

Establishing a Pre-Isabellan Spanish Colonial School: The Case of Colegio de Bacolor, 1861-1898

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ABSTRACT

There is a prevailing notion that before the public education decree of Spanish Queen Isabella II on 20 December 1863 there were no public education institutions in the Philippines. In fact, the Kapampangan elite and churchmen and the Spaniards in Pampanga collaborated to establish a primary school in the capital town of Bacolor in 1861 for male children, regardless of economic status. Named Colegio de Bacolor, the school was not only a showcase of the Filipino social

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initiative but also a monument of the Filipino people's championing of public education for all at that point in history. This article explores not only the school's humble beginnings but also the reception of the Spanish colonial government to the Kapampangan philanthropy. The school eventually became a government entity in 1893 after its private incorporators decided to place it under the Pampanga Provincial Government for subsidy and was reorganized by the Americans as a trade school (it later became the Don Honorio Ventura State University or DHVSU). The school is fortunate that Luther Parker, a champion of Philippine local history, became its principal who copied its important documents, which now form a part of the Luther Parker Collection in the University of the Philippines Diliman Main Library and the National Library of the Philippines. The original documents are nowhere to be found in the DHVSU, more so after it was affected by the Pinatubo Lahar in the 1990s, burying the school several feet under. Nonetheless, Parker's papers are corroborated by the school's foundational documents in the Archivo Historico Nacional via Portal de Archivos Españoles and the *Official Opinion of the Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands* of the U.S. Insular Government of the Philippine Islands in 1909.

KEYWORDS

Luther Parker, Colonial education, Don Honorio Ventura State University, Pampanga, Felino Gil, Juan Zita

INTRODUCTION

One of the well-known schools established in the second half of the 19th century was the Colegio de Bacolor in Bacolor, the then-capital town of Pampanga (now the Don Honorio Ventura State University).¹ Established in 1861, the school was unique in its time, being the earliest known religious school in the Philippines founded not by a religious congregation but by a corporation of a secular priests and private citizens whose administration was semi-public (because the honorary president was the Governor-General). Financed fully privately, education here was free, although it was not a pious school because most of its students were from the *principalia* (elite) class of Pampanga. The school boasted sponsoring indigent children from various parts of Pampanga.

The early beginnings of the Colegio de Bacolor will give one a glimpse of how a school, at least in Pampanga, *prior* to the public education decree of Queen Isabella II on 20 December 1863, was conceptualized, established, operated, and advocated by the elite.²

PRIVILEGED KAPAMPANGANS

It is uncertain when the formal school setup began in Pampanga. However, part of the regular missionary activities of the Augustinians—the religious ministers assigned to the province since 1572—was to teach people, especially children, the Christian doctrine and the basics of arithmetic, reading, and writing, according to the first (1572-1608) and second (1608-1854) of the 20-volume

Libros de Gobierno or book of rules of their religious order. Filipino Augustinian historian Fr. Ericsson M. Borre, OSA notes that:

In 1611, all *escuelas* (classes) must be taken out or should not be held in the convent for the *muchachos* (native boys) as they are creating so much noise for the convent and discomfort for the friars.³

It is no wonder, then, that by 1732, Fr. Diego Bergaño, OSA, in writing the *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga*, recorded the archaic Kapampangan words *cabeltun* or “[the] fleshy part of the banana trunk with which school children wrap their books;⁴ *lapiting* or “a hard-headed boy who refuses the command to go to school;”⁵ *balusan mo ngang batbatan* or “whip them all,” “like all the boys in the school;”⁶ and *magtipas* or to escape from schooling.⁷

Moreover, the Kapampangans were among the pioneer natives of the Philippines to enter the Spanish schools in Manila for higher education and special vocation, be it religious, military, or secular. They were the “most warlike and prominent people of these islands,” according to Spanish chronicler Fr. Casimiro Diaz, OSA in 1718— thus, the necessity to tame, Hispanize, and win them over to the Spanish side.⁸ They were actually the first natives to resist the Spanish invasion of Luzon in 1571. When a Chinese rebellion in Manila happened in 1603, the Spanish government sought their assistance, organized them as native volunteers, and a new class of colonial army was born: the *soldados pampangos*. “[But they] needed the shelter of ours... and had been trained in

the military art in our own schools,” said Diaz. From then on, the Kapampangans became close to the Spaniards, even earning them the recognition that “one Spaniard and three Pampangos were equal to four Spaniards.”⁹

The regard of the Spaniards for the Kapampangans as loyal and dependable subjects became the latter’s stepping stone to receiving formal schooling. Gov. Gen. Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera decreed in 1640 the establishment of an all-Spanish Colegio de San Felipe de Asturias in Manila, whose “servants shall be of influential Pampango families.”¹⁰ He also ordered the administrators of the college to teach these Kapampangans “to read and write, and the Spanish language.” Gradually, according to another Spanish chronicler Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin, OSA in 1720, the colonial administrators saw the necessity of “good instruction” of the rest of the Christian natives to “instill much into them” the “good example of life which they see in their masters,” and he specifically mentioned the “Pampango nation” as “generally...good servants.”¹¹ Thence, previously exclusive Spanish schools in Manila opened to the native population. In 1697, Archbishop Diego Camacho, who just arrived in Manila, lauded Colegio de San Juan de Letran, Colegio de San José (a Jesuit school), Colegio de Santo Tomas, and Colegio de San Ignacio for admitting native students.¹² Among the milestones in the history of early Filipino education was the achievement of the Kapampangans at Santo Tomas through Juan Mañago, the earliest recorded alumnus of the school with an indigenous surname; secular priest Manuel Francisco Túbil of Betis (now part of Guagua, Pampanga) in 1772, for being the first Filipino doctor of Sacred Theology; Dr.

Pedro León de Arzega of Guagua as the first Filipino lay Doctor of Philosophy in 1785; and Dr. Mariano Henson y Paras of Culiat, San Fernando, Pampanga (now Angeles City) who became the first Filipino lay Doctor of Laws in 1824.¹³

A DREAM SCHOOL

While they had all the capability to send their children to Manila for schooling, the Kapampangan elite began to think in practical terms: They would establish a local boys' school for *all walks of life* in Bacolor in 1861 aged 7 to 12, for them to be “useful members of society... aware of [their] duty to God and to the Government, without having to incur great expenses in going to the Capital (Manila) and *without being separated from their parents and families*.”¹⁴ Named Colegio de Bacolor, the school was established principally by elite Kapampangan Fr. Juan Zita, then the incumbent secular parish priest of Lubao, Pampanga, and by Don Felino Gil y Talens, a Spanish landlord from Porac, Pampanga.¹⁵ It began as an all-boys school in Pampanga. Its complete name was Colegio de Instrucción Primaria y Latinidad, which suggests it was a school for Christian doctrine, basic skills (e.g., arithmetic, reading, writing), and latinity or grammar.¹⁶ It also used the name Colegio de Santa Teresa de Jesus,¹⁷ which was probably an alternate name but was never recognized officially, at least in government documents. A *bahay-na-bato* was donated by *principalia* siblings Geronima, Gervacia and Dolores Suares of Bacolor to serve as the edifice for the said school on 19 September 1861.¹⁸ Former Pampanga *alcalde mayor*, Brig. Gen. José de Urbina y Daoiz was also among the benefactors.

Kapampangan elite as school donors was not new. In 1705, they donated timber for the construction of the future Real Colegio Seminario de San Clemente, the first Philippine seminary, whose seminarians were both members of the *principalia* and *naturales* (plebeian) classes of Pampanga (and from the Tagalogs provinces).¹⁹ It is also interesting to note that the Kapampangans maintained an endowment fund in their parishes called *capellánias* to support the schooling of young Kapampangans who aspired to become priests, especially the *naturales*. Aside from mass intentions, funds were derived from revenues of donated properties. The earliest recorded *capellánia* was from the Bacolor *principalia* in 1605: Pedro Lumanoc, Pedro Salalila, and Ana Mactal.²⁰ Through *capellánias*, the Philippines produced the first and third Filipino plebeian priests, Balthazar and Miguel Banta in 1730 and 1734, both from Pampanga.²¹ Equally worthy to note is the ancient custom of the *principalia* class to be pious to whoever was a member of their community. It was embodied in the word *saklong* or the ancient obligation of a leader-*principal* to save his fellow *cabangca* (“constituent,” literally “fellow people in the boat”) from debt or slavery by shelling out for the latter’s liberty and well-being. Bergaño could not find any Spanish counterpart to it but likened it instead to “Christ, who was made to suffer on account of our sins.”²²

RECOGNITION

It was through the influence of Gil that Gov. Gen. Jose de Lemery accepted the proposal to establish the school on 9 October 1861.²³ Good enough, the Spaniards were confident of the Kapampangans’ loyalty, as school then was

almost under the control of the friars. On 4 November 1861, Lemery approved the founding of the Colegio de Bacolor.²⁴ Part of the approval was the formation of a “voluntary subscription list for the purpose of building and supporting said school,” allowing the Kapampangan elite to support the school financially.²⁵ The efforts to establish the school came just in time, during Lemery’s progressive leadership, described by Jesuit historian Fr. Francisco Xavier Baranera, SJ as “passionate for primary education like his predecessors.”

The school was inaugurated on 1 January 1862.²⁶ Classes opened the following day, 2 January 1862, with the first 44 *internos* (boarders) and 57 *externos* (non-boarders). Per Lemery’s decree, and as agreed by the founders, Zita and Gil, all *externos* should be exempted from school fees,²⁷ whereas a sum of ₱8.00 per month should be collected from the *internos* for the maintenance of the school. Also, special privileges were accorded to the chosen beneficiary-*internos* (non-paying) of the founders and stakeholders—four members of the Zita family; four natives of Porac, chosen by Gil; and the children and relatives of the biggest school donors.

As prescribed in Lemery’s decree, the following was the composition of the school board:

GENERAL BOARD

Honorary President	: Governor-General (represented by the alcalde mayor or provincial governor of Pampanga)
Inspector	: Parish Priest of Bacolor

Administrators : Fr. Juan Zita and Don Felino Gil y
Talens

All contributors of ₱ 50.00 or more

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Five biggest contributors

Treasurer

Secretary

School Administrator's Representative

BOARD OF MANAGERS

Members of the Board of Directors

ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD

Administrators : Fr. Juan Zita and Don Felino Gil y
Talens

Three of the five biggest contributors

In the same decree, founders Zita and Gil declared that they had no plans to be school administrators for life or pass on their positions to their immediate family members or relatives. Their positions in the school board would be relinquished to whomsoever was elected in the third year of the school's existence. The special position for the five biggest contributors would undergo reelection in the third year as well.

With the recommendation of Zita and Gil, the school's Board of Directors chose Fr. Victor Dizon del Moral, a Kapampangan secular priest, as the first school Rector. Per

Lemery’s decree, the school rector “had to be” a Spanish or at least a native clergyman. The vice-rector of the school was a certain Fr. Agustin Estrella.²⁸

Owing to the absence of a standard curriculum (until 1865, following the implementation of Isabella II’s 1863 decree), Lemery tapped the Jesuits to develop the curriculum of the school.²⁹ (Actually, Zita was a former professor in the defunct Real Colegio de San José run by the Jesuits.³⁰) The following were the subjects approved by Lemery in 1861, compared to the prescribed subjects during the Isabellan education:

LEMERY SUBJECTS (1861)	ISABELLAN SUBJECTS (1863) ³¹
Christian Doctrine Reading Writing Arithmetic Spanish and Latin	Christian Doctrine Morality Sacred History Reading Writing Practical Spanish Spanish Grammar and Orthography Arithmetic General Geography History of Spain Practical Agriculture Rules of Urbanity Music

On 21 June 1864, Colegio de Bacolor was again recognized as an educational institution, but this time with the assistance of the Jesuits.³² In 1865, the government elevated it to a first-class school, which means it was

authorized to offer *Bachilier en Artes* (now equivalent to Grades 7-12) by virtue of the Royal Decree on secondary education issued by Queen Isabella II in 1867.³³ The new level was offered on 26 January 1867, with four other authorized schools: Santo Tomas, Real Colegio de San Jose, Letran, and Ateneo municipal (now Ateneo de Manila University).³⁴ All these schools had their own established sources of funds for centuries, except for Colegio de Bacolor, which remained dependent on benefactors.

FUNDING

Colegio de Bacolor operated as a foundation whose students were subsidized by the school itself. Before the school's opening, Gil and Zita advanced ₱ 3,000.00 for the construction of a formal edifice for the school.³⁵ The said founders pledged to add ₱ 15,000.00 more upon Lemery's approval of the establishment of the school.

Aside from the endowment from various benefactors, its primary source of the budget was the revenue generated by the masonry house of Zita in Calle Barraca, Binondo, Manila.³⁶ Part of the annual revenue of Zita's Binondo estate was reserved for the salary of two teachers (one of them should be a Spanish clergy) amounting to ₱600.00 per annum each or ₱1,200.00; another ₱240.00 was reserved for a teacher (probably a novice); ₱300.00 was reserved for four scholars determined by the school; and ₱60.00 for school maintenance.

During its first school year, Zita and Dizon del Moral went to different towns of Pampanga to solicit more funds

to finance the construction of a new building.³⁷ The lot where this building was built was donated by the Municipal Government of Bacolor. It was the former site of the Casa Tribunal (municipal hall) of Bacolor, located beside the Suareses' house and a lot used as a classroom of the Colegio de Bacolor.³⁸ (In 1861, a new Casa Tribunal was constructed in a property also donated by the Suareses.) Nevertheless, the efforts of the two priests paid off when the new building was about to finish in 1869.

CLOSURE

Unfortunately, Dizon del Moral's relationship with Zita and Gil was tarnished when the said founders recommended his removal as school rector on 4 February 1868. It started when the Board of Administrators, upon the motion of Gil, unanimously agreed on the removal of the Mathematics teacher, Valentin Ramirez, because of ineptitude. The rector disagreed and brought the case to the Rector of the University of Santo Tomas, then the *jefe ejecutivo* of the Buró (Bureau) or Secretariado de Enseñanza Media (equivalent to the Department of Education's Bureau of Secondary Schools).³⁹ The university favored Dizon del Moral, which irked Zita and Gil.

Then a fire in Poblacion, Bacolor gutted the Suareses' mansion and the almost-finished new edifice on 15 April 1869,⁴⁰ leaving Colegio de Bacolor without classrooms.⁴¹ Dizon del Moral could not help but to resign from his position, while Zita and Gil looked for ways how to revive the school. The rector proposed to continue school operations in another house to finish the remainder of

the school year. But Gil had reported the incident to Gov. Gen. Cárlos María de la Torre on 25 September 1869, implying temporary closure of the school as it was impossible to rehabilitate it subject to the availability of funds. The governor-general suspended school operations on 16 November 1869 “until it has gathered enough funds for the construction of the said college.”

Although the concern was valid, the closure might have been related to the implication of de la Torre to Dizon del Moral following the earliest recorded student protest in the country in October 1869, which happened at the University of Santo Tomas (i.e., distribution of liberal leaflets in the campus). According to historian Fr. John Schumacher, SJ, Dizon del Moral was removed as rector of the Colegio de Bacolor, as he was involved in spreading seditious thoughts among the students of Santo Tomas, who called themselves La Juventud Escolar Liberal.⁴² (They included Felipe Buencamino, Gregorio Sancianco, and Paciano Rizal, to name a few.) Did the school board play safely on the sedition accusation to Dizon del Moral?

PROBLEMATIC ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Upon issuance of the closure order, de la Torre appointed Gil and one of the biggest benefactors of the Colegio de Bacolor as caretakers of the properties of the school and instructed them to account the school's assets. Notwithstanding the insufficiency of the income of Zita's Binondo estate (around this time he was already dead) to rebuild Colegio de Bacolor, here began the long, tedious legal process of rehabilitating the school, which took almost two

decades. It all boiled down to the apathy of the succeeding Governors-General as ex-officios, a position that was proven disadvantageous rather than helpful to the school's decision-making function. Knowing the Kapampangans, having the highest official in the archipelago as part of the school board may brought prestige to them. In reality, the Governor-General only delegated his ex-officio function to Pampanga's governors who, apparently, also caused the delays.

On 27 July 1870, Gil submitted the accounting of Colegio de Bacolor's assets and Zita's Binondo estate to dela Torre. He recommended mortgaging the estate for ₱6,000.00, which was enough to rebuild the school and revivify the interest of the Kapampangan elite to support the school. The Governor-General prudently disagreed with Gil's recommendation. Dela Torre instead decreed on 20 October 1870 the reconvening of the school board in Manila and appointed the alcalde mayor of Pampanga as the presiding officer on his behalf to discuss better plans for the rehabilitation of the school. For him, a plan was necessary to arouse the "zeal and patriotism of the well-to-do citizens" to such "meritorious work."⁴³

Unfortunately, there was no quorum on 6 November 1870 and the alcalde mayor of Pampanga instructed Gil to call for another meeting, permitting those who could not attend to send proxies. (The sexist provincial governor noticed that there were women benefactors at the meeting, which he did not like.) Gil reconvened the board with necessary attendance on 19 November 1870. In this meeting, Colegio de Bacolor's claim to Zita's Binondo estate was confirmed to be valid, as it was stipulated in

the foundational documents of the school that should the school cease to exist, the estate would be reverted to the rightful heirs of Zita. To avert this, the board unanimously voted for the immediate rehabilitation of the school and the preservation of Zita's Binondo estate. Gil resigned as a member of the board, leaving the leadership to the benefactors. A new set of officers was elected:

Directors	: Juan de Dios Fajardo and Juan Leon y Santos
Treasurer	: Olegario Rodriguez
Secretary	: Mariano Piñon
Board Members	: Isaac de Castro, Julian Buyson, and Ramon Infante
Representative	: Mariano Dizon

The new board also voted for Dizon del Moral's retention as school rector (16 votes) over the recommendation to have the administration transferred to the Jesuits (15 votes). It took the board more than a year by 11 January 1882 to recommend to the provincial governor the rehabilitation of the school, and another one year for the submission of the recommendation to Gov. Gen. Joaquin Jovellar when the latter visited Pampanga in December 1883. Again, it was unattended by the colonial government.

COLEGIO DE BACOLOR BECOMES GOVERNMENT SCHOOL

Another petition by Fajardo and the heirs of the benefactors and founders was submitted to the provincial governor on 27 December 1888. Joaquín Oliver y

Garcia, *gobernador civil* (the new title for the alcalde mayor starting in 1886) of Pampanga, recommended to Gov. Gen. Valeriano Wéyler favorable action on 30 January 1889.⁴⁴ Through a decree dated 1 January 1890, the Governor-General heeded the petition to reestablish Colegio de Bacolor with the same status as both a *primaria* and *segunda enseñanza*. The Pampanga governor convened the benefactors, numbering 54, on 2 February 1890 in Bacolor. They elected the new board of directors: Celestino Leon y Santos, Raymundo Magsino, Candido Froylan Dizon, Tomas Dizon, and Faustino Limson. On 23 July 1890, the governor again called for a meeting at the Casa Real (Spanish provincial capitol) in Bacolor, this time to elect the new Board of Administrators:

Secretary	: Ramon Valdes
Treasurer	: Balbino Ventura
Board Members	: Anacleto Hizon, Esteban Perre y Santo, and Fabian Panlillo
Collector	: Francisco Joven

Ventura, who was a noted liberal of Pampanga, resigned from his position and was temporarily replaced by Antonio Consunji, also a liberal. Francisco Joven was also a liberal. The involvement of these men in the rehabilitation of the school could have partly influenced the metamorphosis of the Colegio de Bacolor from a quasi-religious school run by laymen into a more secular educational institution, such as an arts and trade school. True enough, the recommendation of Gov. Gen. Eulogio Despujol to place Colegio de Bacolor under the administration of the Augustinian order was superseded by the minutes of the board meeting dated

14 July 1892, indicating that the benefactors wanted the school to be an arts and trade school and deferring to the pleasure of the Governor-General on what the name of the rehabilitated school would be.

Despujol liked the idea, and on 8 August 1892, decreed the reconstruction of Colegio de Bacolor into a modest “escuela practica de artes y oficios” (arts and trade school).⁴⁵ The Governor-General appointed noted Spanish engineer Francisco Pintado to undertake the project. The engineer immediately met the board of directors to discuss the plans and expenses.⁴⁶ It amounted to ₱8,044.00. One Spanish newspaper appraised the value of the school at ₱5,750.00 and it was also reported that most modern tools in woodwork, carpentry, and metal smithing had already landed in Manila aboard the transatlantic ship, *S. Ignacio de Loyola*.⁴⁷ No government fund was used but the accounts presented by the heirs of Gil and the proceeds from selling Zita’s Binondo estate.⁴⁸

On 8 March 1893, acting Gov. Gen. Federico Ochando inaugurated the newly reconstructed Colegio under the name Escuela de Artes y Oficios de Bacolor.⁴⁹ The structure was a two-story building adapted from the extant walls gutted by fire in 1869. It was only on 6 June 1894, through a Royal Decree, that the school was finally subsidized by the colonial government, thanks to the petition made by Gov. Gen. Ramon Blanco to Madrid on 20 October 1893, enough to keep the school operating.⁵⁰ The Provincial Government of Pampanga was instructed to allocate regular funds for the operation of the trade school on 27 July 1894.

However, on 3 June 1898, the Voluntarios de Bacolor, the town's armed med against the Katipunan, defected to the revolutionaries and besieged the capital town. The following day, Spanish reinforcement arrived from San Fernando and Angeles and burned Bacolor's town proper. The new Escuela caught fire, sustaining considerable damage and causing its closure.⁵¹ The Casa Real and Tribunal in Bacolor were also razed to the ground. Surprisingly, among those who led the revolution in Bacolor was Francisco Joven, one of the directors of the Escuela.⁵²

Meanwhile, on 2 December 1898, the school was reopened, this time with the name Instituto de Zita del Moral. Ramon Valdes, secretary of the School Board, was the new school head. The reestablishment was nationalistic in nature ("la resurrección gloriosa del malogrado centro docente fundado por nuestros inmortales comprovincianos"): they did not honor the full-blooded Spaniard Gil but Zita and del Moral.⁵³

CLARIFYING THE STATUS OF THE SCHOOL

Despite its sorry state, the U.S. Insular Government still described the Colegio de Bacolor as "a very excellent structure erected in Spanish times." The new plan was to convert the ruins of the Colegio de Bacolor into a provincial high school—the status the school had already earned in 1867. But San Fernando "responded with a proposition to donate a considerable tract of land" and "will probably also offer a considerable sum of money."⁵⁴ Nonetheless, in 1905, the U.S. Congressional Relief Fund for the Philippines set aside funds "for repairing the present intermediate and

trade school building at Bacolor,” while separate funds were appropriated “for the purpose of building a provincial school building at San Fernando on a tract of about 12 acres of land...purchased for that purpose.”⁵⁵ (Pampanga High School opened in 1902 in San Fernando.) The report mentions “the present intermediate and trade school building at Bacolor,” which only means that as a central school, BCS was composed of both a primary school and an intermediate school: Bacolor Primary School, which opened on 31 May 1903, and Bacolor Intermediate Industrial School, operational on 11 June 1905⁵⁶ (most likely they considered the Spanish setup of the Colegio de Bacolor as *escuela intermediaria y artes y oficios*⁵⁷).

But a legal question surfaced in 1906: was the school a public institution? The Pampanga capitol had no document to support its claim over the ruins of Colegio de Bacolor. However, Gregorio Araneta, Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands, had a remedy for this in his legal opinion on 3 May 1906: Preserve the Colegio de Bacolor as an arts and trade school subsidized by the government in 1893 to prevent the further legal question from the board of directors and the heirs of Zita and Gil.⁵⁸ By definition of the Philippine Civil Law, a private school should be subsidized solely by private funds. In the opinion of Araneta, Colegio de Bacolor “started as by private initiative and private funds with which it was supported for a time.”⁵⁹ “Without doubt,” Araneta continued, “it is a *foundation* of public interest recognized by the law” with a “character of a private establishment” until the “Spanish government, at the initiative of the of the general board of donors to its establishment, converted it into [trade school]” by

decrees of 8 August 1892 and 6 June 1894, respectively. Subsidizing the school through public funds was critical in acknowledging it as a public institution. Since 1894, the board of directors created in 1861 ceased to exist in the opinion of Araneta.

Nonetheless, the directors of the Colegio de Bacolor were spared from the burden of financing the school when the Municipality of Bacolor *donated* it to the U.S. Insular Government of the Philippine Islands. (The site remained active in 1900, as it was slightly refurbished for Bacolor Central School,⁶⁰ and was even made the temporary provincial capitol of Pampanga in 1901⁶¹ and as Bacolor municipal hall in 1903.) The Americans, who implemented democratic and republican principles in governance, delineated the boundary of was for and by the public and that of the private—way far from undistinguishable assets brought by mixing the religious with the government and the monarchical with the government together during the Spanish times.

On 3 August 1906, the insular government ordered the relocation of BCS to an old house near the Bacolor Church patio⁶² and the old Colegio de Bacolor was rededicated as a “school of arts and trades,” thus, the name Bacolor Trade School,⁶³ and later, the Provincial Arts and Trades School of Pampanga (PATSP). The promised restoration by the government amounted to \$80,000.00. It was inaugurated in March 1907⁶⁴ and was reported as “one of the handsomest trade-school buildings in the Archipelago.”⁶⁵ On 13 June 1909, PATSP was shortened to Pampanga Trade School (PTS).⁶⁶ On 1 October 1912, PTS was renamed Bacolor School of Arts and Trades (BSAT) and became an “insular

school” (directly administered by the central government, equivalent to the state university and college status).⁶⁷ On 10 December 1914, PTS was reverted to the provincial government and was renamed Bacolor Trade School (BTS), but still enjoyed government appropriation, such as the second restoration program under the American regime in 1915 by Eusebius Julius Halsema, a noted American engineer who became Baguio Mayor and Public Works official during the American period.⁶⁸ On 5 June 1921, for an unknown reason, it used again the name Pampanga Trade School. This time, it began offering secondary courses.⁶⁹

POSTSCRIPT

Prior to the Colegio de Bacolor’s establishment in 1861, there were two similar schools predating it but founded by individuals: The Instituto de Santa Cruz in 1859 by Don Benedicto Luna, and the Latinidad de Tanduay in 1860 by Don Jose Arevalo, both in Manila.⁷⁰ Unlike the said Manila-based primary schools, the Colegio de Bacolor was the only civic-driven school prior to Isabellan public education. Apparently, it was also the earliest known school founded by a secular priest, followed by the Instituto de Tanawan, the alma mater of national hero Apolinario Mabini in Tanauan, Batangas founded by Fr. Valerio Malabanan in 1864.⁷¹

The Kapampangan elite considered practicality over the prestige of studying in Manila in establishing Colegio de Bacolor. It was a display of cultural confidence of the Kapampangans—and their iconic bravado—as the school was conceptualized and run by them. Historian Antonio M. Molina noted that the founding of the Colegio de Bacolor

“should be worth-mentioning” in the “field of education and culture” at the time of social awakening during Lemery’s administration.⁷² Encarnacion Alzona, likewise, appraised the rise of “enlightened patriotism” among the Filipino clergy at the time, with the establishment of schools “controlled by Filipinos” that would “inculcate Filipino ideals” like the Colegio de Bacolor.⁷³ She acknowledged the Colegio de Bacolor as “a step in this direction.” Fr. Mariano Sevilla, an educator and one of the leading secular priests of the 19th century, was inspired by Colegio de Bacolor and founded Colegio de la Sagrada Familia in 1887.⁷⁴ For Alzona, these two educational institutions founded by Filipino secular priests “were the beginning of Filipino leadership in our educational life” and “were unmistakably an expression of the national spirit.”

The school also tested the Kapampangan nerve and endurance, as they carried the burden of operating such a humongous educational institution, more so when it was given the authority to be among the pioneer secondary schools in the country, compared to the well-oiled, centuries-old Dominican-run Santo Tomas and Letran and the Jesuit-run San Jose and Ateneo.

Practicality was also the reason why various private schools surfaced in Pampanga promising quality education “without being separated from their parents and families” like the motivation behind Colegio de Bacolor. Such were the cases of Holy Angel Academy (HAA, now a university) in Angeles City founded in 1933, and the Concepcion Academy (CA, later Pampanga Colleges) in Macabebe, Pampanga in 1937, for example. They also shared the same humble beginnings with Colegio de Bacolor: Both

were founded through the partnership of a religious and a layman: HAA by Don Juan Nepomuceno and Fr. Rufino Santos, and CA by Don Fidel Isip, Sr. and the Macabebe Parish.

The complicated structure of the Colegio de Bacolor involving the governor-general as an *ex-officio* was a great factor why the school lingered on hiatus for almost two decades. Apparently, the governors-general, as well as their deputized representatives—the governors of Pampanga—were not interested in micromanaging a school. Another factor was competition: Colegio de Bacolor was no longer the belle of Pampanga, as there were already similar institutions of learning that followed in response to Queen Isabella II's decree. While Colegio de Bacolor was on hiatus, UST recognized in 1891 the operation of four secondary schools in Pampanga:⁷⁵ Latinidad de Don Mariano Pabalan in Bacolor, founded by Proceso M. Pabalan (later in the American period became a noted Kapampangan nationalist zarzuelista and playwright); Colegio de San Fernando, founded by Vicente Quirino, an alumnus of the Colegio de Bacolor; Colegio de Mexico founded by Felix Dizon; and a school founded by Tomas Gamboa in Guagua (possibly the Instituto de Guagua).⁷⁶ Education historian Fr. Evergisto Bazaco, OP listed another school named Latinidad de Bacolor founded in 1890 by a certain Agapito Layog.⁷⁷

Moreover, while it was true that there were Kapampangan elite in the nascent Filipino nationhood from 1896-1899 who showed disinterest in the Philippine Revolution and coopted with the constituted authorities that assured the protection of their businesses, properties, and security, their zealously to education and pious works

remained consistent. Case in point was the Gonzalez-Arnedo-Sioco superelite clan of Apalit, Pampanga. From this clan belonged Dr. Joaquin Gonzalez, the elected representative of Pampanga to the Malolos Congress and the first rector of the university founded by the Philippine Revolutionary Government in Barasoain Church, the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas; Dr. Bienvenido Ma. Gonzalez, agriculturist and the prewar and postwar president of the University of the Philippines; and Bro. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, linguist, former Education Secretary, and former president of De La Salle University. This clan owned a vast tract of land in southeastern Pampanga. Almost all the schools in Apalit and northeast Macabebe were established through their support and lot donations, some of which are named after their family members, like Fausto Gonzalez Memorial Elementary School in Colgante, Apalit, and Macario Arnedo Elementary School in Capalangan, Apalit (named after the first Pampanga governor during the American period). This effort in the 20th century can also be interpreted as a win-win solution for the landlords of Pampanga addressing equal opportunity to education demanded by the socialists and the peasant unrest.

Alzona lauded the determination of the Kapampangan elite in founding Colegio de Bacolor.⁷⁸ Historian Manuel Artigas y Cuerva noted that the school was “the first to demonstrate major interest for the progress of the education” which “deserves a special mention” as it “shows the profound interest of all the Filipinos when it comes to progress.”⁷⁹ As history attests, this consistent support of the Kapampangan elite for education pressured the Spanish colonial government to reopen the school in 1893

as Escuela de Artes y Oficios de Bacolor, and in 1894 it received a government subsidy. They remained supportive of it during the Philippine Revolution of 1898 when it was reopened and renamed in memory of its Filipino founder and rector, Zita and del Moral.

Nevertheless, one has to understand that during that time, the Kapampangan support for whatever they thought pleased the Spanish monarch and friars was tantamount to love of Spain: a product of Kapampangan-Spanish amity in the last 300 years, like sustaining Manila with agricultural produce under the Leyes de Indias and sending volunteers at their own expense against the Chinese rebels in 1603, the Dutch in the 17th century, the British in 1762, and the Revolutionaries in 1896-1898.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Evergisto Bazaco, *History of Education in the Philippines* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1953), 72, 153.
- 2 Francisco Xavier Baranera, SJ, *Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipo-Litográfico de M. Pérez, 1884), 115-116.
- 3 Ericsson M. Borre, "The Augustinian Missionaries and the Filipino Indios: Early Contacts, Treatment, and Relations." In the 3rd Santo Niño at 500 Webinar Series' Bound by History: Magellan, Santo Nino and the Beginnings of the Augustinian Evangelization, organized by the Santo Niño at 500 Committee of the Order of Saint Augustine - Province of Santo Niño de Cebu and Basilica Minore del Santo Niño de Cebu and in partnership with the National Quincentennial Committee, Cultural and Historical Affairs Office - Cebu City, 500 Years of Christianity -

Archdiocese of Cebu, and Philippine Embassy in Spain, April 3, 2021. Retrieved from <https://fb.watch/5vhJV7y8mL/>.

- 4 Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1762/1860), 69; Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulary of the Kapampangan Language in Spanish and Dictionary of the Spanish Language in Kapampangan*, translated by Venancio Q Samson (Angeles City: Holy Angel University Press; Manila: National Commission on Culture and the Arts, 1762/2007), 104.
- 5 Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 134; Bergaño, *Vocabulary*, 205.
- 6 Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 44; Bergaño, *Vocabulary*, 66.
- 7 Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 258; Bergaño, *Vocabulary*, 401.
- 8 Casimiro Diaz, “Conquistas de las islas Philipinas, 1718,” in *Blair and Robertson*, Vol. 38, 141-143.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 10 “Royal College of San Felipe,” in *Blair and Robertson*, Vol. 45, 174-175.
- 11 Gaspar de San Agustin, “Letter from Fray Gaspar de San Agustin to a friend in España who asked him as to the nature and characteristics [genio] of the Indian natives of these Philipinas Islands, Manila, June 8, 1720,” in *Blair and Robertson*, Vol. 40, 269.
- 12 Luciano P.R. Santiago, *The Hidden Light: The First Filipino Priests* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987), 33.
- 13 Luciano P.R. Santiago, *Laying the Foundations: Kapampangan Pioneers in the Philippine Church, 1592-2001* (Angeles City: Holy Angel University Press, 2002), 50-56, 88.
- 14 *Proyecto para Establecer Un Instituto de Instrucción Primaria en Provincia Pampanga* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipográfico de los Amigos del País, 1861), 3.

- 15 *Proyecto*, 1; Archivo Histórico Nacional. “Expediente de establecimiento de un colegio de Primaria y Latinidad en Bacolor, 1861-1868.” *Ultramar (1863-1899)*, No. 472, Exp. 4.
- 16 For definition of latinidad, the author consulted Jose Victor Z. Torres, *In Transition: The University of Santo Tomas During the American Colonial Period, 1898-1935* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2007), 8; Bazaco, *History of Education*, 321.
- 17 University of the Philippines Diliman Filipiniana Special Collection (UPD FSC), “Datos sobre el Colegio de Sta. Teresa de Jesús.” *Luther Parker Collection (LPC)*, Box No. 2, Fol. No. 48, Doc. No. 865, 1.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 19 Santiago, *The Hidden Light*, 39, 42.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 165.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 40-41.
- 22 Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 190; Bergaño, *Vocabulary*, 493.
- 23 Gregorio Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion of the Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), Vol. 3, 92.
- 24 UPD FSC, “Foundation documents of Bacolor Trade School.” *Luther Parker Collection (LPC)*, Box No. 2, Fol. No. 48, Doc. No. 282, 46; José Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas desde el Descubrimiento de Dichas Islas hasta Nuestras Días* (Madrid: Est. Tip. de la Viuda é Hijos de Tello, 1895), 323; Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Historia de Filipinas para uso de los Alumnos del Instituto Burgos y de Otros Colegios Particulares* (Manila: Imprenta “La Pilarica,” 1916), 446.
- 25 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 92.
- 26 UPD FSC, “Foundation documents,” 46.

- 27 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 93.
- 28 Ibid., 97.
- 29 Baranera, *Compendio*, 115.
- 30 Salvador Pons y Torres, *El Clero Secular Filipino: Apuntes Bibliográficos y Biográficos* (Manila: Imprenta la Democracia, 1900), 18.
- 31 Bazaco, *History of Education*, 222-223.
- 32 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 97.
- 33 Bazaco, *History of Education*, 153, 315.
- 34 Joaquín Rodríguez San Pedro, *Legislación ultramarina: Concordada y Anotada, Suplemento Primero, Tomo Undécimo* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1868), 137.
- 35 Ibid., 93.
- 36 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 95.
- 37 UPD FSC, "Datos sobre," 1.
- 38 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 96.
- 39 Bazaco, "La Escuela Filipina," 404; Bazaco, *History of Education*, 197.
- 40 *Guía de Forasteros en Filipinas para el año de 1865* (Manila: Est. Amigos del País, 1865), 198-9; UPD FSC, "Escuela de Artes y Oficios de Bacolor." LPC, Box No. 2, Fol. No. 48, Doc. No. 282, p. 23.
- 41 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 97.
- 42 John N. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement 1850-1903* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1981), 17.
- 43 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 99.

- 44 *La Ilustracion Filipina*, 21 March 1893, 2; Frederick Fox, "Philippine Vocational Education." *Philippine Studies* 24, No. 3(1976), 279.
- 45 *Gaceta de Manila*, 19 August 1892, p. 1057; Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 104.
- 46 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 104.; Luis Merino, *Arquitectura y Urbanismo en el Siglo XIX: Introducción General y Monografías* (Manila: Centro Cultural de España and Intramuros Administration, 1987), 28.
- 47 *La Voz Española*, 27 November 1892, 555.
- 48 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 104-105.
- 49 Various accounts mention that the name of the reopened school was Escuela de Artes y Oficios de Bacolor, but the rare photo of the building during the 1893 inauguration in the Luther Parker Photo Collection in the National Library of the Philippines bears "Escuela Practica de Artes y Oficios de Bacolor." About the inauguration, cf. Frederick Fox, "Philippine Vocational Education: 1860-1898." *Philippine Studies* 24, no. 3 (1976): 279.
- 50 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 105.
- 51 UPD FSC, "History of Bacolor by Lugay, 1909." *LPC*, Box No. 2, Fol. No. 48, Doc. No. 285, 27.
- 52 National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), "Parte original interesantisimo por sus detalles, dado por el Inspector Manuel Garcia sobre la llegada del General Monet en Manila." *Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila*, Manuscrito A-1-(9), Legajo No. 9, Documento No. 308, 2.
- 53 "Remitido." *El Heraldo de la Revolucion*, 8 Disyembre 1898, 169-71.
- 54 Bureau of Insular Affairs, U.S. War Department (BIA, USWD). *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission 1904, Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 879.

- 55 55 BIA, USWD, *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission 1905, Part 4* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 536.
- 56 UPD FSC, "Letter of Adam C. Derkum, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Education Pampanga, to Luther Parker, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Education Nueva Ecija, 30 October 1925." *LPC*, Box No. 2, Folder 48, Doc. No. 871, 4/1-5.
- 57 One Capitan Santos Estanislao wrote in his chronicle of Bacolor: "That was the time they renamed the school that frequently suffered from fires, into Escuela Intermediaria y Artes y Oficios." UPD FSC, "History of Bacolor," 27.
- 58 Araneta, ed., *Official Opinion*, Vol. 3, 111.
- 59 Ibid., 106-107.
- 60 UPD FSC, "Letter of Adam C. Derkum," *ibid.*
- 61 "The Pampanga School of Arts & Trades: A Brief History," in *Pampanga School of Arts and Trades Centennial Souvenir Program, 1961*. Courtesy of Don Honorio Ventura State University Museum and Archives.
- 62 Lord Francis D. Musni, "Tracing the Early Beginnings of Don Honorio Ventura Technological State University: Final Draft on the Annotated History of DHVTSU" (Unpublished, 2014), 11.
- 63 BIA, USWD, *Acts of the Philippine Commission (Nos. 1408 to 1538, Inclusive) and Public Resolutions, etc. from October 19, 1905 to September 15, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 293-4.
- 64 Described as "grandiosa escuela industrial." See "Progreso de la Instrucción: Inauguración de Escuelas." *The Filipino Teacher*, March 1907, 1(1):4.
- 65 Bureau of Education, U.S. Department of Public Instruction (BE, USDPI), *Seventh Annual Report of the Director of Education: July 1, 1906 to June 30, 1907* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1907), 7.

- 66 UPD FSC, "Letter of Adam C. Derkum," *ibid.*
- 67 BE, USDPI. *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education: July 1, 1912 to June 30, 1913* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913), 42; BE, US DPI, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education: January 1, 1914 to December 31, 1914* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915), 113, 312; UPD FSC, "Letter of Adam C. Derkum," *ibid.*
- 68 James J. Halsema, *E. J. Halsema: Colonial Engineer, a Biography* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1991), 126.
- 69 UPD FSC, "Letter of Adam C. Derkum," *ibid.*
- 70 Bazaco, "La Escuela Filipina," 406.
- 71 *Ibid.*
- 72 Antonio M. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas, Tomo I* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1984), 231.
- 73 Encarnacion Alzona, "The Filipino Catholic Clergy and Philippine Culture, Delivered on the Occasion of the Distribution of the Mercado Prize, Rizal Hall, U.P., 30 January 1927," in *Encarnacion Alzona: An Anthology*, edited by Maria Luisa T. Camagay (Quezon City: Office of Research Coordination, University of the Philippines Diliman, 1996), 110.
- 74 For the founding year, cf. Evergisto Bazaco, "La Escuela Filipina en el Pasado." *Unitas* 26, No. 2 (April-June 1953): 407. Although in another account, it was 1879, cf. Antonio Bautista, *Ang Malulos sa mga Dahon ng Kasaysayan* (Gerona, Tarlac: Jose P. Santos, 1934), 12. However, Fr. Evergisto Bazaco, OP's dating has some issues, like he mentioned the founding of Instituto Zita del Moral (actually this was the Colegio de Bacolor reestablished during the Philippine Revolution of 1898) erroneously dated 1889, as well as the Instituto Burgos in Malolos, Bulacan, supposedly founded in 1898 by the Philippine Revolutionary Government but wrongly dated 1897.

- ⁷⁵ Noval, *Discurso*, xxix.
- ⁷⁶ School names, and their founders, are documented in Bazaco, “La Escuela Filipina,” 410-411.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 407.
- ⁷⁸ Alzona, “The Filipino Catholic Clergy,” 110.
- ⁷⁹ Artigas y Cuerva, *Historia*, 446.

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