

PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM AND CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

by

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CHAPTER I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM

Statement of the problem. -- The temper of Philippine nationalism is the single most important factor today in understanding Filipinos and their aspirations. It is on the fundamental features of this nationalism that higher education in the Philippines must rely and base its arguments for the relevance of its academic goals, its rationale for teaching, and its need for freedom to follow the truth wherever it may lead.

This study is centered on the following questions:

(1) Does Catholic Higher Education in the Philippines recognize the importance of nationalism in its educational planning?

(2) To what extent are the present educational programs and policies of Catholic Higher Education designed to facilitate the achievement of Philippine national goals?

(3) To what degree has Catholic Higher Education been Filipinized?

These questions will be investigated with the following assumptions:

(1) Catholic Higher Education in the Philippines has historical reasons for its cautiousness towards nationalism.

(2) A fundamental feature of Catholic university structure in the Philippines is that it was imported from abroad.

(3) It is important to the development of Philippine national consciousness that the country possess a university system that is responsive to Filipino aspirations and expressive of its genius.

This study is limited to the following investigation: a search for evidence on the attitudes and relationship of Catholic Higher Education and Philippine nationalism at three levels: (1) educational policy, (2) educational practice, and (3) educational outcome. The period stressed is from 1946 to 1967.

Procedures for the study. -- (1) A survey of the relevant literature was initially made in order to limit the problem and to discover the primary and secondary sources that could be used. An extensive bibliography resulted from this initial stage of exploration.

A comparative study was made of the relationships obtaining between nationalism and religious education in nations that had emerged from differing colonial systems. These nations are Burma, Indonesia, Peru, and Pakistan. This paper includes a more extensive treatment of the history of nationalism in the United States of America, in India, and in the Congo-Brazzaville area. This comparative analysis hoped to show the many facets of nationalism and to give examples of educational systems whose development towards an indigenous system might prove of value for the Philippine situation.

(2) Letters were sent to Catholic University Presidents and Deans to ask their views on Philippine nationalism

and to see whether they had articulated plans for the Filipinization of their university administration. A professor of Philippine history and a graduate student in sociology were contacted to provide field work in collecting data from Philippine sources and to interview college personnel and administrators. A national student association based in Manila offered to poll student personnel practices in Catholic universities in the Philippines.

(3) Finally, the conclusions of this study will be presented together with possible recommendations.

The rise of the spirit of nationalism. -- It was from the ruins of Empires and the wreckage of Churches that modern nationalism emerged. Its emergence helped to break the fabric of the universal Empire by dividing humanity into separate and sovereign states that were free to cultivate their peculiar national identity and native tongues. Nationalism hastened the rise of a new merchant class that was linked in opposition to the nobility and who fought the enforcement of uniform laws in order to preserve regional differences. Against the universal Church, nationalism patronised cultures that were highly secular and organised churches on a national basis. This secular ideology gave rise to a new loyalty, one no longer due to a king or bishop, but to an impersonal nation.¹

¹A nation can be defined as a community of people who feel that they belong together in deeply sharing a common heritage with a common destiny for the future. Abba Eban has described its emotional element in a speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"...those who enter Israel's gates shall be men and women the central passion of whose lives shall be devotion to Israel's flag, loyalty to Israel's independence, zeal for Israel's welfare and security, and a readiness to defend her..." -- New York Times, October 4, 1955.

The emergence of nationalism in Western countries occurred at economic and social levels different from those of the under-developed countries of Africa and Asia. Western countries generally achieved national unity when their middle classes had concentrated most of the wealth into their hands. As shopkeepers and bankers monopolized trade and finance, they were able to undertake the development of industry and communications together with an avid search for oversea outlets.

On the other hand, nationalism arose amidst a geography of hunger and poverty among the under-developed nations. Sometimes, it drew its nourishment from the blood that freely flowed during colonial revolts. Often, Asian and African nationalism posed grave obstructions to the emergence of a stable democratic life and became a problem of high explosive potential for the international community. This form of nationalism confronted the opulence of Western society with a world without engineers, without doctors, without bread. This was a confrontation that time and time again underlined the evils that colonialism had let loose to multiply among the colonized nations.²

Asian nationalism and religion. -- Religion has a profound influence on the inhabitants of Asia. Indonesian Moslems, for example, total approximately 90% of the population and control the main centers of political activity in that country. In Burma, the whole national culture is permeated by Buddhism. A Burmese peasant, if asked to specify his race, is often wont

²Frantz Fanon; The Wretched of the Earth, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1966), pp. 75-77.

to reply: "I am a Buddhist." In the Philippines, the first census taken under the American regime in 1903 showed that of a total population of 7,635,426 persons, 6,987,686 were Roman Catholics. Today, 83.8 per cent of the Filipinos continue to profess the Catholic religion.

Religion in Asia has sometimes been used as a unifying factor among the colonized peoples, dividing the rulers from the ruled, and providing ambitious politicians with a spiritual platform for their nationalism. The forcible intrusion of Western ways into Asia is sometimes countered by a local religious revival that symbolises native resistance to the foreign system as well as providing a source of security and of stability in the face of threatened changes in village life and ruling structures.³

Although religious thought was an effective element in initiating nationalist movements, its efficacy to maintain itself on the political scene weakened soon after World War II. The leaders of postwar Asia came from the ranks of the Marxists and the secularists. The pressing problem no longer revolved around the interpretations of the Koran or the Bible, but on the secular problems of irrigation, taxation, industry, and transportation.

At the time Marxism and secularism were becoming the dynamic movements in Asia, religion withdrew into the past, seeking the nation's identity in a past Golden Age when religion reigned supreme. This religious posture looked weak when placed side by side with the concepts of progress and future

³Fred R. von der Mehden, Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia: Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 3-25.

development that the secular and Marxist nationalists proposed as goals. It seems that if religion is to remain as a vital force in Asia, it must somehow succeed in harmonizing a sense of continuity and a dedication to the future. Otherwise, the leadership vacuum will be filled by radicals committed to a violent break with the past in order to stimulate rapid social changes that could lead Asia to social chaos.⁴

Nationalism and education. -- The course of educational development has been greatly influenced by nationalism. Often, the advent of nationalism made popular education possible. In the concepts of nationalism that subscribed to the philosophies of Hegel and Fichte, education became a tool for the glorification of the State and for the propagation of racial and cultural superiority.

The influence of nationalism on the curriculum has also been felt. Native culture, language, literature, and history were revived to serve the ends of the nation-state. New trends towards centralized control of education arose under the aegis of politicians concerned more with regimentation and indoctrination rather than with the training and formation of young minds. Educational methodology was also affected by nationalism. For example, liberal nationalism of the Rousseauistic variety, paved the way for Pestalossi's (1746-1827) doctrine of looking upon education as releasing the spontaneous expression of the child's inherent abilities and goodness.

⁴Robert N. Bellah (ed.), Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 171-225.

Another product of nationalism was the rise of National Education. This sought to preserve and transmit the cultural heritage of the nation by fostering patriotism among the youth. At times, National Education sponsored the publication of textbooks that glorified the past achievements of the nation even at the expense of historical truth. Centralized control and government interference in academic matters are more easily introduced in the name of patriotism.

* * *

CHAPTER II

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NATIONALISM AND HIGHER EDUCATION

American Nationalism

Introduction. -- The United States of America decided for nearly fifty years what ideas, values, attitudes and skills were appropriate for the Filipinos to acquire in their development as a democratic nation. America was to serve as model for the Philippine experiment. In his address to the Tenth Philippine Legislature on November 14, 1935, Governor General Frank Murphy re-expressed this concept:

Having found democracy good for herself, America believed it was good for the people of the Philippines. . . . the early American administrators and their devoted co-workers in the field of education undertook to educate and train the people of these Islands in the principles and technique of self-government.¹

Thus, a study of the growth of American national consciousness, the role of Catholic Higher Education in this respect and of education in general has great value in understanding contemporary Philippine nationalism.

Historical background. -- American nationalism presents a unique pattern. The establishment of the United States as a nation transcended the usual elements that constitute a separate and sovereign country. Common descent and an ancestral soil were not crucial to its nationhood. Although

¹Philippine Commonwealth Inauguration Committee, Blue Book of the Inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and the Induction into Office of Manuel L. Quezon, First President of the Philippines and Sergio Osmena, First Vice-President of the Philippines (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1935), p. 68.

religion was a potent force in forming the national character of some Asian and European countries, it found no common creative voice in the Thirteen Colonies. On the contrary, the various religions have been gradually Americanized by the de-emphasis of theological speculations and the stress, instead, on social activities and practical works.²

Unlike most of the colonized peoples of today's emerging countries, the settlers of North America did not fight for their independence against a foreign domination. Their arms challenged England's might precisely because they were Englishmen themselves who felt that they were upholding English constitutional rights. As Benjamin Franklin loyally stated:

. . . it was a resistance in favor of a British Constitution, which every Englishman might share in enjoying who should come to live among them: it was resisting arbitrary impositions that were contrary to common right and to their fundamental constitutions, and to constant ancient usage. It was indeed a resistance in favor of the liberties of England.³

There was no loss of cultural identity involved in the American Revolution whose leaders considered themselves better interpreters of the Anglo-Saxon heritage than their British rulers. It was not long, however, before the American desire to interpret and defend their British rights broadened into the far more revolutionary idea of human rights for all men. Thus, in a land undespoiled by the corruptions of aristocratic courts and

²See Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

³William Temple Franklin (ed.), The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin (London: Henry Colburn, 1817), I, 193.

unshackled by religious tyrannies, the believers of Progress and the disciples of Rousseau believed they were finally to witness the unfolding of the Promised Land.

This sense of having transcended the quarrels of the Old World gave Americans a sense of self-identification with the cause of liberty. America's first great nationalist historian, George Bancroft, observed that "the Americans seized as their peculiar inheritance the tradition of liberty. . . . The mechanics and merchants and laborers of Boston knew that they were acting not for a province of America, but for freedom itself."⁴ Later, more objective historians were to correct this innocent monopoly over liberty and to point out that the United States was herself the cultural heir of Western Europe and the political offspring of British constitutional thought.

A gradual but steady drift away from the British mold occurred with the expansion of the western frontier which was soon peopled with Americans from various States and with immigrants from lands traditionally hostile to England. Professor Billington wrote: ". . . no one force did more to Americanise the nation's people and institutions than the repeated rebirth of civilization around the western edge of settlement during the three centuries required to occupy the continent."⁵

⁴George Bancroft, History of the United States of America (New York: D. Appleton, 1883-1185), IV, 3-5.

⁵Hans Kohn, American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), pp. 32-37.

The diverse origins of citizens constantly being assimilated into the country's expanding frontiers and the absence of common traditions and religious faith rendered it difficult for post-Revolution America to answer the question: "Who is an American?" It soon became clear that if the various peoples making up the United States of America were to develop an identity compounded of common values, attitudes and behaviors which could be identified as American, then, a socially sensitive agency would have to accept the mandate to promote a set of native mores and folkways.

No other American social institution fitted that task better than the public school system. The immigrant family with its foreign ways and tongue could not be entrusted with the transmission of American cultural values. The competing churches, already disestablished, were likewise handicapped by their lack of unity and by the foreign attachments of some of their organizations.⁶ Consequently, it remained for the public school to become the chief agency of Americanization.

Urged and abetted by social workers and civic leaders, and confronted by increasing urbanization and industrialization that needed massive peasant immigration of the last part of the nineteenth century, the school reached out to areas previously belonging to the home. Educators felt that in the name of a strong and unified nation, they had to prepare peasant and rural folk for

⁶Morris Isaiah Berger, "The Settlement, the Immigrant and the Public Schools. A Study of the Settlement Movement and the New Migration upon Public Education: 1890-1924" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1956), p. 129.

urban living and to remake the home to better prepare the child for life in an American society.⁷ Schools involved themselves in civic activities, became meeting places of improvement groups, and functioned as polling places and social centers of the community.

The Americanization of education. -- Foreign scholars and foreign-trained Americans dominated the faculty of the early graduate schools. In his study of American universities, Visher found that in 1903, one hundred twenty-seven of the outstanding American scientists had received doctorates in universities abroad, notably in Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Munich and Würzburg.⁸ Hofstadter and Metzger observed that of the fifty-three professors and lecturers on the Johns Hopkins staff in 1884, nearly all had studied at German universities.⁹ It was only after native educators increased in number and in the quality of their professionalism that the development of a unique American university system took place.

In 1892, the Committee of Ten, appointed by the National Council of

⁷Gladys A. Wiggin, Education and Nationalism (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962), 104-113.

⁸Stephen Sargent Visher, Scientists Starred, 1903-1943, in American Men of Science: A Study of Collegiate and Doctoral Training, Birthplace, Distribution, Backgrounds, and Developmental Influences (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1947), 277-278.

⁹Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 377.

Education president, developed the outline of an "open-ladder system"¹⁰ that loosened the hold of the colleges on the secondary schools and made possible the American ideal of unprejudiced access of as many citizens as possible to a better education. Its recommendations, especially Resolutions 6 and 12, called for eliminating the barrier of a restricted and fixed group of subjects for college entrance. In this way, it permitted secondary schools to adjust their programs to community needs and to the personal tastes and talents of students.

By the time the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1913-1918) finished with its deliberations, it became clear that the secondary school had changed into an instrument for mass education. Training for citizenship became the primary interest rather than the relational problems existing between the secondary school and college curricula. Social studies aimed at helping the young citizen acquire group solidarity; science subjects were to look into the improvement of the nation's health and the development of her industries; history was to introduce its students into an informed patriotism; and Latin was tolerated so long as it helped in developing the mother tongue.

In the 1930's, higher education reassessed its European-tinged offerings and took cognizance of the needs of a young American student population that had just come from secondary schools where they had received

¹⁰George H. Martin defined this system as one "by which all grades of schools, from the kindergarten to the college, shall be so correlated that there shall be a straight and open pathway from the lowest to the highest." In "Report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 38th Annual Meeting of the National Education Association (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899), 639.

a general education for citizenship.¹¹ The American Association of University Women examined the status of liberal arts colleges in modernizing education, while student personnel services offered vocational guidance and mental health programs. The faculties of higher education endorsed their Americanization function and sought to deepen the student's concept of citizenship by promoting a better understanding of the complexities and conflicts of American society.¹²

When it came time, in 1962, to celebrate the centennial of the Morrill Land-Grant College Act, American Higher Education could record the

¹¹The term "general education" was defined by Dr. Wriston, president of Lawrence College, as having two meanings. First of all, it was "general" because it referred to all students as potential candidates for the educational program. But, secondly, it also possessed a qualitative meaning in that it had "universal validity" since it considered the acquirement of a discipline that was to be useful to all who had it in all times and under all circumstances. This discipline consisted of precision, appreciation, hypothesis, and reflective synthesis -- habits of thought to be acquired in a general education. See: William S. Gray (ed.), General Education, Its Nature, Scope, and Essential Elements: Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 1.

¹²See: T. R. McConnell (chairman), General Education, Fifty-First Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Bloomington, Ill. : Public School Publishing Co., 1952).

The need for an enlightened nationalism became an important educational objective for universities. Textbook writers had earlier painted the ideal American partly through contrast with the defects of other nationalities. The McGuffey Readers unblushingly stated that it was America's manifest destiny to shed light on the dark places of Europe and of Asia. Elementary and secondary textbooks of 1932 stressed the altruism of America, for example, in occupying the Philippines and condemned the savagery of the natives who opposed the American troops. Cf. Jesus E. Perpunan, "The Philippines in American Textbooks," Journal of Experimental Education, II (June, 1934), pp. 369-372.

establishment of a domestic school system suited to the American experience.¹³ The American university became a combination of the German-inspired Graduate School superimposed upon a four-year, English-inspired undergraduate college: a combination which permitted the graduate faculties to remain closely allied with the teaching programs of the undergraduate division. Another characteristic of the American university system was its support of two structures: the private and the state-supported. The Dartmouth College decision given in 1819 by the Supreme Court assured strong legal sanction for this dual system.

The emergence of the state university, the land-grant college, the junior or community college, and the movement for co-education and women's colleges--all these have concretized the American ideal to end restrictions on academic opportunity. This is not to deny that American higher education has fully reconciled the tensions existing between the search for excellence (the Hamiltonian elitist viewpoint) and the democratic ideal of the "open-door policy" (the Jacksonian egalitarian strain). American educators have sought to resolve this dilemma by instituting a more gradual screening of students than is found in the English and continental European systems.

The concept of service to its community and to democracy has been another impressive characteristic of American higher education. American universities show far greater interest in the student's personal and psycho-

¹³Willis Rudy, "Higher Education in the United States, 1862-1962" A Century of Higher Education, ed. William W. Brickman and Stanley Lehrer (New York: Society for the Advancement of Education, 1962), 19-31.

logical well-being than is found in European circles. Concern for the totality of the student's development gave rise to better housing arrangements, to personal and educational counseling, and to placement services. Pragmatic America saw its liberal arts colleges gradually involved in business schools and the last two undergraduate years devoted to professional specializations.

One final trend in American higher education of the last fifty years must be noted. This is its international commitment which parallels the emergence of the United States as a world power. The enactment of measures such as the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act have encouraged American scholars to study abroad and do research work all over the world. The Institute of International Education in its publication: Open Doors, 1965, reports that there are more than 18,000 American students abroad, of which some 7500 are enrolled in United States undergraduate college-sponsored programs. Likewise, American universities have created new educational institutions in Pakistan and Africa, and American professors have advised the ministries of education in underdeveloped countries. In 1966, 1400 of the 2000 American institutions of higher learning enrolled about 100,000 foreign students.

The Americanization of higher education in the United States was achieved because, instead of creating an enclave community that considered itself disinterested in national needs, the American universities consistently engaged the culture about them and were responsive to the needs and goals of the democratic society they served. The American university took seriously to heart the mandate given by Thomas Jefferson at the University of Virginia:

To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend; to expound the principles of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another; to harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give free scope to the public industry; to develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order; to enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, and advance the arts and administer to the health, the subsistence, and the comforts of human life; and finally to form them into habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others and of happiness within themselves. These are the objects of that higher grade of education, the benefits and blessings of which the Legislature now propose to provide for the good and ornament of their country, and the gratification and happiness of their fellow-citizens.¹⁴

¹⁴Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia (Richmond, Va., 1818).

American Catholic Higher Education and Nationalism

The crisis in Catholic education today. -- These are indeed trying times for American Catholic higher education. An increasing stream of criticism, mostly from faculty and graduates of her own institutions, has recently been aimed at her goals, function, and organizations.¹⁵ The prestigious report of the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities reluctantly turned out to be "an iconoclastic document" that showed the vast discrepancy between the ideal and the reality.¹⁶ The study reported that in general, church-related institutions did not evidence a seriousness of institutional purpose; that faculty were often unimaginatively recruited, inadequately paid, and wastefully deployed; and that student selection was still fairly naive with little attempt made to match students and educational programs.

The Danforth report goes on to probe the very essence of religious institutions when it observed that "one might expect that church colleges, which purport to have a clear and time-tested view of life, would point the

¹⁵Sister Mary Ignatia Griffin, B.V.M., "The Operative Goals of Catholic Higher Education: A Critical View," Toward New Dimensions of Catholic Higher Education, ed. Louis C. Vaccaro (Arlington, Va.: Education Research Associates, 1967), 1-11. See also: John Tracy Ellis, American Catholics and the Intellectual Life (Chicago: The Heritage Foundation, 1956).

¹⁶Manning M. Patillo, Jr., and Donald M. Mackenzie, Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States: Report of the Danforth Commission (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966). The majority (42%) of the 817 church-related institutions of higher education studied for three years by the Danforth Commission are Roman Catholic, with the Methodist Church, the next largest denomination, representing only 12 per cent.

way for other institutions in this area. Yet . . . on the whole, church-related higher education is not doing much better in helping students face fundamental questions than are other institutions."¹⁷ The report further states that students in Protestant colleges find their religion courses by and large stimulating while Catholic college students "frequently complain that the courses are artificial and unrelated to contemporary interests."

The relevance of the schools that American missionaries have established in mission lands like Latin America has also come in for its share of criticism. Imbued with the American experience in education, United States Catholics have spontaneously relied on schools when considering how they might contribute to the development of the mission churches. Critics now point out that this educational apostolate often meant little more than the transplantation of the North American school system to regions like Latin America, and that Catholic private education in mission lands often cater to the wealthy and are not easily identified with the renovation of the existing evils of the social order.¹⁸

Historical background. -- Criticisms that strike at the very core of

¹⁷In the preliminary report of the Danforth Commission which appeared in April, 1965 as: Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future (St. Louis, 1965), p. 40. Another example of an excellent study was the two years of exhaustive analyses of the faculty, administrators, student body, alumnae (and their husbands) of Mundelein College, Chicago. The results were published by N. J. Hruby in Truth and Consequences: Mundelein College Emerges from Analysis (Chicago: Mundelein College, 1965).

¹⁸Francis P. Chamberlain, "The Catholic School," America, April 2, 1966, pp. 442-444.

its existence are not new to the Catholic Church. The early history of Catholic universities in America is riddled with such criticisms.¹⁹ Catholic education has been especially vulnerable to secular misunderstandings because of its historical departure from prevailing American norms: (1) socially--since most of its teachers and students, then, came from ethnic and socio-economic classes different from the other American teachers and students; (2) institutionally--since the hierarchical pattern of Catholic authority clashed with the democratic orientation of the public institutions of higher learning²⁰ and (3) ideologically--since the beliefs, attitudes, and values of

¹⁹For example, this warning from a Reverend Kirk: "But the main consideration to excite our fears, is not the transient phases of an immigrant society, nor the rush of adventurers to rich lands and gold regions, . . . it is the calm, shrewd, steady, systematic movement of the Jesuit Order now attempting to do in California and in the Mississippi Valley what it once did in Austria . . . to crush the spirit of liberty. There, Brethren, there our great battle with the Jesuit, on Western soil, is to be waged." E. N. Kirk, Discourse before the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. (pamphlet, 1836), 28-29.

²⁰The Protestant churches early aligned themselves with democracy. The simple organization of the Baptists and Congregationalists was along democratic lines with the people electing their own religious leaders and dismissing them when they failed to please the majority. The Methodists, the first church in the United States to possess an independent national form of ecclesiastical organization had, by 1784, fully adopted the American ideal of a republican commonwealth government through a general conference. The Presbyterian church was a federated Christian commonwealth, not a hierarchy. It was governed by assemblies, not by individual church officials, and its bed-rock principle was constitutional republicanism.

Catholics differed from those held by other Americans in the majority educational system.²¹

An understanding, then, of the contributions made by Catholic higher education to the American scene must center on the institutional and social and ideological adjustments which Catholic educators made in order to establish their institutions as American and yet, without compromising their religious tenets.

The early Anglo-American Catholics labored under severe restrictions during the colonial period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were proscribed by law from holding office, from voting, and from opening Catholic schools. By the time of the American Revolution, however, Catholic loyalty to the cause of freedom rendered them socially acceptable, and they soon enjoyed full legal and political rights as well.²²

Thus, though still numerically and politically insignificant, Catholics were solidly on their way to achieving status and prestige in the United States of America. However, the onset of massive immigration in the 1830's from Ireland and Germany vastly enlarged the original Anglo-American stock of the Catholic population, and served to slow down the Americanisation

²¹Philip Gleason, "American Catholic Higher Education: A Historical Perspective," The Shape of Catholic Higher Education, ed. Robert Hassenger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 15.

²²This turn of events came about chiefly through the influence of the Carroll family whose leadership among the Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania proved decisive in aligning the hesitant Catholics to the side of American liberty. The fact that Catholic France (in 1778) and Spain (in 1779) were the first foreign powers to recognize the American cause also helped.

of the Roman Catholic Church. Overnight, the Catholic image became that of the poor, uncultivated foreigner aggressively demanding respect for his embattled religion. The established Protestant majority did not look kindly on the foreign ways and Rome-centered religion of this new immigrant folk.

In turn, the Catholics, now mostly composed of immigrants and non-Anglo Saxon races, opposed the common school which they termed "irreligious" and Catholics went on to establish a clergy-dominated school system to protect their ancient faith and morality from the dangers of a secular society.²³ Thus was the pattern inaugurated of a self-sufficient Catholic school system standing aloof from the faculties of the great secular universities. Exclusive academic societies appeared: The American Catholic Philosophical Association, the American Catholic Historical Association, The Catholic Sociological Association . . . indications of the Catholic intellectual community's retreat into a ghetto. Thomas O'Dea in his American Catholic Dilemma (1958) concluded that genuine intellectual life among American Catholics was hindered by formalism, authoritarianism, clericalism, and defensiveness.²⁴

This posture of defensiveness, fortunately, was not allowed to harden.

²³Orestes A. Brownson, a convert to Catholicism and of New England stock, urged his co-religionists in 1854 to dissociate their faith from their alien nationality, pointing out that the American nationality was already set in a basically Anglo-Saxon mold. Cf. Orestes A. Brownson, "Native Americans," Brownson's Quarterly Review, July 2, 1854, pp. 328-354.

²⁴A judgment echoed by Daniel Callahan in his essay: "The Catholic University: The American Experience," Theology and the University: An Ecumenical Investigation, ed. John Coulson (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1964), pp. 66-77.

The desire of the immigrants from traditional societies to found Catholic colleges and seminaries to preserve their ethnic and religious values was soon thwarted by the very school system they had established for this purpose. Catholic higher education invariably promoted social mobility and served to siphon off the new generation of Catholics who now refused to return to the old ways of their own people.

Language has always been an important factor in nationalism. In the United States, language, together with religion, played an important part in preserving ethnic identity among the immigrants. Catholic schools, especially among the German-American Catholics of the late nineteenth century, were expected to foster the use of the mother tongue as religiously as they were to preserve the Faith. On the other hand, the Irish, who arrived the earliest and in the largest numbers, did not have to resist linguistic assimilation since they already spoke English. Consequently, the Irish were able to focus their ethnic loyalty on their Catholic religion and on politics. This enabled the Irish to establish universities that were linguistically suited for adaptation into American life.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the improved occupational and social status of the second-generation Catholic led to increased enrollment at secular universities. This increase of Catholic enrollment in the better-known secular universities was seen as symptomatic of Catholic dissatisfaction

with an education suited for an immigrant situation.²⁵ The second-generation Catholic was demanding a better quality of university education during a period when his sense of ethnic distinctiveness was being sharply attenuated by his successful entry into the sophistication and intellectual orientation of the upper-middle class. He was at last turning into the "typical American."

If the typical Catholic, indeed, no longer differed from his fellow citizen in occupation, wealth, and status, could it also be said that the typical Catholic university now approximated the ideal norm of an American institution of higher learning? How strongly committed had Catholic higher education become to the democratic ethos, to the unhampered pursuit of truth, and to academic freedom?²⁶

Academically, the development of Catholic colleges has caught up with the general pattern existing in American college education. Some degree of electivism has been accepted and the classics were de-emphasized with the affiliation of professional schools to the liberal arts program. There has

²⁵A survey made in 1907 showed that Harvard had 480 Catholic students; Radcliffe--43 Catholic women students; Valparaiso, Indiana--300 Catholic men students and 100 Catholic women students. Today, more than 500,000 Catholic students are enrolled in non-Catholic colleges and universities. A survey by Clifford and Callahan shows that in 1963-1964, two out of every three Catholic students were found in secular campuses. Cf. R. J. Clifford, S.J. and W. R. Callahan, S.J., "Catholics in Higher Education," America, CII (1964), pp. 288-291.

²⁶Although there have been recent examples to support the nagging suspicion that academic freedom is limited on Catholic campuses, still, of the twenty institutions whose administrators were censured in 1966-1967 by the American Association of University Professors for violation of the association's principles of academic freedom, only two were Catholic. Cf. John H. Smith, "The Greater Glory: Scholarship and the Catholic University," Toward New Dimensions of Catholic Higher Education, ed. Louis C. Vaccaro (Arlington, Va.: Education Research Associates, 1967), 48-49.

been a marked quantitative growth of Catholic graduate education since the establishment of the Catholic University of America back in 1889. Still, the quality of Catholic graduate work calls for further improvement. Berelson's 1960 study of graduate education did not list a single Catholic university among its top twenty-two universities. Catholic universities were also barely keeping pace with the general increase in the conferral of doctoral degrees. Of the grand total of 104, 139 doctorates for the decade 1955-1964, only 3,277 or 3.14 per cent were conferred by Catholic universities.²⁷

Ideologically, Catholic higher education in America had ingrained reservations against assimilation into the secular, scientific, and vocational specializations that characterized American education. Fr. George Bull, S.J., chairman of the department of philosophy at Fordham University in the 1930's, saw the antinomies between the Catholic position and the research thrust of secular universities as irreconcilable, viewing them as Catholic unity bravely opposing secular disintegration, principles opposing facts, and ancient wisdom versus unstable progress.²⁸

Today, a strong and uniform Catholic movement to oppose its own religious-philosophical synthesis against the particularistic spirit of science is no longer as frequently voiced as previously. Catholic scholars no longer adamantly subscribe to the belief that they alone possess absolute

²⁷Philip Gleason, 42-43.

²⁸George Bull, S.J., "The Function of the Catholic College," America (New York: America Press, 1933).

truths. Instead, following in the footsteps of Teilhard de Chardin, they justify their greater involvement in research on the grounds that reality and our knowledge of it, far from being fixed and fully apprehended, undergo a continuous process of development.

Adherence to this dynamic, developmental view of reality by Catholic scholars has resulted in some institutional problems. Catholic universities have been pressured to reexamine their goals and to judge whether they can become full partners with the national, pluralistic, academic community without diminution of their religious concerns. One conclusion of such a re-examination came from the Mundelein College Institutional Analysis of 1962-1964, probably one of the most controlled and searching investigations done to date on a Catholic college:

The Catholic college does not exist primarily for the good of the Church or for the good of the faith. It exists primarily for the intellectual good of the human person who is faced with the perennial need of reconciling and/or unifying in a universe of intellectual order the intellectual claims of human reason and those of his faith. It is the precise function of the Catholic college qua Catholic to raise consciously and deliberately and then to meet the intellectual problems which arise because of man's two-fold source of knowledge. The Catholic college is not a church. Therefore, as an intellectual enterprise it does not have as its primary function the deepening or increasing of the faith.²⁹

"The Catholic college does not exist primarily for the good of the Church or for the good of the faith." This statement seems to reject the stated goals of Catholic colleges and universities as found in nearly all of

²⁹Sister Mary Ignatia Griffin, B.V.M., p. 6.

their school catalogues and in presidential addresses. It seems that by proposing that religion assume only a supporting role in a Catholic university, the Mundelein Analysis underscored the one major area where Catholic institutions still diverge from the American norm, namely, clerical control. A Catholic scholar sees the problem thus:

. . .In the Catholic university, the faculty today is predominantly lay and the administrators (except a few rare cases) priests. In such circumstances, the faculty critic is in a doubly difficult position: a criticism of university policy is tantamount to lay insubordination towards the clergy.³⁰

This problem is being resolutely faced by several Catholic universities such as Notre Dame, St. Louis, and Fordham. These have announced plans to open their boards of trustees to laymen of all denominations. The pattern of governance that seems to be emerging here seeks to establish a middle position between the traditional arrangement in which all or almost all of the legal trustees are members of the religious order responsible for the institutions, and that pattern more common among private non-denominational institutions whose boards of trustees are composed totally of laymen.

³⁰Daniel Callahan, 75-76. Ramparts magazine printed an article depicting the clerical-lay problem in Jesuit institutions:

"The Jesuit administrator is ordinarily pleasant, charitable, well-meaning, almost avuncular. But he doesn't listen. The little jolt of anguish one often feels just after closing an interview with a Jesuit administrator is the knowledge that beneath the superficial kindness and the patience, the administrator simply didn't listen, that the words used by a professional lay person do not exist for him. The Jesuit does not wish to be uncooperative; rather, he cannot see that anything outside his own Order is significant enough to make any ultimate difference in the career of the university or Catholic thought." - Robert O. Bowen, "The Lay Faculty on the Jesuit Campus,"

Ramparts, III (1963), p. 16.

Fr. Paul C. Reinert, S.J. of St. Louis University, lists the reasons for reconstituting the board of trustees in Catholic universities:

- (1) To place legal responsibility in a board composed of leaders from various fields of American society, so that it will truly represent the various interests and needs of the University's many constituencies . . .
- (2) To give laymen a clear-cut opportunity to participate in university life at the policy-making level, in line with the general movement within the Catholic Church, as expressed by Vatican II, to place laymen in highly responsible positions on all levels throughout the church.
- (3) Separating the general, overall policy-making function from the internal administration of the University in keeping with modern university practice, thus eliminating the inconsistencies in a system of governance under which the men who made the policies also carried them out and audited them.
- (4) To enable the University to strengthen and broaden its influence and support.³¹

Catholic higher education has also shared in one of the signal failures of the American Catholic Church--the Negro apostolate. Out of the estimated twenty million Negroes in the United States today, only 766,838 are Catholics, in contrast to the millions of Negro Baptists and Methodists. In a strongly worded statement dated November 1, 1967, the Reverend Pedro Arrupe, superior general of the Society of Jesus, examines

³¹Paul C. Reinert, S.J., "First Meeting of a Board," Jesuit Educational Quarterly, October, 1967, pp. 112-113. The introduction of lay members to religious board of trustees has met opposition from some religious educators. The reasons for their opposition often come under these headings: (1) Unfavorable reaction of alumni, parents, students, and benefactors to such a move; (2) The power of the religious provincial and general would be lessened; (3) The danger of secularization and the loss of a unique religious spirit; (4) lay trustees are often not qualified in the areas of theology and of philosophy; (5) The personal morale of the religious members would weaken and fewer vocations could result; (6) The anomaly of having non-Christians and non-Catholics in a Catholic university; (7) There is danger of alienation of church property: "a hundred million dollar giveaway." Finally, although not usually voiced, there is the fear that priests without academic degrees might no longer qualify for university appointments.

why so little Jesuit effort in the past was expended in work for and with the Negro. He lists causes for this situation--a failure to appreciate fully the practical implications of the Christian concept of man; an uncritical acceptance of certain stereotypes and prejudices regarding the Negro, acquired by the Jesuit in his youth and not effectively eradicated by the training he received in Jesuit scholasticates; the insulation of far too many Jesuits from the actual living conditions of the poor; and an unconscious conformity to the discriminatory and prejudiced action patterns of the surrounding white community. He then give his directives calling for more Negro vocations to the Jesuit Order, for greater enrollment of qualified Negro students in Jesuit universities, and for the establishment of institutes of human relations and of urban affairs in Jesuit colleges.³²

The American Catholic University of Tomorrow. -- One fact emerges clearly from the American Catholic experience in higher education, namely, that it is impossible to have a first-rate university that is isolated from the mainstream of the nation's life. So much Catholic intellectual energy has been spent on stubborn resistance against the Reformation, the Enlightenment, Modernism, and Science. In the end, it took the vision and courage of Pope John XXIII to make the Roman Church truly catholic in her quest for truth.

Pope John's insights created the atmosphere that made it possible recently for Catholic educators of America and of Canada to study how a

³²The Register, November 19, 1967, p. 10.

Catholic university can more fully achieve the ideal of an authentic academic institution. Under the auspices of the North American region of the International Federation of Catholic Universities, a group of university leaders met at Land O'Lakes, Wisconsin on July 21-23, 1967 and published these guidelines for the Catholic university of tomorrow:

- (1) The Catholic university must have a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself.
- (2) There must be no theological or philosophical imperialism; all scientific and disciplinary methods and methodologies, must be given due honor and respect.
- (3) The Catholic university should serve as the critical reflective intelligence of its society and carry on a continual examination and objective evaluation of all aspects and activities of the Church.
- (4) Undergraduate education should draw knowledge and understanding from all the traditions of mankind and should explore the insights and achievements of the great men of every age. The whole world of knowledge and ideas must be open to the student; there must be no outlawed books or subjects.
- (5) Students will be able to participate in and contribute to a variety of liturgical functions, at best creatively contemporary and experimental.³³

Certainly, the Catholic universities of America and their leaders have come a long way from the narrow viewpoints espoused by some pontiffs, notably Pope Gregory XVI, who in his encyclical Mirari vos (August 15, 1832) denounced religious freedom in crusading words: "Now from this evil-smelling spring of indifferentism flows the erroneous and absurd opinion--or rather,

³³America, August 12, 1967, pp. 154-156.

derangement--that freedom of conscience must be asserted and vindicated for everyone. This most pestilential error . . ."³⁴ It is not without significance that the main architect of Vatican II's declaration on religious freedom was an American, the product of Catholic higher education, the late John Courtney Murray, S.J.

³⁴Colman J. Barry (ed.), Readings in Church History, III, 4.

Indian Nationalism and Education

Introduction.--From the very beginning of English education in India (1835-1854), we find serious concern among the British policy makers to:

. . .make as vigorous an impression upon the Asiatic mind as possible, to rouse it from the torpor into which it has subsided for some hundred years past, and to place it in a condition for receiving and digesting the results of European progress and civilization.³⁵

The implementation of this colonial policy has relevance for the study of Philippine nationalism since the Spanish and American colonizers were imbued with similar sentiments. It is helpful to see the Indian reaction to this Western policy and to trace its impact on the national life of India.

Historical background.--England chose as the chief instrument for the diffusion of European thought among the natives of India--the English language. The government hoped that linguistic education would create a superior class of natives for higher employment in the Civil Service. The missionaries, for their part, saw in the adoption of English by Indians a golden opportunity for the triumph of Christianity in that pagan land. However, Orthodox Hindus took a pragmatic view concerning the imposition of this alien tongue, and said: "If the knowledge of English does not lead to eternal bliss, it paves the way to wealth. English is to us a money-making knowledge."³⁶

³⁵Report of the Board of Education for the Year 1845 (Bombay, 1845), p.22.

³⁶J. W., "The Recent Anti-Missionary Movements among the Hindus," Calcutta Christian Observer, XX (1851), 294.

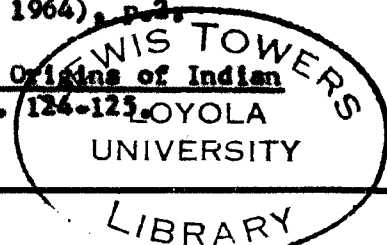
Lord Macaulay, with his scornful belief that there was nothing of worth in the whole native literature of India, was most influential in fostering England's colonial policy to create "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."³⁷ This viewpoint was opposed by John Wilson, only representative of the Scottish Missionary Society in Bombay in the early nineteenth century. He founded an advanced institution where no boys were allowed to enter until they could read their own vernacular fluently. Wilson believed that English would never be really mastered by those who neglected their own native tongue.

While official efforts to establish English schools in India lagged, the missionary educational movement prospered. Like their co-workers in Bombay and Calcutta, the Madras missionaries established schools for the "superior" academic grades. By 1854, the education of the country, except for three government institutions, was entirely in the hands of the Protestant missionary societies, with the Scottish group taking the initiative in developing higher education.³⁸

It was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that liberal political theorists in England brought about the acceptance of the doctrine that popular education was one of the duties incumbent upon the British Empire towards its subjects. In India, still without a university system,

³⁷Quoted in Sir Eric Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition (Cambridge: Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 2.

³⁸Bruce T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1966), pp. 124-125.



the promulgation in July, 1854 of the Educational Despatch became a source of mixed blessings. The authors of the Despatch unabashedly proclaimed that "we most emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge."³⁹

On the other hand, the Educational Despatch made the observation that hitherto, European learning had been confined to a small segment of the native population. It insisted that future efforts must seek to widen the base of natives exposed to European knowledge. In this way, education would supply the government with natives equipped for Civil Service positions. Education, too, would promote England's material interests in India, assuring her of a larger supply of consumers for her manufactures. The Despatch also called for the establishment of universities at Calcutta and Bombay and "wherever else necessary."

By the end of the nineteenth century, the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras stood at the apex of the educational system of India. They possessed decisive authority over the curricula and character of the colleges and schools within their ambit. The University entrance examinations which determined entrance into college studies was heavily

³⁹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, XLVII(1854), 393. However, British overseas policy has travelled a long way since the days of Lord Macaulay. When British educators prepared a 1959 draft charter for the University of Ghana, they stated: "The University of Ghana shall take its place among the foremost universities of the world . . . As a great African seat of learning, it shall give leadership to African thought..." Quoted in Sir Eric Ashby, p. 1.

weighted with European learning. By subjecting all the graduates of secondary education to the same testing standards and content, the universities produced a body of Indian natives unified by a common intellectual heritage-- that of Europe.

India's educated class.--Contrary to the expectations of the English who shaped India's educational system, the wealthy classes of India avoided sending their sons to higher education in their country. They deemed their nobility as coming from their rank and caste, not from educational attainment. Consequently, the Indian educated class came from the middle and lower income groups. These were mostly Hindus in their religious profession. This situation was helping to create social disorder wherein the sons of farmers and of shopkeepers were assuming public posts that gave them power over the higher castes and over Mohammedans.

Another volatile social situation resulted from the fact that as the numbers of educated natives increased, so did their poverty. Since higher education gave undue attention to philosophy and literature rather than to agriculture and the sciences, overcrowding resulted in the legal, judicial, and administrative positions. The Hindoo Patriot, a Calcutta journal, depicted the plight of the unemployed scholar:

The number of educated men is annually increasing by thousands, and how are they to live? The sort of education given to them chiefly qualifies them for government employment and that field is already over-crowded. Agriculture and trade are the only hope of the people, but unfortunately, the men who come out of the schools and colleges

have no experience in agriculture . . .⁴⁰

Another characteristic of the educated class, one which brought the contempt of Orthodox Hindus, was their aping of English manners, customs, and gestures in order to get some footing in English society. Young students affected ignorance of their vernacular, and the members of the Young Bengal Movement of the 1920s took pride in shaking off the mores of their community.⁴¹

An Indian scholar noted sadly:

In Poland, the vernacular is of the highest political importance for it is the great bond of union . . . it preserves for them the annals of all that is dear to them . . . our vernaculars are poor and undeveloped and serve only to divide and disunite us.⁴²

The rise of Indian nationalism.--Despite exposure to a hybrid culture and the attraction of English ways, the educated class became the matrix of Indian nationalism. Exposed to the principles of freedom and of equality that run through the pages of England's great literature, equipped with a common language, English, for exchanging ideas among their ranks, the

⁴⁰Hindoo Patriot, Calcutta, February 25, 1878. Another indication of the frustration permeating the ranks of university graduates came from a contribution to the Indian Spectator, May 27, 1883:

"How many university graduates go without work? The luckiest of them is often too glad to begin life as a clerk. Now, look at his English contemporary. The very first appointment he holds is that of Assistant Judge . . . What a difference when both had worked equally hard!"

⁴¹S.S. Dikshit, Nationalism and Indian Education (Delhi: Sterling Publishers, Ltd., 1966), p. 12.

⁴²Quoted in Bruce T. McCully, 211-212.

educated class produced the leaders who advocated national unity. A native press soon developed increasing the number of vernacular papers in existence. Since it controlled the native press, the educated Indian swiftly gained identification with his community whose economic and political aspirations were championed in editorials and columns.

Certain characteristics of India's cultural nationalism started to become manifest: (1) it held that foreign culture and religion had destroyed Indian nationality and must now be exorcised if India is to be regenerated; (2) it placed greater emphasis on the historic superiority of the Aryan culture, recalling a Golden Age when Aryan India was free and became the mother of philosophy, of science, and the arts; (3) Sanskrit language and literature were revived and extolled as "that glorious language of the gods;" and (4) Mother India became a recurring theme for nationalist poems and orations.

Along with cultural nationalism came a strong economic nationalism with its own characteristics. It claimed that (1) India was poor owing to the ruin of her industries brought about by the passing of economic control into the hands of British capitalists; (2) Indians were once a great maritime and commercial nation. They first developed the great spice trade. Their commercial intercourse brought civilization to the Burmese and Malays. (3) India was not only an agricultural nation, but a manufacturing one. But this role declined when Indians acquiesced in favoring the consumption of foreign goods. Finally, Indian economic nationalism claimed that (4) Indians should direct a militant boycott of English-made goods and demand increased technical education.

Not all forms of Indian nationalism demanded a break with England. Some Indian leaders taught that God in his divine providence had chosen England as the bearer of the light of civilization to a land mired in superstitions and decadence.⁴³ This faction considered the political subordination of India to England as a necessary price for India's progress, and strongly favored the introduction of England's political institutions into India through constitutional agitation rather than through armed rebellion.

Alongside the marked growth in the field of political journalism was the establishment of nationalistic organizations among the educated. In 1874, Ananda Mohan Bose, a Cambridge scholar, and Surendra Nath Banerjee founded the Calcutta Students Association which became the platform for the Italian Mazzini's gospel of national unity. This period also saw the appearance of many literary and social associations that were usually organized by young men who had been educated in colleges. But unlike Mazzini's Young Italy and Young Germany movements, these Indian groups did not espouse mass insurrection.

Summary of the status of Indian nationalism.--Nationalism in India is debtor to many foreign influences. It received its dogma from Guiseppe Mazzini, who in 1831, organized scattered groups of nationalists into the secret society termed "Young Italy." India's nationalist leaders were recruited from the ranks of the intelligentsia produced by contact with English education. As if to erase these foreign contributions, Indian nationalists

⁴³From an editorial entitled: "Loyalty" in the Indian Mirror, Sunday edition, April 14, 1878.

strive to discover a native soil for their nation's identity in Aryan history which has been romanticized as a period of heroes, seers, and virtuous tribal folk whom Indians can emulate.

Since the citadel of Indian nationalism remained with the educated Hindus, a highly articulate group who presented India's unity in terms of the Hindu race and culture, a widening split occurred between them and the Mohammedans. In this respect, English education failed to unify the two great Indian communities because it helped to qualify for Civil Service a disproportionate number of Hindus over the Moslems. This division was to have tragic consequences that ultimately led to the partition of this sub-continent into Pakistan and India.

The military factor was almost negligible in the rise of Indian nationalism, while the constitutional factor was powerful. This does not deny the violent tendencies that appeared in India through the years. But with the coming of Gandhi, the concept of non-violence captured the nationalist scene and Indians renounced force as a means of winning their freedom.

Christianity failed to become a dominant factor in India's nationalism. The majority of the people have remained Hindus, Moslems, and Buddhists. Christianity was often seen as an importation from the West, and it was not politically an asset to be converted to this foreign religion.

Education and Nationalism in the French Congo

Introduction.--This study will now proceed to investigate, for comparative purposes, another example of a European educational system that was superimposed upon an indigenous system and how an already acculturated native minority, desirous of replacing their European masters, sought the support of their people. This comparative study seeks to examine French efforts to communicate their Western ideas, attitudes, and skills to the Congolese within the framework of a school situation that was greatly influenced by the Catholic Church. The problem faced by both the colonizer and the colonized centers on the transfer of formal, European educational institutions to an African setting, and the consequent use by the newly self-determined society of the Congo-Brassaville of these schools.

The educational monopoly of the Catholic Missions (1883-1905).-- It was unusual for the anti-clerical Third Republic of France to encourage the establishment of Catholic mission schools in the Congo during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The reason for this state of affairs came as a consequence of France's inability to finance a government school system in the Congo due to its colonial ventures in Asia and elsewhere in Africa. The moral and financial support that the French government gave to the Catholic missionaries was niggardly, since France tolerated the situation as being the most economical way of spreading the French language and culture among its Congolese subjects.

Catholic educational work in the Congo was under the immediate

missionary control of a single religious congregation--the Peres du Saint-Esprit or the Fathers of the Holy Spirit. Their mission policy was mindful of giving the Africans a Christian education truly adapted to their society and appropriate to the resources of the country. The recurrent theme of the Fathers' directives stressed that the missionaries' educational accomplishments be African in substance as well as in appearance. Unlike the British in India, official French educational policy did not try to transform the Congolese into so many more buyers of French goods. Instead, it insisted that all teaching should respect Congolese sentiments. However, it insisted that the French language be the exclusive medium for teaching in the schools.

The early Catholic mission schools, aside from the top priority they gave to religious instruction, trained the Congolese for better agricultural methods and for animal husbandry. These schools emphasized the arts and trades as well. They promoted the establishment of a native clergy whom the French missionaries trained in theological studies identical to those given in French seminaries. Bishop Carrie of Loango reflected the importance given to the education of Congolese priests when he stated: "An uneducated priest will be despised by the Europeans and of little use to the natives."⁴⁴

The introduction of non-French educational factors took place in 1909 with the arrival of the Swedish Evangelical Mission personnel. The

⁴⁴From 1879 to 1938, a total of 168 Congolese students entered the Mayoumba Seminary founded by Bishop Derouet. Of these seminarians, 28 reached theology and 15 were ordained. These graduates, including those who left before ordination, were among the most highly educated Congolese.

Congolese were treated to the sight of a European group that was indifferent to the spread of French influence, language, and culture. Since the Protestant Church was less centralized and less authoritarian, the Congolese were likewise provided with an escape from the rigidities of the French and Catholic administrators. The Protestant group, although obeying the regulation on the use of French as the medium of academic instruction, made it a point to give religious instruction in the Ki-Kongo dialect and thus gave the budding nationalist movements an example of respect for one aspect of African culture--its native tongues.⁴⁵

A double school system grew in the main urban centers: a native system that was of a terminal character and prepared its students for subordinate civil positions, and a metropolitan one that catered mostly to French children in temporary residence in the Congo. The curriculum of these metropolitan schools led to higher education in France and prepared their students for decision-making positions in the colony. Although French officials insisted that both systems were of equal quality, Congolese leaders considered the native schools inferior and pressed hard for the "harmonization" of Congolese and metropolitan school programs.

On September 28, 1958, the Congo chose autonomy within the French Community and full responsibility for educational development and administration fell on the Congolese leaders. At this time, the Congolese school system

⁴⁵Gerard Lucas, "Formal Education in the Congo-Brassaville: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice," Education as an Instrument of National Policy in Selected Developing Nations, ed. Paul R. Hanna (Stanford: Stanford University, 1964), p.66.

was one of the best in Africa with about seventy-two per cent of the school-age population attending school. Except for minor adaptations, the Congolese schools were replicas of the French school system minus higher education.

Any evaluation of the role of the Catholic missions in the development of education in the Congo is difficult. It can be remarked that as far as religious conversion, the training of catechists, and the establishment of a Congolese clergy are concerned, the French accomplishments did not live up to expectations. However, most of the students of the Catholic mission schools and seminaries became more receptive to modern ideas, and their influence has helped this poorest of the four French equatorial territories to maintain a leading position in the socio-cultural evolution of middle Africa.

Today's Congolese nationalism.--At their independence, Congolese leadership evaluated the French system of education in their country. They expressed satisfaction with its general aims, content, and structure; but the new leaders saw the need to provide educational opportunities for more of their people. There was also a pressing need to train the Congolese for administrative and technical positions.

Another concern was for the establishment of universities. It was seen, however, that the Congo would not be able to supply either students or funds to keep a full-fledged university operating. France proposed a central university to serve all four equatorial African republics and which was to be located at Brazzaville. This suggestion was carried out and the new university was first known as "Centre d'Etudes Administratives et Techniques

Superieures." It was reorganized and decentralized in 1961 at the insistence of the Gabonese Minister of Education, and subsequently became known as "Fondation de l'Enseignement Superieur d'Afrique," and administered by a board composed of the four Ministers of Education of the Equatorial Republics and of French representatives. At present, this "Fondation" offers courses in law, literature, science, and medicine.

Since independence, Congolese leadership has followed a course of close cooperation with France and Western Europe, a cooperation that was essential if it were to receive the financial and technical assistance needed for industrialization. The European orientation of Congolese politicians and economists was made possible by the education given Congolese youth in French and Catholic schools, which taught loyalty to a broader social and political entity.

The adaptive policy of France in the Congo was always aware that only selected elements of the French educational system could be transferred to that colony. Thus, France was reluctant to introduce purely academic and classical studies, and even mission schools concentrated on practical curricula and offered much manual labor in school gardens and shops. Yet, the Congolese school system, instead of becoming Africanized, tended to become more and more French. The major reason for this phenomenon is to be found in the attitude of the Congolese leaders themselves who deemed a "different" school system to be synonymous with an "inferior" school system. They were insistent that the Congo's schools be identical with French institutions.

Another unforeseen result occurred--the lack of Congolese interest in agriculture and industrial production. The French and Catholic schools seemed to have failed in communicating to their students the desire and skills to change farm conditions in their country. Once again, a measure of the fault must be assigned to the Congolese at whose insistence French educational institutions were transplanted to their country. This was a European system suited to a modern, industrialized nation that had long since emerged from an agricultural society with limited scope for vertical mobility. The French system was leadership-oriented, one whose premature introduction into an under-developed country could only result in the education of Congolese youth for positions that did not exist in their economy, and whose unrealistic expectations spoiled them from performing manual labor.

CHAPTER III

PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM

The word "person" originally meant a mask, a symbolism that aptly describes the national personality of the Philippines, a nation that for almost four-hundred years had to put on various masks to satisfy three powerful masters. The historical expressions of her role as a Spanish colony differed from those precautions and pretensions she displayed under the American regime. Filipinos did not present themselves in the same manner to the Catholic friar as they did to the Protestant public school teacher. The Filipino assumed a different role as he bowed before the Japanese sentry, and effusively greeted his G.I. liberator. It is no wonder that historians of this archipelago have found it no easy task to determine the nature of her nationalism, seeing that her history took shape under ideologies so mixed and conflicting.

Philippine nationalism under Spain.--If it is essential to the concept of nationhood that there be an established political entity based on bonds of common descent, a defined territory, as well as of common languages, traditions, and customs, then it can be said that there was no Philippine nation existing when Ferdinand Magellan discovered the islands in 1521 for the Spanish Crown. The ancient Filipino settlements were peopled by immigrants from Malayan and Indonesian centers who coexisted without benefit of a central authority.

Spain quickly started to forge these separate settlements into a

national unity under its control. The chief architects for this imperial project were the encomenderos¹ and the religious friars. The Spanish encomenderos were responsible for the defence of his trust territory or encomienda from external attack, for the maintenance of peace and order within it, and for the support of the missionaries in their catechetical work. In turn, the encomendero acquired the right to collect tribute from the natives. At best, the encomienda system was a paternalistic relationship, and at its worst, it resembled a concentration camp. Natives who refused payment of the tribute sometimes saw their homes burned and their persons sold into slavery.

The first missionaries to the Philippines were the Augustinians who came with Legaspi in 1565. These were followed by the Franciscans in 1577; the Jesuits in 1581; the Dominicans in 1587; and the Augustinians (Recollects) in 1606. The First Synod of Manila, which Bishop Domingo de Salazar convoked, ordered the teaching of Christian doctrine in the native languages rather than in Spanish. As a result, few Filipinos learned Spanish unless they resided in and around Manila. Another directive given by Bishop Salazar was to ask his priests to collect the dispersed Filipino clans into larger communities in order to facilitate the methodical instruction of Christian life and worship. We still see traces of this decision in the characteristic arrangement of Filipino towns today--a central town square dominated by the church and its bell tower that tolled to call the converts to church and catechism.²

¹The term encomendero is derived from the Spanish verb--encomendar, i.e., to entrust.

²Horacio de la Costa, S.J., Readings in Philippine History (Manila: Bookmark, 1965), pp. 26-27.

Since Church and State were united in Spain, the beginnings of Philippine education (1565-1863) were predominantly centered on the service of the King of Spain and the Majesty of God. Church schools were partly subsidized by the Spanish State which gave free passage to all missionaries and stipends of one hundred pesos and two and a half bushels of rice yearly.³ Eventually, this small stipend became an insignificant source of income once the religious orders acquired huge estates in the Philippines.

Formal education beyond the primary and catechetical levels was, in the beginning, reserved only to the children of Spaniards. In 1595, the Jesuits opened a grammar school in Manila which was later to develop into a university, the Ateneo de Man'la. The Dominicans founded in 1611 the University of Santo Tomas to whom Pope Urban VIII (1637) and Philip IV granted in perpetuum the title of Royal and Pontifical University. In these Spanish institutions, the course of studies followed the traditional Spanish pattern with students going through the study of Caesar, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Homer, followed by the study of the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. Candidates for the priesthood went on to theological courses while future lawyers added civil law and canon law to their scholastic repertoire. The education of girls was more practical with instructions in sewing, music, and lace-making. Finally, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, young

³Spanish Church and State relations were governed by the terms of the Patronato based on the Bull Universalis Ecclesiae of Julius II. This arrangement granted to King Ferdinand and his successors the exclusive right (1) to erect churches in the Spanish colonies; (2) to the presentation of suitable candidates for colonial bishoprics and other church benefices; and (3) to the disposition of church personnel and the division of church territory. In exchange, the King of Spain agreed to defray church expenses.

Filipinos from the province of Pampanga were admitted to the Jesuit university as college servants and granted some form of secondary instruction. At about the same time, the Dominican College of San Juan de Letran began admitting Spanish mestizos of mixed blood.

The development of a native clergy.--Philippine nationalism cannot be properly understood without an examination into the Spanish clergy's attitudes and actions concerning the fostering of priestly vocations among the Filipinos. The strong opposition that Spanish friars consistently gave to the rise of a Filipino clergy can be placed in historical perspective by examining a similar situation in Mexico. There, the Spanish King had founded in 1536 the College of Santiago Tlatelolco for training a Mexican clergy among the sons of the native aristocracy. But by 1544, the Spanish priests and bishops were writing to the Spanish King to have him close the seminary. The Spanish clergy in Mexico, in the First Council of Mexico (1555), declared that sacred orders should not be conferred on Indians, mestizos, and mulattoes since these were descendants of infidel Moors and of persons sentenced by the Inquisition.⁴

This ecclesiastical policy was extended to the Philippines. Manila's Governor Corcuera set up the admission rules for the Seminary of San Felipe de Austria which he founded in 1641. Rule 3 decreed that "the collegiates must be of pure race and have no mixture of Moorish or Jewish blood, to the

⁴Horacio de la Costa, S.J., "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," Theological Studies, VIII, June, 1947, 227.

fourth degree, and shall have no Negro or Bengal blood, or that of any similar nation, in their veins, or a fourth part of Filipino blood."⁵

The other Spanish institution that retarded the growth of a Filipino clergy was the Patronato. The entire Philippines had already been divided into mission territories by 1600 among the religious orders leaving no room for the secular clergy. Since the friar was often the only colonial official willing to take up permanent residence among the natives, the Spanish Crown was reluctant to replace such a person whose very presence served Spanish colonial interests and saved her Treasury the expense and effort of maintaining large armed forces outside Manila.⁶ Hence, it was understandable for Governor Pedro Sarric to stress the indispensability of the ubiquitous friar when he wrote in December 22, 1787 to the King of Spain:

...a second consideration which has decided me not to remove the religious from the missions is that, even if the indios⁷ and Chinese mestizos possessed all the necessary qualifications, it would never conduce to the advantage of the State and the royal service of Your Majesty to hand over to them all the parishes. The experience of more than two centuries has shown that in all the wars, rebellions, and uprisings that have broken out, the religious parish priests were the ones who contributed most to the pacification of the malcontents.⁸

⁵Ibid., 228.

⁶Other civil duties of the parish priest included--being the inspector of primary schools, president of the boards of health and charities, inspector of taxation, president of the board of public works, and censor of plays. By law he was obliged to be present when there were elections, and he passed on the municipal budget. Cf., Cesar Adib Majul, The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1957), 101.

⁷The term "indio" was a Spanish expression of contempt for Filipinos.

⁸Horacio de la Costa, S.J., "The Development...", 226.

But the royal conscience of the Spanish King, mindful of the Pontifical Bulls requiring the formation of a native clergy in mission lands, continued to press for the development of Filipino vocations to the priesthood. Finally, in the early part of the eighteenth century, the two Manila universities, Dominican and Jesuit, agreed to admit a few selected Filipinos to the theological studies that led to ordination.⁹

It was galling for the religious orders, who had never admitted a Filipino into their priestly ranks, to have to be ordered to train native priests for the secular clergy. They sought to obey the King's order while preserving their doubts about the advisability of admitting the Filipino into the Catholic priesthood. The theological education they imparted reluctantly to their native candidates was in diluted form that consisted of just enough theology to fit the Filipinos as assistants to the religious pastors. Governor Simon de Anda saw this clearly when he wrote:

It is to the interest of the religious orders that there should not be formed and should never be any secular clergy, for so, there being no one to take their places, they may continue in their possession of the curacies, and the King in his long-standing and thoroughly troublesome burden of sending out missionaries at his own expense, who when they arrive here are so many more enemies to his interests. In accordance with this policy and with remarkable harmony, the two universities

⁹The Augustinian, Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, writing in 1725, foresaw disaster in such a course:

"It does not seem good that I should refrain from touching on a matter which is most worthy of consideration, and that is, that if God because of our sins and theirs should desire to chastise the flourishing Christian communities of these islands by placing them in the hands of the natives ordained to the priesthood (which seems likely to happen soon), if, I say, God does not provide a remedy for this, what abominations will result from it!" Quoted in H. de la Costa, Readings, 90-91.

have made it an invariable rule to impart a merely cursory training, in order to spoil in this way even the small number of assistant priests.¹⁰

The question of a Filipino clergy became more complicated due to the short-sighted though well-meaning policy of Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, sent in 1767 by Carlos III as Archbishop of Manila. When the religious orders fought his episcopal right to the visitation of their parishes, he proceeded to wage open war with them and expelled the religious pastors from their parishes and installed in their places poorly trained Filipino priests. These priests were hastily ordained by the good Bishop, and the current jest in Manila circles was that "there were no oarsmen to be found for the Manila river boats because His Grace the Archbishop had ordained them all."¹¹

The resulting scandals only confirmed the religious groups in their belief that the Filipinos were congenitally incapable for the full responsibilities of the priesthood, and should be employed merely as servants of the Spanish regulars. In creating this unjust situation, the Spanish clergy accumulated a vast reservoir of hatred from which Filipino nationalists were to draw a continual supply of anti-clerical material. The possession by the religious orders of large tracts of rich agricultural lands tilled by tenants

¹⁰T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Una memoria de Anda y Salazar (Manila, 1899), p. 10; cited in H. de la Costa, "The Development . . .," 239-240.

¹¹M. Buseta, O.S.A. and F. Bravo, O.S.A., Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de las Islas Filipinas (Madrid, 1851), II, 279. Quoted in H. de la Costa, "The Development . . .," 242.

under their control only served to add fuel to the coming revolution. The Taft Commission Report of 1900 estimated the friar land holdings in the Tagalog area, where the best lands were located, as covering forty-eight per cent of the total agricultural area.¹² These and other friar holdings made the mendicant religious groups wealthy and politically powerful, so that opposition against the Catholic friars often meant for the Filipinos the burning of their homes and the exile of their leading citizens.

The rise of Philippine revolutionary nationalism.--Hostility towards the Spanish friars and sympathy for the cause of a Filipino clergy united three groups of Filipinos: (1) the ilustrados¹³ the new Filipino elite of the latter nineteenth century, and who were sons of wealthy Filipino and Spanish mestizos generally; (2) the Filipino secular priests--whose differences with the Spanish regulars gave Philippine nationalism its first martyrs; and (3) the tenants--uneducated, long exploited, and whose proverbial patience was running out and from whose ranks were recruited the leaders and soldiers of Asia's first anti-colonial revolution.

Two years after Napoleon's invasion of Spain, the Spanish Cortes met in 1810 in Cadiz, then the only free territory left in Spain. This representative assembly drew up and passed a constitution modelled after the

¹²George E. Taylor, The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership (New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1964), 82-83.

¹³The opening of Manila to foreign trade in 1834 led to increased economic activity, and soon wealthy Filipinos could afford to send their sons to study in Manila or in Europe. The ilustrados provided the political and constitutional ideas of the Philippine Revolution.

liberal documents of the French Revolution, and the Cortes extended the rights of citizenship to all Spanish subjects. The 1869 opening of the Suez Canal facilitated the flow of liberal ideas into the Philippines despite a determined Church effort to ban the works of liberals like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Renan.

Filipinos were soon heard to reason that, if the Spanish Cortes had indeed made Spanish citizens of them all, then, Filipinos ought to be exempted from the onerous payment of slave tribute and of undergoing forced labor. But the Spanish authorities in the Philippines, backed by a show of arms from their militia, quickly disabused the Filipinos of these liberal interpretations. Another effect of the increasing liberalism in Spain and her peninsular government was that it drove many Spanish religious to seek refuge in the Philippines where the old order remained supreme in the hands of the Church. The few parishes still administered by native priests were given to these exiles.

Early Filipino attempts to bring about reform were scattered, and poorly organized revolts were easily put down. Often, Filipinos were used by the Spanish authorities to fight and kill other Filipinos. However, in 1872, the Spaniards lost their patience and made the mistake of providing the natives with a rallying point for rebellion. In January of that year, an easily suppressed mutiny of 250 native infantry and marines at the Cavite naval arsenal was used by the Spaniards as a pretext to execute three Filipino secular priests-- Fathers Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora. These three priests had been particularly active in calling for the

secularization of the parishes. They were hastily executed by garroting.¹⁴

The Propaganda Movement of 1882-1896 sponsored by the ilustrados set the intellectual climate that paved the way to open rebellion. The Filipino intelligentsia joined secret societies and Masonic lodges such as Madrid's Revolucion and Solidaridad. These Filipino leaders, whose prestige came from their economic wealth as well as from their education, were content to campaign for limited nationalistic aims, namely, for a provincial status for the Philippines within the Spanish Empire, for representation in the Spanish Cortes, for the secularisation of Catholic parishes, and for a greater hand in the political control of their country. These were conservative reforms which if granted would benefit the ilustrado class financially.

The most distinguished of the Filipino ilustrado-reformers was the Jesuit-trained Dr. Jose P. Rizal, now the national hero of the Philippines. Through his essays and novels, he warned Spain that unless reforms were forthcoming, her officials would soon face, not local rebellions, but a full-scale national strife.

The Filipino masses did not always understand the ilustrado-sponsored doctrine of limited reform. Talk of the equality of man, the sacred rights of citizenship, and the essential brotherhood of all men tended to become abstract metaphors for the uneducated peasant. He could better understand a language that told of his physical need for rice and for the lands needed to grow his crops on. The Filipino peasant found a leader who spoke this

¹⁴George E. Taylor, The Philippines . . . , 323.

concretely in Andres Bonifacio, a former warehouse worker, who founded the Katipunan movement (from the Tagalog title: Kataas-taasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan; i.e., "The Most High and Most Venerable Order of the Sons of the People"), a secret society whose membership soon totalled close to four hundred thousand. The masses had wrested control from the ilustrados during the final and decisive stage in the growth of Philippine national consciousness.

Bonifacio, together with Emilio Jacinto, published an underground newspaper, the Kalayaan, i.e., "Freedom," which popularized pre-Spanish culture, attacked colonialism, and eulogized the three martyr-priests of Cavite. Long before Western educators arrived to school the natives in democracy, Emilio Jacinto had already drawn up the principles of the Katipunan movement in these terms:

All men are equal, whether the color of their skin be white or black. One man may surpass another in wisdom, wealth, or beauty, but not in that which makes him a man. . . . Champion the oppressed and defy the oppressor. A man's worth does not consist in being a king, or in having a sharp nose and a white skin, or in filling as a priest the office of God's representative. What though a man be born and raised in the wilderness and speak no other language but his own? If his ways are gentle, if his word is true, if he cherishes his good name, if he neither suffers nor commits injustice, if he knows how to love the land that gave him birth and to come to her assistance, that man is truly great.¹⁵

In August, 1896, the Katipunan was discovered by the Spanish authorities. Bonifacio escaped and on August 26, 1896, raised the cry of revolt at Balintawak just outside Manila. Frightened, the Spanish officials blundered and hastened events by once more executing a sacrificial victim. This time

¹⁵H. de la Costa, Readings . . . , 234.

the chosen victim was Dr. Jose P. Rizal, the ilustrado leader who had been offered by the Katipunán to lead the revolt and had refused. The Spaniards executed him publicly to the joyous pealing of church bells in Manila, and before a festive crowd of Spanish families and friars on December 30, 1896. It was probably Manila's last occasion for festivity for soon after Rizal's death, the Filipino revolution quickly spread to all the islands.

It is interesting to note one form of response made by the Filipino elite on the eve of their country's revolt. Although they were basically in sympathy with the insurgents, the ilustrados strongly felt that the revolution was premature. Many of these Filipinos hastened to assure the Spanish authorities of their loyalty to Mother Spain. Others, expecting the breaking up of the huge Spanish haciendas, hastily backed the new Philippine government that had been established in Malolos, Bulacan. By occupying key position in this assembly, the ilustrados assured their economic domination and landlord status.

Meanwhile, the Filipino troops now under Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, achieved a number of victories over the outnumbered Spanish troops, but had to settle for a truce when the Spaniards agreed to pay indemnities, undertake some reforms, and declare a general amnesty. Aguinaldo and about thirty other Filipino leaders went to voluntary exile in Hongkong, carrying with them \$40,000 as part of the promised indemnity by Spain. The consequent refusal of Spain, soon after, to honor most of the amnesty terms led to the return of Aguinaldo and the renewal of hostilities in March, 1898. A month later,

Admiral Dewey entered Manila Bay and ushered a new colonialism for the Philippines.

Evaluation of Philippine education under Spain.--Between 1565 and 1863, Philippine education was predominantly Church operated with partial subsidization by the Spanish State. The Educational Decree of 1863 given by the Spanish Minister of War and Colonies bravely stated that it was the aim of Spain "to provide instruction and training to as many Filipino children as possible in religion, Spanish, and whatever skill or knowledge is basically needed for ordinary living."¹⁶ Spain succeeded in giving the Philippines an elementary education that was better than those found in other colonies. When the Taft Commission evaluated the condition of Philippine education soon after the American occupation in 1900, it reported that some three to four thousand elementary schools, with about 200,000 students, the equivalent of about 25 per cent of the country's school-age population, were in existence. On the secondary level, the combined enrollment of the country's four normal schools, eleven trade and technical schools, sixty-eight Latin schools, and ten colegios came to about seven thousand.¹⁷

Spain established only two institutions of higher learning in the Philippines during her more than three centuries of occupation. These were the Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomas under the Dominican Order,

¹⁶James LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), I, 36-41.

¹⁷Frederick Fox, S.J., One Hundred Years of Philippine Education: 1860-1960 (Unpublished manuscript, 1963), I, 228-229.

and the Royal College of San Jose under the Society of Jesus. Most of the university students were Spaniards or children born of Spanish parents in the Philippines. The attempt on the part of Segismundo Moret, the liberal Minister of the Colonies, to remove the Dominicans from the University of Santo Tomas and to place this institution of higher learning under secular control was successfully opposed in 1868. To the present time, this venerable university, which has witnessed three centuries of Philippine history, has steadfastly remained under the control of the Spanish Dominicans.

The enrollment in the various departments at the University of Santo Tomas is given in this table:¹⁸

University of Santo Tomas
Enrollment by Departments, 1896 - 1897

Department	Enrollment
Theology	16
Canon Law	5
Civil Law	479
Notarial Science	93
Medicine (2-year)	361
Pharmacy	90
Pharmacy (2-year)	93
Philosophy and Letters	51
Sciences	14
Midwifery	13

¹⁸Ibid., 196.

The graduates of the University of Santo Tomas were also required to make profession of the Catholic Faith, to swear to keep the university's statutes and customs, and to meet on March 7 which was University Day, or be fined. The Monroe Commission's 1925 report observed that the laboratory equipment and library facilities of the University of Santo Tomas were inadequate.¹⁹

Spanish university education in the Philippines was geared mainly to perpetuate a closed colonial system that prevented talented Filipino students from being trained for responsible positions. This restrictiveness in both the aims and content of Philippine Catholic universities forced more and more wealthy Filipino families to send their sons to Europe for advanced degrees and for professional training.

The educated Filipino was far from revolutionary in deed though his inflammatory propaganda helped incite the peasants to revolt. His Hispanized culture and landlord status made it difficult for his instinctive loyalty to be given to the Filipino masses. Rizal himself described the Katipunan revolt as an impossible task and a barbarous undertaking. He believed that reforms should come from above since those that started from the masses often led to bloodshed.²⁰ But the time had come for new leaders exemplified by an

¹⁹Paul Monroe (chairman), A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 514.

²⁰Horacio de la Costa, S.J., Readings . . . , 219-220.

Andres Bonifacio who could rally the masses in these words:

Reason tells us that we cannot expect anything but suffering upon suffering, treachery upon treachery, contempt upon contempt, tyranny upon tyranny. Reason tells us that we must not waste our time waiting in vain for promises of felicity that will never come . . . Reason tells us that we must rely upon ourselves alone and never entrust our rights and our life to anyone else . . . so that we may acquire the strength to crush the evil that affects our people.²¹

And thus it came to pass that what was reason for the peasants was un-reason for the intellectuals. The colonial context is usually characterized by the dichotomies it imposes upon the peoples it subjugates. The colonial world is a world divided into compartments--the white Spaniard and the brown Filipino, the Catholic faithful and the Moro pagan, the rich hacendero and the poor tenant farmer. Catholic higher education in the Philippines seemed to foster this disunity. Controlled by the very religious orders who owned extensive haciendas, the universities were careful to differentiate between the Spanish student with pure Castilian blood and the mestizo with a fourth part of Filipino blood.

The Spanish-dominated administration of the universities and the authoritarian relationships between the religious professors and their students offered few opportunities for training Filipinos for a free and democratic society. Any criticism of university education by Filipinos was considered a threat against the national security and against faith and morals.

²¹Andres Bonifacio, "Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog," in Epifanio de los Santos, "Andres Bonifacio," Philippine Review (Manila, 1918), III, pp. 34-38.

When, in November, 1870, some students of the University of Santo Tomas circulated anonymous letters criticising the methods of instruction of their professors and petitioning that new chairs be endowed for more competent lay professors, student leaders and their families were arrested and charged with conspiracy against the State.²²

As a result, Catholic higher education in the Philippines during the Spanish period lost its influence over the Filipino intelligentsia. Native leaders renounced their Catholic faith at the time of the revolution and became Masons. The ease with which Filipinos renounced the religion in which they were baptized seems to indicate that the Spanish-fostered religion failed to take deep roots among the populace. Lacking a native clergy who could have given leadership and stability to Catholicism in the Philippines, the Filipino convert retained superstitious beliefs while reciting the Apostles' Creed. This creation of a semi-Christian religion was not reserved to the unlettered farmer. The Filipino elite also adapted Christianity to his situation. He was the faithful Mass attendant who, at the same time, treated his tenants as slaves. What the unarmed St. Patrick did for the Irish, St. Augustine for the English, and St. Boniface for the Germans, namely, to successfully plant Christianity in the very heart and soul of the peoples they missionized, the Spanish friars, backed by Spain's imperial might, failed to accomplish in the Philippines during their three centuries of tenure.

²²Horacio de la Costa, S.J., Readings . . . , 219.

Such, then, was the state of Catholic education and religion in the Philippines when the Most Reverend Michael J. O'Doherty, Archbishop of Manila from 1916 to 1949 wrote:

A careful analysis of after events will lead one to the conclusion that if the Spanish friars made a mistake in their policy of governing the Filipinos, it was solely in this, that they failed to realize that the day might come when Spanish sovereignty in the Islands would cease. Hence, they made no plans for an emergency such as happened in 1898. They neglected the Catholic principle that no church can rest upon a substantial basis unless it is manned by a native clergy.²³

Philippine Nationalism under the
United States: 1899 - 1946

Introduction.--The colonial mind of the Philippines did not enter the twentieth century as a tabula rasa. Philippine history housed the bloody memories of revolts and uprisings against foreign domination. Now, at the turn of a new century, while its peasant troops were winning the major island of Luzon from the Spanish troops, the Philippines encountered a master who was new in the colonial craft--the United States of America. That great nation, which had achieved its own identity through revolution, should have been expected to welcome the birth of the young Philippine Republic. Instead, like Spain of old invoking the divine right to bring Christianity to pagan lands, the United States of America proceeded to occupy the Philippines in order to "civilize and Christianize" the country.

Historical background.--Spain, by the terms of the Treaty of Paris in December 10, 1898, sold the Philippines to the United States for twenty million dollars together with the right of admittance of Spanish ships and merchandise to the Philippines for a ten-year period under the same terms as United States ships and merchandise. The Filipinos were not consulted in this bargain where they were handed over from one power to another.

After a while, conquerors begin to look the same to the conquered. The Filipinos first met the Spaniard, drawn sword in one hand and the Cross lifted in the other. The Filipinos also met the American, Krag rifle in one hand and a textbook on democracy in the other. It was at best an ambiguous situation--to offer Christianity through the sword, and to offer democracy

through bullets. President McKinley, in anguish over a situation that seemed irreconcilable with American ideals, found in the Bible a rationale for conquering that ill-starred country. To a delegation of Protestant missionaries who urged him to the conquest of the Philippines in the name of Christ, the American President gave the following account of how he arrived at his momentous decision to retain the islands:

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides--Democrats as well as Republicans--but got little help. I thought first that we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other Islands, perhaps, also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed nightly to Almighty God for light and guidance. And one night late it came to me this way-- I don't know how but it came to me this way: (1) that we could not give them back to Spain--that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany--our commercial rivals in the Orient--that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves--they were unfit for government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could for them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the Chief Engineer of the War Department (our map maker) and told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States (pointing to a large map on the wall of his office), and there they are, and there they will stay while I am President.²⁴

McKinley's decision to put the Philippines on the map of the United States proved to be a costly one. Some 16,000 Filipino soldiers died while 100,000 civilians were casualties from famine and disease born of the war.

²⁴Quoted in Grayson Kirk, Philippine Independence (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936), p. 17.

The United States Armed Forces lost 4,234 dead, 2,818 wounded during the two years of warfare that ultimately cost six hundred million dollars. Admiral Dewey strove to keep American casualties at a minimum by arming the Filipinos to fight the Spaniards, a plan he describes thus:

Then, he (Aguinaldo) began operation toward Manila, and he did wonderfully well. He whipped the Spaniards battle after battle, and finally put one of those old smoothbore guns on a barge, and he wanted me to tow it up so he could attack the city with it. I said, "Oh, no, no; we can do nothing until our troops come." I knew he could not take the city without the help of our navy, without my assistance, and I knew what he was doing--driving the Spaniards in--was saving our own troops.²⁵

Tutelage under America.--The United States of America undertook a colonial responsibility without the benefit of a colonial policy or tradition. Once the bloody "pacification" of the Philippines was over, President McKinley sent a commission headed by William Howard Taft whose instructions, drafted by the Secretary of State, Elihu Root, embodied the principles and ideals of America's "benevolent assimilation" of the Philippines:

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for

²⁵From a statement of Admiral Dewey to the United States Senate as reported in: Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present, ed. Ralston Hayden (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 124-125. It is interesting to note in view of its Vietnam similarity, that when hostilities started between Filipino and American troops, Aguinaldo hoped, through guerilla warfare to prolong the conflict and influence the 1900 United States presidential election through the intercession of Americans tired of the war. The Chinese nationalist leader, Sun Yat-sen made an effort to send a shipload of arms to Aguinaldo from Japan together with Japanese officers to train the Filipinos. But the ship was lost at sea. In: Marius Jansen, The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 68-74.

our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippines, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government. . . .²⁶

The United States seriously undertook its tutelage of an Asian people and sought to establish institutional structures that would ensure democratic processes. Through the newly established Bureau of Health, a vigorous campaign of health education was carried out that gradually eliminated the epidemic diseases that for centuries had been taking a heavy toll of Filipino lives. Commerce and trade received impetus through improved means of communication and transportation. The American doctrine of the separation of Church and State was imposed, taking away from the friars the political powers they used to enjoy. English was made the language of instruction. One of the major achievements of the American rule in the country was the establishment of a public school system over which the clergy had no control, bringing a shift from a Hispanic-Catholic value system to a Protestant-secular culture.²⁷

²⁶ Charles Burke Elliott, The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1917), 488-489.

²⁷ Chester L. Hunt and Thomas R. McHale, "Education and Philippine Economic Development," Comparative Education Review, February, 1965, 63-73. The public school system became the main channel for the transmission of the "Protestant Ethic" to a largely Catholic population. Most of the Filipinos sent abroad were enrolled in American Protestant schools. On their return, these educators took charge of the public schools as their supervisors and principals. It was only within the last ten years that Catholics could hope to achieve advancement to the top positions of the public schools.

American historians, following the sociological theories of Max Weber, sometimes argue that the indolence of the Filipinos was in large measure the outcome of the religious teachings they received from the friars who glorified poverty as a virtue, warned against earthly riches, and encouraged the natives to accept their station in life as a sign of God's Will.²⁸

Because of the free and universal compulsory primary education that America established in the Philippines, literacy rose from about 20 per cent in 1903 to 60 per cent by 1948. UNESCO statistics for 1964 show that the percentage of illiteracy in the Philippines is 28.1% compared to Indonesia's 85%, Pakistan's 80%, and India's 76.3 per cent.²⁹

The development of Philippine economy depends partly on the quality of the country's educational system. Philippine education now "produces an impressive flow of graduates with minimum technical and professional skills."³⁰ The major features of the program for economic development by the Bureau of Public Schools are concentrated on vocational, agricultural, and industrial education. The development of the home industries is also emphasized at all educational levels.³¹

²⁸Amos K. Fiske, The Story of the Philippines (New York: The Army and Navy Illustrated, 1898), 153.

²⁹Isao Amagi (ed.), Education in Asia (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1964).

³⁰Frank H. Golay, The Philippines: Public Policy and National Economic Development (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), 54.

³¹Yenancio Trinidad and Miguel B. Gaffud, The Philippine Community Schools (Manila: V. Trinidad, 1958), 29.

Philippine education during the American era also helped in the formation of a growing body of Filipino entrepreneurs. Today, the percentage of local business leaders who have attended college is far above that of the total population.³² Higher education likewise contributed to the emergence of a "white-collar" work force. As of May, 1961, an estimated 193,000 Filipinos had received a college education, and of this number, about 76 per cent had majored in education and law.³³ Like the Indian scholar whose diploma did not always guarantee him employment, the Filipino college graduate often found himself jobless. About 26.6 per cent of the Philippine college population of 1961 had no employment, and 18.2 per cent of this group was listed down as still looking for employment--a percentage higher than that of the entire labor force of the country. This situation could indicate the fact that higher education, by raising the level of expectations of its graduates, rendered them unsatisfied with the available jobs that had little prestige value.

The public school in the United States was not merely an academic institution, since it was also meant to mold peoples of diverse origins into one nation. This unique concept of the schools as melting pots was also relevant to the Philippine situation where peoples differing in language and custom faced the common task of building one nation.

The early Philippine public school curriculum and aims were heavily

³²John J. Carroll, S.J., The Filipino Manufacturing Entrepreneur: A Study of the Origins of Business Leadership in a Developing Economy (Cornell University Press, 1964), 179.

³³Teofilo Masulit, "Work Attitudes Among Persons with Higher Education," Philippine Labor, May-June, 1963, p. 18.

permeated with American concepts of individual dignity and constitutional rights for all men regardless of the vagaries of their birth. The Filipinos soon realized that the American venture was a self-liquidating enterprise that would end with Philippine independence once certain criteria had been met. This promise generally satisfied the Filipinos even though the criteria for independence were vaguely stated with the United States acting as judge and jury at the same time.

In 1934, powerful economic interests in the United States, which hoped to gain by the cutting off of the Philippines from free trade with the United States, brought about the passing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which set a definite date for Philippine Independence in 1945 after ten years of a Commonwealth government. This Act specified that after independence all Philippine goods were to be subject to the full United States tariff rates on foreign goods, a condition especially agreeable to the American farmers who believed that their critical position in the 1930s resulted from the competition of market duty-free products from the Philippines. American labor also succeeded in limiting Filipino immigration to the United States, while the American military demanded that United States bases continue to function in the Philippines even after its independence.

The Filipinos wanted their independence badly enough, and although the price put on it by America was high and could spell economic ruin, they accepted the conditions. Freedom, indeed, is a heady wine, and the Filipinos had tasted it for one brief moment before Dewey's guns shattered their dreams. They felt they had waited long enough.

Philippine Nationalism under Japan
1941 - 1945

When Pearl Harbor was attacked, the Philippine Commonwealth found itself in the helpless position of a country that had neither control of its foreign relations policy nor responsibility for its own national defence. It was within the jurisdiction of the United States to involve the country legally in any military venture against American enemies. Soon after Pearl Harbor, President Queson, head of the Philippine Commonwealth, sought to disengage his country from a war of someone else's choosing. He proposed that the United States grant immediate independence to the Philippines, and that both America and Japan agree to Philippine neutralization and the removal of all their military personnel and bases. It was considered a utopian plan in Washington, D.C. where President Roosevelt promised Queson, not neutralization, but the eventual liberation of his country from the Japanese invaders.³⁴

Queson, before leaving Corrigidor Island for Washington, D.C., left behind a nucleus of Filipino leaders to face the Japanese. He instructed them to do the best they could to protect their people from Japanese brutality and to keep the country unified until its liberation. These Filipino leaders, later tried as traitors to the United States, performed a difficult role impressively. One of them, Senator Claro Recto, described their delicate task during the enemy occupation:

³⁴George E. Taylor, 103.

They had to tax their ingenuity and make the most of their practical wisdom to meet the grave implications of the new enemy invasion and occupation, in the face of the defenselessness and bewilderment of the people. They had to feign cooperation and pretend to play into the hands of the wily enemy because the latter was not only suspicious but already convinced that the Filipinos were just waiting for the opportune moment to strike back . . . In the midst of these terrible times, this handful of Filipino leaders was entrusted with the task of looking after the well-being of their own people and trying to save the country from abject misery, even possible extinction.³⁵

The Japanese, in order to win Filipino sympathy for their cause, granted "independence" to the Philippines on October 14, 1943 with Dr. Jose Laurel as president. The Philippines was made a member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, a group of satellite nations centered on Japan's leadership. Under the terms of their grant of independence, the Japanese demanded that the new republic agree to furnish all kinds of military facilities for Japanese troops. They also wished to recruit Filipino troops; but Laurel bluntly told the Japanese authorities there would be no conscription of Filipino youth. The Japanese prudently let the matter drop.

Philippine guerrilla activities against the Japanese were extensive. Filipino underground soldiers provided intelligence data to the United States Forces, and guerrillas prevented Japanese control of large areas of the nation. Many of the guerrilla units were under American officers from whom they received supplies and direction. After the war, these units were singled out for compensation.

The Huks were the most organized of the Philippine guerrilla units,

³⁵Ibid., 104.

and their frequent raids deep into the Central Luzon provinces inflicted severe losses on the Japanese troops. To their aggressive anti-Japanese campaign, the Communistic Huks added agrarian revolt, liquidating Filipino landlords whom they judged as collaborators or simply unsympathetic to their cause.

During the war, American official propaganda left the touchy question of collaboration to the peoples of each occupied country to settle. But when American troops entered Manila, they imprisoned a large segment of the Filipino elite whom President Queson had left behind to deal with the enemy: "The economic, political, and legal elite of the country confined in the very prisons to which, as lawmakers, prosecutors or judges, they had themselves sent ordinary criminals."³⁶ President Truman intervened and called the Philippine President to task for delays in prosecuting the collaborators. The Huks, for once, agreed with the American President. Were it not for these "collaborators" whose actuations in occupied-Philippines prevented pro-Japanese Filipinos and the Japanese themselves from directly controlling the nation's affairs, the Communist movement would have emerged as the great defenders of the people.

Truman's interference caused a serious division in the ruling class of the Philippines, now divided between collaborators and non-collaborators, between traitors and patriots. Several years later, General MacArthur declared that although he disagreed with Truman, still, he was under instructions to try Laurel, Recto, and other Filipinos as war criminals. MacArthur

³⁶Ibid., 117.

told Laurel: "There was never any doubt in my mind that you and the others who worked with you during the Japanese occupation acted only in what you believed to be the best interests of your country. President Quezon completely approved of your action."³⁷

What was the state of the nation on the eve of its independence? A month before the Filipino flag flew alone for the first time on July 4, 1946, the newly elected President Manuel Roxas described the state of his country. The government, he said, was bankrupt and faced an anticipated revenue of forty million pesos for a budget requiring two hundred fifty million pesos. He continued:

Practically all of our tractors and sixty per cent of our work animals disappeared through the war . . . Our transportation facilities . . . have been completely disrupted . . . Public health and sanitation have retreated far from the level which existed before the war. Epidemic is a constant threat . . . Famine is a strong possibility . . . Today sixty per cent of our sugar mills are destroyed . . . Our gold mines are still flooded . . . In the central Luzon provinces . . . force prevails rather than law . . . It is estimated that over 300,000 arms are illegally held in the Philippines today.³⁸

The American terms of independence.--It is possible that the United States failed to comprehend the extent of devastation wrought on the young republic as a result of the war. For, after World War II, despite the entirely changed circumstances of the postwar era, the United States used "its great power to bully and blackmail the Filipinos into concessions to special

³⁷Ibid., 118-119.

³⁸Ibid., 123.

American interests."³⁹

The Philippine Trade Act of 1946 set absolute quotas for twenty-eight years on Philippine exports to America of sugar, cordage, rice, cigars, scrap and filler, tobacco, coconut oil, pearl buttons and on any goods in competition with similar American goods--an onerous condition that was not applied by the United States to imports of other countries. The Philippine peso was made dependent on the American dollar, and its exchange rate could not be altered without the consent of the President of the United States; so that, as Congressman Mills explained, when the original invested capital decides to revert to the United States, it may return to America without any depreciation of its dollar value.⁴⁰

The Trade Act also stated that American citizens and corporations were to possess the same rights as Filipinos in the exploitation of Philippine natural resources and the ownership and operation of public utilities. The President of the United States had power to revoke any part of the Trade Act if the Philippines discriminated against American citizens and corporations. This parity provision required an amendment to the Philippine Constitution and the Filipino legislators passed the amendment by an overwhelming majority. The United States State Department protested in vain against the injustices of the Trade Act, agreeing with Congressman Jere Cooper of Tennessee who said,

³⁹Ibid., 115.

⁴⁰United States Congress, House, The Trade Relations Bill, 79th Cong., 2nd Sess., Report 1821.

"The people of the United States, in all fairness, stand a far greater chance and opportunity to benefit under this legislature than do the people of the Philippines."⁴¹

The dubious quality of Philippine independence was underlined once more by the Military Assistance Act passed in 1946 by the United States Congress. This Act gave the United States twenty-three Army, Navy, and Air-force bases over the length and breadth of the new republic for a period of ninety-nine years.⁴² Moreover, the Philippines was to agree to purchase the bulk of its military equipment in the United States, and to secure American approval of purchases made elsewhere. Thus, the United States continues to hold considerable influence over the size and character of the Philippine military forces.⁴³

When the United States finally handed over to the Filipinos that independence denied them for almost fifty years, during which America carried on a democratic experiment in their country, the Filipinos could only be grateful that they were finally a free and sovereign nation. This was the first of colonial settlements the world was to witness in the twentieth cen-

⁴¹Shirley Jenkins, "Great Expectations in the Philippines," Far Eastern Survey, August 13, 1947, pp. 169-174.

⁴²United States Department of Foreign Affairs Treaty Series, Agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America concerning Military Bases, December, 1948, pp. 144-160.

⁴³Alvin Seaff, The Philippine Answer to Communism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), 26-27. The Huks were able to arm themselves with modern American guns and with plenty of ammunition due to the carelessness of American soldiers in the distribution and sale of weapons. Meanwhile, the newly organized Philippine Army was supplied with war-worn arms.

tury, but the special privileges America exacted from the Philippines diminished its value as a model of generosity and altruism on the part of the colonizing nation.

Whither Philippine Nationalism?--Recently, President Marcos of the Philippines was asked where he thought the future of his country lay. He replied immediately: "In Asia! We are first and foremost Asians, even if we are determined to expand our relations with Europe and put our relations with the United States on a footing of equality and dignity."⁴⁴ It would seem that Philippine democracy, in order to prove its viability, must loosen its bonds with the very country that mothered its republic.

The loosening of Philippine bonds with America is seen in Philippine demands to have the United States reduce the size of its military bases and to shorten the duration of the agreement that authorizes their presence on Philippine soil for ninety-nine years. Finally, there is strong antagonism against the parity agreement, which allows American companies to operate with the same rights as Philippine enterprises until the year 1974. Congressman Cooper's prediction of American prosperity under the terms of the Trade Act of 1946 has been fulfilled. Today, in the Philippines, there are 800 American firms and 400 joint United States-Philippine concerns whose financial power straddles petroleum refineries, iron, gold, and chrome mines, sugar and pineapple plantations and canning factories. Profits flowing into the United States have exceeded new investments in each post-war year. In 1965,

⁴⁴Jean Wets, "The Violent, Vital Philippines," Manila Chronicle (United States edition), December 20, 1966, p. 5.

forty-five per cent of Philippine exports went to the United States, and thirty-four per cent of its imports came from that country.⁴⁵

The Philippine government, to show its people that it desired to be independent of America, changed the date of Philippine independence from July 4, 1946--the date arranged by the United States Congress--and, instead, chose June 12, 1898, the date on which General Aguinaldo first proclaimed the independence of the Philippines from Spain. But the process of de-Americanization is not an easy one. During his election campaign, Marcos had strongly denounced his predecessor, President Macapagal, whom he attacked for wanting to drag the Philippines into the Vietnam War. But soon after his election, Marcos sent a token force of 2,000 Filipino soldiers to Vietnam; then, he visited Washington, D.C. to seek a renewal of economic aid and a supplementary loan of three hundred million dollars to guarantee the stability of the Philippine peso. Thus the education of the new Philippine President started early: he learned that even a modest program of economic development could not be successfully undertaken without American blessing.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the Filipino peasant continues to live in abject poverty with an annual income per capita of less than two hundred dollars. At the outset of the American regime, nineteen per cent of the farms in the Philippines were operated by tenants who were share-croppers; by 1918, after the settlement of the friar lands, the tenancy rate increased to twenty-two per

⁴⁵Chanchal Sarkar, "Anti-Americanism in Asia," Atlas, November, 1967, p. 62.

⁴⁶Jean Wets, 4-5.

cent. By the latter part of the 1950s, the tenancy rate was above forty per cent. Philippine figures for 1963 show that tenancy today embraces eight million out of twenty-seven million Filipinos. In the Central Luzon provinces, 65.87 per cent of all farms are tenant operated. Luis Taruc, the man who led the Huks after the Japanese war, described what being a tenant entailed:

Perhaps the biggest fact in my life was the landlord. When I was still crawling in the dust of the barrio street, I remember the landlord coming into the barrio, shouting: "Hey, you s.o.b.!" and making the peasants run to carry out their demands. Our people would have to catch the fattest hen, get milk and eggs, and bring the biggest fish to the landlord. If they delayed, or perhaps did not do things to the landlord's liking, they were fined or given extra work. In an extreme case they might be evicted. And where would they go for justice? The landlord owned the barrio. He was the justice, too!⁴⁷

Some observers predict that should Philippine economy continue in its present sad plight, the country will be pressured to join the neutralist countries. Already, there are indications of this trend. President Marcos has recently sent trade missions to Russia and China. More and more Filipino politicians decry the "tragedy of isolation" imposed on the Philippines by its close ties with America. If Philippine nationalism finally swings into the neutralist orbit and into the ranks of the "uncommitted" nations, then the whole Asian picture will drastically change both for the United States and for the nation it had hoped to present to Asians as "the showcase of democracy."

⁴⁷Luis Taruc, Born of the People, p. 13. Quoted in H. De La Costa, Readings . . ., p. 266.

CHAPTER IV

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION AND PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM

Introduction.--The Catholic Church assists Philippine education by maintaining and supervising schools administered by religious groups and parish priests. The Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines (CEAP), a voluntary association of Catholic schools patterned after the American National Catholic Educational Association, lists a membership of 999 Catholic educational institutions that include nine universities, 154 colleges, 815 high schools, 430 elementary schools and forty-five seminaries whose combined 1966 enrollment is over 600,000 students.¹

In the field of higher education, the government operates two state universities with a combined enrollment of about 16,000 students; private groups operate fifteen universities with a student population of around two hundred thousand students while the Catholic Church administers eight universities for nearly forty thousand students. The Catholic universities are:

- (1) University of Santo Tomas
Administered by Spanish Dominicans
Faculty: 54 priests, 1200 Filipino lay teachers
Total enrollment: 29,365.
- (2) Ateneo de Manila University
Administered by an American Jesuit Rector
Faculty: 64 religious, 243 lay teachers
Total enrollment: 5,443.
- (3) Adamson University
Recently acquired by the Spanish Vincentians
Faculty: 4 priests, 140 lay teachers
Total enrollment: about 3,000.

¹Catholic Directory of the Philippines, 1967 (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1967).

- (4) **Saint Louis University**
 Administered by the Belgian Congregation of the
 Immaculate Heart of Mary
 Faculty data not available
 Total enrollment: 4,792.
- (5) **University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos**
 Administered by Spanish Recollect priests
 Faculty: 10 religious, 136 lay teachers
 Total enrollment: 4,574.
- (6) **University of San Agustin**
 Administered by Spanish Augustinians
 Faculty: 15 religious, 308 lay teachers
 Total enrollment: 10,832.
- (7) **University of San Carlos**
 Administered by the German Society of the
 Divine Word
 Faculty: 53 religious, 320 lay teachers
 Total enrollment: 10,133.
- (8) **Xavier University**
 Administered by the Society of Jesus.
 (At present, this is the only Catholic university
 that has a Filipino Rector and President.)
 Faculty: 34 religious, 126 lay teachers
 Total enrollment: 3,048.

Foreign elements in Catholic Higher Education in the Philippines.--

A fundamental feature of universities in the Philippines that were established under Catholic auspices is that their personnel and models have been imported from abroad. Catholic universities have tended to develop the same institutional patterns and curricula as the universities of Spain and of the United States. For example, the pattern followed during the early years of the University of Santo Tomas came from the great Spanish universities of the seventeenth century. The Jesuit-administered Ateneo de Manila University is Fordham and Georgetown universities transplanted into the tropics. The Ateneo graduate took the same courses and studied from the same textbooks as

did the students of Jesuit universities in the United States.

Today, except for Xavier University whose Rector-President is a Filipino Jesuit, the presidents of Catholic universities in the Philippines are foreign priests. Spanish clerical presidents administer four universities: Santo Tomas, Adamson, Negros Occidental, and San Agustin. A German priest heads San Carlos University on the island of Cebu; a New York Jesuit, the Ateneo de Manila; and a Belgian priest, the University of St. Louis in Baguio City. Except to a minimal degree in a couple of universities, the Filipino layman has no voice at all in the top levels of administration. In view, however, of Vatican II's spirit to give laymen greater responsibilities and powers, the Ateneo de Manila University recently formed a Faculty Senate composed of a majority of lay representatives from different academic departments.

Catholic universities in the Philippines state, in season and out of season, that they are Filipino universities engaged in promoting the ethos of Philippine society "by investigating and reconstructing its past and traditions through the historical sciences, by inquiring into the present needs and problems of the community . . ."² Catholic foreign educators all state that the present monopoly of the top administrative positions by the foreign religious priests is temporary; that once Filipinos have met certain criteria the foreign administrators will readily relinquish this administrative responsibility in favor of qualified native priests or laymen.

²Ateneo de Manila College Catalogue, 1966-1967, p. 7.

Catholic administrators, to date, have no policies to clarify what criteria Filipinos must meet before they can be entrusted with the full administration of their universities. A situation of foreign control that has lasted for more than a century can hardly be described as "temporary." Archbishop O'Doherty's conclusion of his study of the Philippine religious situation under Spain can be aptly applied to today's vacuum of Filipino leaders within the Catholic academic world; that the day might come when foreign sovereignty in the Islands would cease. The expulsion of foreign missionaries need not be the result of a communistic invasion. It could as easily come about from nationalistic pressures. For example, in August of 1967, Philippine Foreign Secretary Narciso Ramos proposed to curb the entry of foreign missionaries to the Philippines. In an interview, Secretary Ramos explained his position: "After four centuries of Christianization, the Philippines cannot forever be a probing ground for competing religious beliefs . . ." ³ His memo also observed that these missionaries are given tax exemption privileges in the importation of luxury items and that, like foreign business investors, they remit part of their income to their headquarters abroad.

The religious orders continue to fail in enlisting native vocations to their ranks, and have mainly relied on recruiting foreign personnel to administer their schools. The Augustinians, who came to the Philippines in 1565, have today six Filipino priests in their Order. The Recollects, established in 1606, have fifteen Filipino priests and two native novices. The

³Sentinel (Manila: Philippines), September 3, 1967, p. 2.

Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, who founded Saint Louis University, have 208 Belgian priests in the Philippines and only sixteen Filipino priests in their congregation. The Dominicans, who administer the University of Santo Tomas, were established in 1587 and have a total of forty-four native priests working with 108 foreign priests, mostly Spanish. The Society of the Divine Word of San Carlos University, established in 1909, has sixty-one Filipino priests compared to 183 foreign members, mostly Germans. The Vincentian priests, first established in 1862, have twelve Filipino priests to seventy-four foreign priests, mostly Spanish. The one bright spot in this list concerns the Society of Jesus, first established in 1581 and which now has 119 Filipino vocations and 151 foreign missionaries, mostly Americans from New York and Maryland.⁴

Besides the continuing lack of Filipino clerical members among the religious orders, other factors seem to point to the continued and all but permanent presence of foreign Catholic administrators in the Philippines. This is the existence of complex university plants that were made possible chiefly through the generosity of contributions from foreign sources. Because the Philippine government does not give financial aid to private education, and since Catholic universities lack financial support from their alumni, it has been necessary for administrators to go abroad for help. For example, Jesuit university projects in the Philippines such as the weather observatory, the chemistry laboratory, and the educational television center would not have been initiated without American funds. But the grant of these funds often

⁴Catholic Directory . . . , 906-907.

depends on the contacts an American administrator has with American government and private firms. Also, the availability of these funds is conditioned by the capacity of the university to give top priority to projects that benefit primarily the sponsoring agencies--in this case, American agencies. It does not come as a surprise, then, to see an institute devoted to Philippine culture publish as its main report of the year: a study of Peace Corps projects.

Father Vincent J. Donovan, a Holy Spirit missionary stationed in East Africa for ten years, has termed this viewpoint as--"The mission-compound complex." He explains that:

Our first contact with the people is often an economic one instead of a spiritual one . . . The first thing missionaries do is to acquire land . . . I am more and more convinced that every single building we put up, every institution we begin out there . . . require the continued presence of white men to run and supervise and maintain, and puts off the day when the African Church can come into existence on its own.⁵

In a country where Communism seeks to wrest the leadership in the cause of nationalism, the Catholic Church in its university system seems to offer as an alternative--a colonial form of leadership. However benevolent the original intentions of foreign missionaries might have been, still, their present policy to hold on as long as possible to positions of dominance in academic matters merely opens them to the charge of nationalists that their institutions are anti-Filipino and western-infiltrated.

⁵Vincent J. Donovan, C.S.Sp., "The Church in East Africa: One-Hundred Futile Years," The National Catholic Reporter, May 24, 1967, p. 5.

Are foreign educators working in the Philippines sympathetic and knowledgeable of Filipino aims and aspirations? This is not an easy question to answer since religious administrators have not left a body of literature from which historians can deduce their attitudes towards the Philippines. In general, it seems that Catholic administrators give their foremost loyalty, not to the country of their labors, but to the universal Church or religious order they have vowed to defend. When the good of the Church is threatened by a national policy, religious educators generally rally to defend Church interest. For example, in 1951, the year that marked the golden jubilee of the Philippine educational system, the Catholic universities opposed the recommendation made at the second plenary session of the Educators' Congress to have Filipino students read the nationalistic novels of Dr. Jose Rizal since they argued that Rizal's works contained teachings against the Church. Moreover, Catholic foreign administrators have paid little attention to the development of the native languages. Until recently, it has been a school regulation in Jesuit schools that the student, if heard speaking his native dialect on campus, was to be punished by writing an English composition.

The linguistic policy imposed on the Filipino student by foreign educators has produced a Filipino elite unable to communicate to its own people except through an amusing mixture of various languages. A Filipino journalist has described the communication problem in the Philippines:

Because of their lack of command of English, the Filipinos have got used to only half-understanding what is said to them in English. They appreciate the sound without knowing the sense . . . Thus we find in our society a deplorable lack of serious thinking among

great sections of the population. We half understand books and periodicals written in English. We find it an ordeal to communicate with each other through a foreign medium and have so neglected our native language that we now find ourselves at a loss in expressing ourselves in this language.⁶

The recruitment of foreign educational personnel for a Catholic country such as the Philippines, where the clergy is revered and its authority largely unchallenged by a passive laity, is important. It is important precisely because the presidents, deans, and prefects of Philippine universities come largely from the ranks of those who have been assigned to the missions. It should then be expected that the selection procedures of mission groups are capable of screening volunteers for mission lands.

A former American Jesuit Provincial to the Philippines has recently written on the problems involved in sending volunteers to the missions. He writes that religious superiors seldom inquire into the fitness of those they assign to the missions, that the mere act of volunteering can lead to escapism or sublimation "by which men feel that their particular intellectual, character, or social difficulties will be solved by going to the Missions, where the heroic sacrifice will somehow endow them with new capabilities and God will somehow give them superabundant grace."⁷ Lacking the background of a good orientation program to prepare them for insertion into a new milieu, unprepared missionaries sometimes experience cultural shock.

⁶Quoted in: Dr. Van Der Kroef, "The Long, Long Hangover," The Lyceum, August, 1966, p.6.

⁷Francis X. Clark, S.J., "The Foreign Missions--Preparing for Service in the Jesuit Apostolate," Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, ed. Robert J. Henle, S.J. (Santa Clara: University of Santa Clara, 1967), 55-100.

Cultural shock is anxiety that results from losing all of one's familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. People react to this loss in various ways: (1) by rejecting the environment which causes the discomfort; (2) by regressing to the extent that the home culture and manners become overly superior in comparison with the new culture and its manners; (3) by expressing hostility against the natives; (4) and by spiritual passivity. It is not unusual for some foreign educators to limit their Filipino contacts only within the orbit of Manila's social elite whose ways are Western. A lack of sensitivity over the presence of massive poverty among the lower classes can lead foreign priests to see nothing wrong in accepting membership in exclusive country clubs and in vacationing among wealthy alumni students.

It is little wonder, then, that cut off from the realities of the Philippine situation outside of Manila, educators at Catholic universities have no literature worth mentioning that describes their encounter with the Filipinos, no tales told in a spirit of inquiry and wonder; no history detailing their educational efforts to help the country. What one gleans from their contemporary writings is a preponderant concern for the glory of their respective religious congregations, rather than for the better welfare of the country on whose land their institutions rest.

This tendency of religious educators to defend their congregations against even the most constructive of criticisms has caused the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines a number of setbacks in pursuing its educational aims. Founded on February 2, 1941 as a clearing house and

central coordinating body for Catholic schools, the CEAP hoped to minimize government interference by encouraging Catholic institutions to establish their own accreditation agency. However, institutional rivalries among the religious groups made the task of an objective evaluation of academic strengths and weaknesses almost impossible. Since this setback, the CEAP has limited itself to book distribution programs, and to professional development through periodic workshops, seminars, and conferences. Catholic education in the Philippines continues to operate without benefit of objective data for purposes of periodic evaluation. What Monsignor John Tracy Ellis remarked of Catholic education in the United States is basically true of the Philippines:

One of the key weaknesses in the attitude of Catholics . . . has been a lingering reluctance or inability to scrutinize themselves and to admit their defects and errors with calm and poise. In fact, some have shown an almost paranoid reaction which would suggest an evil conspiracy and sinister motivation on the part of those who encourage such criticism . . . In any case, enough of the psychology of the ghetto still prevails, enough of the tendency or impulse to gloss over one's shortcomings, and to hush them up lest the enemy uncover them, to impair improvement, not only of one's self but of the Catholic community as a whole.⁸

Training the elite. At the first Asian Regional Conference of Catholic Universities held in Manila last August, 1967, the Rector of the University of Santo Tomas, Reverend Jesus Diaz, O.P., declared:

Despite the terrifying lessons of Catholic Cuba, many Catholic institutions continue to set up economic and social barriers to the bulkier segments of the population, thereby maintaining an elite whose children are not totally appreciative of the problems of the nation. And yet, these very children will one day assume the reins of leadership.⁹

⁸John Tracy Ellis, "Contemporary American Catholicism in the Light of History," The Critic, June-July 1966, p. 10.

⁹Sentinel, August 13, 1967, p. 1.

The Reverend Diaz went on to warn that Catholic universities situated in "an explosive area like Asia can no longer afford this mediaeval isolation barricaded largely by high matriculation fees and exclusive section of trainees from the higher class."¹⁰

The elitist orientation of Catholic higher education in the Philippines is the result of several factors: (1) the indifference of the government in granting financial aid to higher education which now has to depend mainly on tuition fees for financial stability; (2) the haphazard policies of Catholic education concerning scholarships; and (3) the Renaissance-inspired goal adopted by Catholic educators that they should train the leaders who will then spontaneously improve the education of the masses.

The Philippine government spends approximately twenty-six per cent of its total budget for education. But its support is concentrated on the elementary level where even the lack of adequate finances makes it impossible to enforce compulsory attendance. Under the joint Philippine-American Economic Development Program, the two countries pledged to contribute financially to the improvement of Philippine education. But this program does not help higher education since its major aim is to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education in some 29,000 schools with an estimated enrollment of 4.1 million pupils.¹¹

Scholarship programs from Catholic universities have been meagre, and

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹ National Economic Council, Annual Report on the Foreign Aid Programs in the Philippines for the Fiscal Year 1961, p. 51.

have not succeeded in changing the elitist composition of the Catholic student body. The few poor students who obtain scholarships from Catholic universities soon feel uneasy in the midst of classmates from aristocratic families, and find many difficulties in assimilating into an academic culture that reflects the wealth and sophistication of its main student body.

The Ateneo de Manila University has tried to expand its scholarship program. During the school year 1966-1967, it administered scholarships to 176 students from funds totalling 129,786 pesos. Outside agencies, such as the alumni and business firms, gave an additional 14,000 pesos worth of scholarships to fifteen scholars. For the year, 1967-1968, this university's source of scholarship funds were: (1) University sources--56,000 pesos; (2) Alumni Foundations--12,000 pesos; and (3) Interest-founded scholarships--20,419 pesos. But the university has been informed that by next year, its outside sources of scholarship worth around 22,000 pesos will be discontinued. Despite an intensive and personal effort on the part of the president of the Ateneo de Manila to interest its alumni, who are among the most powerful and wealthy in the country, no significant support of scholarships has resulted. Intentionally or not, by refusing to support the scholarship program, the alumni insured that their children will continue to be the majority group in the Catholic universities whose semestral tuition in college now comes close to five-hundred pesos. Since the annual per capita income of the average Filipino wage earner is less than eight-hundred pesos, it can be seen that Catholic higher education will long remain as the preserve of the rich.

The leadership that has resulted from exposure to Catholic education in the Philippines has been of a truncated form--the intelligentsia and the elite have been Westernized while the peasant remains wedded to ancient Malayan ways. Whereas previously, the characteristic landscape of the Philippines featured a town radiating from a central church edifice, today's Filipino cities and towns depict a fragmented society--the suburban homes of the wealthy surrounded by walls and barbed wires and protected by a private army of 18,000 security police.

India, in many respects, was more fortunate, finding in Gandhi a distinctive way of life and a set of values by which her citizens could readily identify themselves with. But there are no heroic figures in the Philippines today. The land is riddled with graft and corruption. Crimes in Manila rose forty-five per cent in 1966 and 107 per cent in the provinces ringing Manila. Thievery has assumed staggering proportions, and in terms of dollar value, almost as much is smuggled into the country each year as is imported legally. Because about seventy million dollars worth of textiles are smuggled in, the country's once-flourishing textile industry has been reduced to one-fourth of its normal production. Yet, few smugglers are caught since custom officials are easily bribed and politicians have been known to protect smugglers who are their relatives.¹²

These are mostly the leaders trained by the Catholic universities. These leaders live in a land which has yet to solve the most fundamental

¹²George de Carvalho, "A Dirty Campaign on the Corruption Issue," Life, August 12, 1966, pp. 78a-86.

problems of civilized society--food, shelter, and social justice. Some eighty per cent of the population still live in barrios of 500 to 1000 persons, isolated, without roads, electricity, and public services. This is the only Catholic nation in poverty-stricken Asia. But Catholic universities chose to serve only the wealthy, and the very location of their campuses attests to this choice. Central Luzon, where the agrarian problem is most serious, does not have a single Catholic university in its midst.

The College of Agriculture of Xavier University. Abraham Lincoln

once stated: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it."¹³ One Catholic educator who realized clearly that he was in an Asiatic land dependent on agriculture for its daily rice, yet, whose soil, depleted by poor cultivation was unable to produce enough of this staple food for the country's needs, was the Reverend William F. Masterson, a Jesuit priest from New York. In 1953, despite opposition from his Jesuit brethren who thought he was drifting away from the liberal education decreed by the Ratio studiorum, Fr. Masterson inaugurated the College of Agriculture at Xavier University. It started with thirteen students. Today, it embraces three divisions with students from all over the Orient. It has experimental units for commercial farming, for coconut and cattle production and improvement. In June, 1963, the German Bishops' mission organization, Misereor, completely financed the Southeast Asia Rural Social Leadership Institute which the College of Agriculture

¹³Quoted in: Frederick Harbison, Toward a More Integrated Analyses of Opportunities for Assistance to Developing Countries (Princeton University, mimeographed, 1967), p. 1.

sponsored. This Institute now trains some thirty area-level leaders yearly, and 150 barrio-level leaders in three-week courses. To date, this is the only college of agriculture among the Catholic universities in the Philippines. It could very well remain for many more years to come as an example of deviancy from the mainstream of Catholic higher education in the islands. The president of the Jesuit university in Manila has explicitly stated that there is no room on its campus for an agricultural college:

Let it be placed on record that the Ateneo de Manila has no intention of becoming a multiversity . . . We will neither be lured nor driven into a proliferation of courses or the multiplication of programs. We have no plans for a medical school, a dental school, an agricultural school, an architectural school, or an engineering school of any kind . . . We will continue to give our greatest attention to our traditional program of humanistic studies because we believe that here the most important work of the university is achieved, that of educating a man.¹⁴

It can be argued that this adherence to a program of humanistic studies might be better suited for those who have the wealth to buy the leisure that comes from playing on the fields of Eton. It can also be pointed out that the formation of a man can also result from the training one receives from a medical school, or an engineering school, or even from an agricultural school. There also seems to be more cogent reasons available for stressing agricultural education in the Philippines over a humanistic curriculum; reasons such as: (1) that the Philippine population growth of 3.2% is one of the world's highest; (2) that the Filipino diet is inadequate in volume and in nutritional value; and (3) that by increased export of

¹⁴James F. Donelan, S.J. "The Ateneo and the Problems of the Future," Weekly Graphic, December 15, 1965, pp. 51-52.

agricultural products, the country can pay for more and more imports for its industrialization needs.¹⁵

National Student Associations.--There are four major national student organizations in the Philippines. Their leaders are skilled in parliamentary strategy, and they attend national leadership training institute sessions. Their members have passed strongly worded resolutions regarding the immediate abrogation of military bases and economic treaties with the United States, the recognition of Red China, and the recall of Filipino troops from Vietnam. These four national student organizations are:

(1) The College Editors Guild of the Philippines. This is an association of student editors organized on July 25, 1931. It aims to uphold the freedom of the college press and to raise the standards of campus journalism. Its official organ is called The Guild. It sponsors press workshops, forums, and contests.

(2) The Student Councils Association of the Philippines. This is an association of the highest governing student bodies of Philippine colleges and universities. On September 2, 1957, Catholic university members accused the association of being Communist and resigned from this organization.

(3) The National Union of Students, founded in September, 1967, is considered by the other student organizations as representing the Catholic universities. It has around 150,000 members, is well organized, and takes an uncompromising stand against communism.

¹⁵Francis C. Madigan, S.J. (ed.), Human Factors in Philippine Rural Development (Cagayan de Oro: Xavier University, 1967), p. 76.

(4) The Conference Delegates Association of the Philippines. This group began as a YMCA organization that seeks to promote mutual understanding among Asian youths.

Most Catholic educators have not involved themselves with these student movements. Catholic campus organizations are strictly moderated by religious prefects who concentrate their attentions chiefly on those student associations that are founded for spiritual aims and for the fostering of vocations to the religious life. Consequently, most Catholic-sponsored student movements are engaged primarily in charitable works and catechetical instruction rather than with political causes.

However, one national student organization has become the focus of Catholic interest recently. In a November, 1967 meeting of Catholic educators, the Kabataang Makabayan, i.e., the National Youth Movement, which was founded in 1964, was denounced by a Jesuit priest as Communistic. The Kabataang Makabayan has indeed staged demonstrations and protest marches against "American imperialism," but these activities do not provide sufficient proof of this movement's ties with Moscow or Peking.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Catholic University as a matrix for Philippine Nationalism.--

A nation, like an individual, needs a sheltering matrix congenial to the development of its national unity and political maturity. The Thirteen Colonies of the United States found this matrix in the Anglo-Saxon world from which it emerged with a keen sense of historical continuity and cultural identity. This desired continuity and identity with the Anglo-Saxon world made the American school's task of helping to develop national goals that much easier. Educational policy tutored its students in the English tongue, and found no substantial dissent in its efforts to deepen America's historical and ideological roots with Western Europe. The continued experience of success and stability that the American nation has displayed for a century and a half seems to indicate the importance to a young nation of an acceptable ideology and matrix for sponsoring its entry into the adult political community.

On the other hand, the underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa emerged into independent status after prolonged inclusion within a foreign and often repressive colonial matrix. It seems that political and military subordination, no matter how benevolent, left scars in the national psyche of newly emergent nations. The often violent conquest that marked Western intrusion in Asia and Africa served usually to harden authoritarian structures, to introduce rigid social divisions and language barriers between the native

elite and the masses, and to foster the presence of foreign traders who dominated local commerce and remained unassimilated to the native population. Colonial education tended to become centers of indoctrination into the language, history, and customs favored by the rulers. Long years of tutelage within this matrix brought a prolonged moratorium to most educational efforts that sought to formulate a national identity.

This study was initiated with the hope of showing that the Catholic university system in the Philippines, far from exhibiting the alien and repressive character of a colonial matrix, was, in truth, a nurturing milieu that enhanced the growth of a mature Philippine nationalism. There were many historical reasons for this expectation of Catholic congruence with nationalism. History can point to the immemorial ties linking the Catholic faith and various forms of nationalism. Catholic clerics who formed the main intelligentsia class of medieval society helped to promote national literature by writing psalters, homilies, and martyrologies in the vernacular. The provincial organization of the Church which divided Europe into areas called Gallia, Germania, Italia, and Anglia for purposes of dues and donations to the papal treasury eventually helped delineate national boundaries. The Church also was not against canonizing nationalist saints like St. Denis for France and St. Patrick for Ireland.

Moreover, in the Philippines, the Catholic universities held the longest tutelage of any other institution over the Filipinos, and were in a position to give the country a sense of continuity with its origins. The

international character of these universities could also offer to Philippine nationalism the needed counterweight of an international and supranational viewpoint. The foreign educators by their unselfish labors were also in a position to give the Filipinos the unusual spectacle of a non-Filipino group that was disinterested in merely spreading Western ways. The very length and breadth of Philippine tutelage under Catholic educators argued in favor of the hope that Catholic universities would give the Filipinos the best milieu for the development of Philippine nationalism.

These expectations of Catholic support and sympathy for Philippine nationalism have not always been fulfilled on the basis of this study. Indications of this lack of support and sympathy reveal themselves in three areas of Catholic academic life--in its administration, its student body, its language curriculum.

The administration of Catholic universities, besides being mostly controlled by foreign religious presidents, has based its academic blueprints largely on foreign models that require prolonged infusion of administrators, personnel, and finances from abroad.¹ The concentration of administrative

¹Frantz Fanon made the observation that:

"...if the building of a bridge does not enrich the awareness of those who work on it, then that bridge ought not to be built and the citizens can go on swimming across the river or going by boat. The bridge should not be 'parachuted down' from above; it should not be imposed by a deus ex machina upon the social scene; on the contrary, it should come from the muscles and brains of the citizens. Certainly, there may well be need of engineers and architects; but the local leaders should be always present, so that the new techniques can make their way into the cerebral desert of the citizen so that the bridge in whole and in part can be taken up and conceived, and the responsibility for it assumed by the citizen."

From: Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1966), p. 160.

of administrative talents and time on buildings and equipment should go hand in hand with the development and effective employment of the human resources of the country.

The student body of Catholic universities is still largely taken from the wealthy class. Often enough, the rich Filipinos have turned into a new class of colonizers who enrich themselves in the midst of national distress. The poor Filipino, on the other hand, remains fixated in his primitive surroundings where revolutionary currents alone seem to promise redemption from his brutal existence. In by-passing the education of the masses, Catholic universities have become identified as the new friars against whom, once more, Philippine nationalism must do battle.

The language curriculum of Catholic universities has vigorously promoted English and Spanish to the seeming detriment of the native languages. Although Filipinos realize the values for them that come from a command of English, still, much resentment has often resulted from the authoritarian manner in which the language of the invaders was imposed upon them by Catholic educators. A university system whose administrators, faculty, and student body are unable to express themselves in the native language of the islands can be said to have isolated itself from sensitively relating with the nationalistic demands of the Philippines.

Recommendations

Filipinization of University Administration.--In a colonized land destitute of native educational leadership, it made profound wisdom to initiate Catholic universities under foreign administrators. The contributions of these pioneering presidents are enduring and many. The Catholic universities they established have, through the years, gained institutional strengths through commitment to Christian values and to the objective search for truth. Unlike India's experience with its nobility, Catholic educators succeeded in attracting the Filipino elite into their classrooms, and today, Catholic alumni are prominent in every field of Philippine public life.

With the granting of political independence to the Philippines in 1946, a corresponding pressure has arisen to grant Catholic universities freedom from foreign control. Such a transfer from foreign to native control of Catholic institutions is definitely within the approved Catholic tradition. For example, back in 1783, the papal nuncio of Paris addressed a note to Benjamin Franklin suggesting that since it was no longer possible to maintain the previous status wherein American Catholics were subject to the Vicar Apostolic at London, the Holy See was now proposing the establishment of a Catholic American bishopric.²

The establishment of Filipino leadership in university institutions is likewise a major Catholic responsibility. Since Catholic universities have succeeded in graduating alumni capable of administering the secular

²Quoted in: John Courtney Murray, S.J., We Hold These Truths (New York: Image Books, 1960), 79.

affairs of the nation, it seems reasonable to expect that Catholic seminaries should also have succeeded in graduating priests capable of assuming academic administration. If such has not been the case and there is still a dearth of native clerical leadership, it is imperative that Catholic educators investigate the quality of seminary procedures for screening its candidates, the academic competence of seminary professors, and the standards of the seminary curriculum.

Once the Catholic university is able to make an act of faith in the capacity of the Filipino priest to govern it, a corresponding trust should also be given the Filipino layman. The Church, after Vatican II, no longer sees as advisable the total clerical domination of Catholic higher education. Competence, not the religious state of life, is the most valuable asset for a position in the university's board of trustees.

Filipinization of the University's Elitist Orientation.--It was earlier observed in this study that the typical Catholic in the United States gradually became the "typical American" in terms of wealth, status, and occupation. In the Philippines, the typical Catholic alumnus is far from being the "typical Filipino." The mute masses still live in barrios which are agricultural, autocratic, and pre-scientific. The Catholic alumnus lives in a world that is industrial, democratic, and scientifically technological.

The existence of the gap between the rich and the poor in the Philippines has some similarities to the American Depression Era. At that time, George S. Counts saw the phenomenon of prosperity and depression as

coming from the "irreconcilable conflict" between the Jeffersonian tradition of democratic concern for the common man, and the Hamiltonian aristocratic bias for the landed gentry. In his 1932 pamphlet: Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?³ Counts called on the United States teachers to take the initiative in educating boldly for a new social order and in transforming the schools into centers for building a new America.

In the Philippines, the contemporary conflict is between democracy and communism. The appeal for initiative in educating for a new social order that will tip the balance in favor of democracy can be aptly addressed to Catholic educators. Trained in ascetical disciplines and vowed to poverty, this group of educators are in a position to adopt a style of life that proclaims their alliance with the poor. However, it is often difficult to pursue a life consonant with evangelical poverty when the predominant religious apostolate is mainly with the rich.

It is to the advantage of both church and state that the university population of Catholic universities become more representative of the society. The poor Filipino student has the right to enjoy the same high quality of education heretofore reserved to the rich. Where else, if not in the university milieu, can the ancient division and animosities between the Filipino ilustrados and the peasants be finally bridged and healed through rational discourse instead of through internecine strife. "Civilization," observed

³George S. Counts, Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order? (New York: The John Day Co., 1932).

Fr. Thomas Gilby, O.P., "is formed by men locked together in argument."⁴ The Catholic university has the opportunity to remove the traditional confrontation between rich and poor away from the scarred plains of Central Luzon into the civilized structure of its classrooms and lecture halls.

Adequate scholarship programs are needed for the poor student. Financial aid, however, is often not available in Catholic universities which yearly operate with a deficit of several hundred thousand pesos. The few scholarship programs in existence in Catholic universities seldom have the support of alumni and of private industry. There is need here for university administrators to educate these sectors as well as the government that they must help pay for the university education of the poor in order to avert national conflict.

The poor student wishing to enter the Catholic system faces other hurdles besides the need for financial aid. Since his early education in the public school often gave him a tenuous command of English, the poor rural student often receives a low score in admission examinations that utilize American-made test batteries. Catholic admission officers should prefer tests that are based on local norms and comparatively free of linguistic and cultural biases that favor urban students.

There is need for more local research in Catholic universities.

⁴Quoted in: John Courtney Murray, S.J., We Hold These Truths (New York: Image Books, 1960), p. 18.

The over-exposure of the Filipino intellectual to Western norms and values has sometimes led to his feelings of frustration, cynicism, and apathy over local problems. Catholic universities, by promoting the growth of local research directed to using the nation's available resources, can help direct the intellectual's frustrations into creative channels. It is important that universities should generate in their students and faculty the desire to overcome local obstacles instead of veering towards the one or two specialized fields whose products are more relevant to a foreign situation. For example, a medical education that has not been geared clinically to the underdeveloped situation of the country because of over-insistence on standards of developed technological countries might result in the exodus of frustrated doctors and nurses to foreign hospitals and deny medical aid to the rural people. John Kenneth Galbraith gives another example taken from the field of economics:

As an economist, I look with considerable discontent on much of the economics that is taught in the new countries. It is not clinically concerned with the problems of these countries and pragmatically with their solutions. Rather, it is often a fashionable elucidation of the sophisticated models and systems which are currently in fashion at Cambridge, the London School of Economics or even at Harvard.⁵

A university that is responsive to local research will also attempt to establish centers for the promotion of the native languages. These linguistic departments can work on translating foreign technical literature into the local idioms. They can sponsor literary and artistic efforts in the native style and thereby give proof of the university's sincere desire to be the main trustee of Philippine culture in its entirety. This academic nur-

⁵John Kenneth Galbraith, Educational Development in Perspective (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 55-56.

ture of the native languages and culture can help erase the stain suffered by Catholic scholarship when the early missionaries, in attempting to produce a complete break with the non-Christian past, destroyed the records and monuments of pre-Spanish Philippines.⁶

Filipinization of the University's Attitudes.--The relationship between Philippine nationalism and Catholic universities will remain in a state of tension so long as Catholic administrators think on a colonial rather than a national basis. Catholic universities have to reorient themselves to accommodate the Filipino presence and to tolerate the ambiguities involved in Filipino formulations of his national identity. Catholic universities should divest themselves of any display of colonial indignation that labels Filipino attempts to be free of foreign domination as anti-Spanish, or anti-American, or even anti-Catholic manifestations. A Filipino should be free to think, speak, and act as a Filipino without his subjective intents being questioned, and without losing his acceptability as a person of "unconditional worth" to those who do not find the Filipino style congenially resonant with Western and Catholic tastes.

The Filipinisation of the Catholic university's attitudes towards nationalism demands provisions of academic environments characterized by their psychological safety. Growth towards identity cannot succeed under threat of punishment, and the road to national maturity is made more dif-

⁶James A. LeRoy, The American in the Philippines. Vol. I (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), pp.7-8.

ficult by the introjection of guilt feelings. The Catholic university should be a laboratory in the exercise of freedom and responsibility. Its campus publications and student governments should be allowed to operate within a democratic context rather than an authoritarian one. Since Philippine family life is structured as a hierarchy where initiative is often discouraged, the Catholic university should offer an alternative model of authority that stresses autonomous development. Since Philippine social life is inhibited by social taboos that exaggerate personal conflicts, the Catholic university should offer the student an environment that rewards daring articulations of personal theories and experiences. Finally, since Philippine religion is paternalistic and centered on the dominance of the individual by a priestly caste, it is necessary for the Catholic university to offer its students the model of a society where people are evaluated not because of who they are, but by what they can accomplish.

Revolution or evolution? There is a decided tendency for the nationalism of emerging nations to favor revolution as a means of restoring social justice and of breaking the hold of the traditional power elite. Nationalism is often impatient of evolutionary policies that seek changes gradually and rely on moral suasions to bring about needed reform. Nationalism does not expect the ruling group to become the architects of a social-minded policy calculated to destroy their privileges and profits.

Contemporary Philippine nationalism is becoming equally cynical and equally impatient. Newspaper editorials and socio-political commentaries

approximate the bitterness of the France of Voltaire, Diderot, Condorcet, and d'Alembert, whose rebel wits were levelled against Church and State. The writings of today's Filipino intellectuals could well precipitate the emergence of a charismatic, nationalist leader even as the propaganda writings of Rizal and Mabini paved the way for the rise of the revolutionary, Andres Bonifacio. But revolution is too stiff a price to pay for the achievement of a nation's identity.

Catholic universities in the Philippines can help see to it that the country does not cross once more the bloody threshold of a revolution. A long tradition in the promotion of peace among men of good will, a doctrinal consensus on social justice for the poor, and a profound conviction that virtues operate best in an atmosphere of freedom--these form the inner capital of Catholic education when it calls Filipinos to nation-building in the name of peace. But the Church's word of peace and of wisdom must take flesh in the nation it seeks to serve if it hopes to redeem the Philippines.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Antonio L. Ledesma has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Jan. 25, 1968
Date

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Signature of Adviser