, 1587; RASJ *Congregaciones Provinciales* 43, 411v. It should be noted that the Philippine Mission was at this time dependent on the Province of Mexico. Sánchez's arguments in favor of a college are contained in a memorandum entitled "De la dispusición de las Philipinas para quanto a estar de asiento en ellas la Compañía," Archives of the Gesù (Rome), *busta* 1465. The authorization for the erection of the Manila residence into a college was brought by Father Pedro Chirino in 1590; cf. Colín-Pastells I, 510.

⁴ A copy of this decree is in the Archives of the Philippine Vice-Province; English translation in W. C. Repetti, *The Society of Jesus in the Philippines, 1581-1609* (ms. 7 v., Washington, 1945-1950), II, 115-117.

⁵ RASJ Phil. 5, 8-8v.

⁶ The nine Jesuits who arrived in 1595 brought with them Acquaviva's letters raising the Philippine Mission to the status of a Vice-Province and appointing Sedeño Vice-Provincial. Sedeño died September 1 of that year and was succeeded by Prat.

⁷ "Escritura de fundación del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Manila," Gesù 1465.

⁸ See Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938), pp. 222-226.

⁹ Gesù 1465.

¹⁰ The transfer of the San José subsidy to the proposed college of natives is reported to the King by Antonio de Morga on July 5, 1596, Colín-Pastells II, 247. Information on the college is sent to Acquaviva by Prat (*ibid.* II, 108) and Juan de Ribera (RASJ Phil. 9, 341). We learn of the discontinuance of the project from a letter of Governor Francisco Tello to the King, July 1599; *The Philippine Islands*, E. H. Blair & J. A. Robertson, eds. (55 v., Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903-1909), X, 253.

¹¹ Annual Letter of 1599, Colín-Pastells I, 195. Repetti, *Society of Jesus in the Philippines* III, 126.

¹² The authorizations granted by the cathedral chapter *sede vacante* and by Governor Tello, both dated August 26, 1601, are in Colín-Pastells II, 482-483; cf. *ibid.* II, 246-252 for the account on which our narrative is based. The audiencia was the supreme court and at the same time the supreme consultative and administrative council of the colony. It was composed of four *oidores*, who functioned both as justices and councillors. Antonio de Morga senior was an oidor and the author of *Sucesos de las islas Philipinas* (Mexico, 1609), one of the earliest and most authoritative general histories of the Philippines.

¹³ RASJ Phil. 5, 96v-97.

¹⁴ "Tanto de la cláusula de la fundación del Collegio de San Joseph que hizo Estévan Rodríguez de Figueroa," Gesù 1465.

¹⁵ See Repetti, *The College of San José* (ms., Washington, 1947), ch. 2. An *obra pia* may be defined as a foundation established for some religious or charitable purpose and administered with ecclesiastical approval as ecclesiastical property possessing a distinct juridical personality capable before the canon and the civil law of entering into lawful relations with other collective entities and individuals.

¹⁶ On the Jesuit plan of studies or *Ratio Studiorum* see Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938.

¹⁷ In the Archives of the Philippine Vice-Province; English version in Repetti, *San José*, pp. 279-280.

¹⁸ Statement of Father Francisco Méndez in Colín-Pastells II, 492; cf. Repetti, *San José*, ch. 15.

¹⁹ Fernando Benítez, *Reseña histórica del Real Colegio de San José* (Manila, 1883), p. 13.

²⁰ *San José*, ch. 14.

²¹ Colín-Pastells II, 482. Pastells, "Historia general de Filipinas," *Catálogo V*, cciv. Repetti, *San José*, p. 358.

²² Annual Letter of 1665, RASJ Phil. 7, 793. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, 1749), pp. 12-12v.

²³ *Costumbres del Collegio de nuestro P. San Ignacio de Manila* (1752), a manuscript volume of 64 numbered leaves in the Archives of the Province of Aragón, now Tarragona.

²⁴ Scholastic novices began to be admitted to the Society in the Philippines in 1596, and after the Vice-Province became a Province in 1605 scholastics were sent from Europe and Mexico to complete their studies in the College of Manila.

²⁵ See Juan José Delgado, *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: Juan de Atayde, 1892), pp. 226-227; *Colección de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas*, Francisco Javier Hernández, ed. (2 v., Brussels: Vromant, 1879), II, 447.

²⁶ "Traslado del pleito que a seguido el Rdo. P. Fray Martín Real de la Cruz, Rector de la Universidad y Academia de Sto. Tomás de Aquino desta ciudad de Manila contra el Rdo. P. Francisco Colín, Rector de la Compañía de Jesús de la dicha ciudad" (1649), Gesù 849. "Auto definitivo del Consejo Real de las Indias" (August 12 & November 25, 1652), *ibid.*

²⁷ See Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, pp. 342-343.

²⁸ *Costumbres del Colegio*, pp. 36 ff.

²⁹ See George E. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1954), pp. 255-260.

³⁰ Annual Letter of 1610, in the Library of the Academy of History (Madrid), *Colección Jesuitas* 87/69.

³¹ RASJ Prov. Cong. *passim*.

³² *Adiciones y continuación de "La Imprenta de Manila" de D. J. T. Medina* (Manila: Santos y Bernal, 1905), under pertinent dates.

³³ It should be remembered that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the arts course was the three-year philosophy course with its adjunct mathematical and natural-science subjects. Humanities and Rhetoric were prerequisites, but were considered to be part of the grammar course. The account given here is taken from the ms. previously cited, *Costumbres del Colegio de San Ignacio de Manila*, Punto 40., "De las diligencias para graduarse," pp. 39 ff.

³⁴ On the distinction between scholastic and positive theology see Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*, p. 297, note 5.

³⁵ See Delgado, *Historia general*, pp. 226-227.

³⁶ Repetti, *Society of Jesus in the Philippines* III, 1. "Historia de la Vice-Provincia" (1600), RASJ Phil. 9, 1-4. Colín-Pastells III, 791.

³⁷ Report to Prat, *circa* 1598, Colín-Pastells II, 128-130.

³⁸ The *encomienda* was a royal grant of jurisdiction to a deserving colonist over the native population of a specified territory. The *encomendero* was authorized to collect tribute from the people thus "commended" or entrusted to him, on condition that he provide them with good government, protection from their enemies, and the opportunity to learn the Christian faith. To fulfill this last condition the *encomendero* set aside a portion of his revenues for the support of the missionaries working in his district.

³⁹ See the description of his mission school given by Anton Xavier Malinsky, missionary on the island of Negros, in a letter to a friend, 15 March 1735, Aragón Archives E-I-a-18/611. There is abundant material in the Society archives for a study of the organization, operation and influence of these mission schools of the old Philippine Province.

⁴⁰ E.g., the *postulatum* reported by Diego de Otazo to the Philippine Provincial Congregation of 1724, RASJ Prov., Prov. Cong. 88, 290-291.