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CHAPTER XX.

EDUCATION

IN

CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND THE
PHILIPPINES.

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CHAPTER XX.

EDUCATION IN CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND THE
PHILIPPINES.

Duplicate.

By R. L. PACKARD.

I. CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

The statistics of the institutions of public instruction, and those of private elementary schools, in Cuba, taken from official and other authentic sources, are placed at the beginning of the following compilation for the convenience of those who already know the history and understand the general social condition of affairs in the island. To others they can have, however, little significance without knowledge of the colonial history and of the kind of instruction which is given in the institutions represented. To supply this information the statistical review is followed by a historical sketch of the relations between the colonies and Spain—the origin and growth of the separatist tendency—which is taken from a German authority, and this is followed by a history of the educational, literary, and scientific movement in Cuba, from a Cuban source, together with plans of studies in the university and other institutions; then the testimony of competent judges as to the condition of education in the island at different periods from Humboldt's time down to 1890 is given, and a summary of the whole evidence concludes the paper.

The educational system of the Spanish colonies has always been a subordinate part of that of the Peninsula, the same laws governing both, and the royal orders and decrees have so coordinated the two that the professorate in both has come to form essentially one body. The universities of the colonies were modeled upon the famous ones of Spain, and, until recently, education retained its aristocratic or university character, no attention being paid to the general and public education of the masses.

The educational system of Cuba consisted of the University of Havana and institutes of secondary instruction (colleges and seminaries) in the capitals of the provinces and in Porto Rico. The rector of the university was the immediate head of this system under the Captain-General of the island, as representative of the King. Royal orders and

decrees regulated the conduct of education, appointed teachers, created or changed the plan of studies, and managed all the other details of the institutions of public instruction, which alone could grant degrees. The degrees of the private institutions (colleges of the religious orders) required verification before they could be accepted as valid and identified with those of the public institutions. Degrees of the University of Havana were valid in Spain, and the degrees of bachelor of the secondary institutions in Cuba and Porto Rico were sanctioned by the university.

STATISTICS OF SUPERIOR AND SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.

The university.—According to the annual report for 1888-89 the Royal University had 1,046 students for that year, of whom 167 were inscribed in the faculty of philosophy and letters; 187 in that of the natural sciences; 240 each in the law and medical faculties, and 214 in pharmacy. In the three following years there were 1,009, 1,059, and 1,083, respectively, showing little change. The expenditures for the first-named year were 126,859 pesos,¹ of which 121,209 pesos were for salaries and 5,650 pesos were for material. The income, largely from fees, was 77,638 pesos, leaving a deficit of 49,221 pesos. A full account of the university will be given below.

By the law of 1880 an institute of secondary instruction was established in the capital of each province, each of which comprises a number of colleges and seminaries in the vicinity. Thus the Institute of Havana has 28 colleges incorporated under it; that of Matanzas, 8; that of Puerto Principe, 1; that of Santa Clara, 18; that of Pinar del Rio, 3, and that of Santiago de Cuba, 12.

The following tables will show the details of attendance at these institutes by provinces.² The plan of studies will be given later on.

Institute of Havana.

Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.	Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.
1863.....	663	.....	1887-88.....	1,752	204
1864-65.....	764	.....	1889-90.....	1,774	209
1865-66.....	541	.....	1890-91.....	1,956	243
1866-67.....	683	.....	1891-92.....	1,853	253
1886-87.....	1,804	186			

The superior normal school for male teachers, created in 1890, had 40 students the first year and 42 in 1891-92; that for females had 85 students the first year and 173 in 1891-92. The "professional" school of the island of Cuba (founded in 1855) had 43 students in 1890-91 and 51

¹ According to Department Circular No. 54, issued by the U. S. Treasury April 1, 1898, the Cuban peso = \$0.926.

² From *La primera enseñanza en la isla de Cuba*. Por José Estebán Lirio, Secretario de la Junta Provincial de Instrucción Pública de la Habana. Habana, 1893.

the next year. It gives business degrees to superintendents or overseers and surveyors. The professional school of painting and sculpture of Havana had an attendance as follows:

1867	75
1887-88	502
1890-91	431
1891-92	400

The plan of studies of this well-known school will be found in another place. The provincial school for artisans had 115 students in the day school and 316 in the night school in 1890-91.

A large number of "colleges of primary instruction" for boys and girls is given for the province of Havana by Señor Liras, but without statistics, and several charity schools are also mentioned.

Nine Sunday schools for poor girls and servant girls, conducted by women, were established in 1882-1884, and have been attended by over 5,000 young women since they were started, and have an attendance of from 30 to 100.

Province of Matanzas.—The colleges in this province have been established for the most part since 1850, but the statistics for some of them ceased with 1868, the year of the insurrection.

The institute of Matanzas was created in 1863. The attendance and degrees have been as follows:

Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.	Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.
1865-66	257	.....	1890-91	367	51
1866-67	238	.....	1891-92	396	43
1867-68	308	.....	1892-93	371	40
1887-88	226	.....	1893-94	422	47

The expenditures were 13,650 pesos for salaries and 1,000 for material in the latter year; total, 14,650 pesos. There were 16 periodicals and newspapers in the province in 1894.

Province of Santa Clara.—The institute was founded in 1882. Its activity is shown as follows:

Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.	Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.
1886-87	334	56	1891-92	331	33
1887-88	590	34	1892-93	331	36
1889-90	329	29	1893-94	339	.....
1890-91	326	26			

The expenditures were 15,900 pesos, 14,900 for salaries and 1,000 for material. There were 30 periodicals, ranging from a medical and scientific journal down to newspapers, in the province.

Province of Puerto Principe.—Besides several private colleges of secondary instruction, the institute proper was founded in 1863, and was supported by the State until recently, but is now maintained by the provincial authorities.

Its recent history is shown by the following table:

Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.	Year.	Students.	Bachelor degrees.
1886-87	113	17	1890-91	144	19
1887-88	121	14	1891-92	169	18
1889-90	143	27			

The institutes of Pinar del Río and Santiago de Cuba had 145 and 255 students, respectively, in 1889-90—the last date of which we have official reports. The bachelor degrees were 12 and 11 for that year. The institute of Porto Rico the same year had 6 bachelor degrees confirmed by the university.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

The following statistics are taken from the pamphlets upon primary education in Cuba by José Estebán Liras, secretary of the provincial junta of public instruction of Havana. Each pamphlet is devoted to a separate province, and gives the history of each school in the province, with statistics down to 1894, thus showing the development of elementary education.

The public schools have, for the most part, been established since the middle of this century, after the law of 1842 came into effect, which provided for inspection, and created provincial committees. In 1833 the schools which had been established in the whole island, mainly through the efforts of the Sociedad Económica, were 210 for whites and 12 for colored, with an attendance of 8,460 whites and 486 colored, 8,946 in all. Of the white schools, 129 were for boys and 81 for girls, while the schools for the colored were equally divided. The total amount allotted for public instruction was 40,499 pesos. Normal schools were established after 1850, and by 1858 the appropriation from municipal funds for primary instruction was 156,910 pesos. In 1867 there were 752 public and 532 private schools, with an attendance of 27,780. The public schools cost then 596,922 pesos. The insurrection of 1868 interfered seriously with education, and a great number of schools were closed.

It will be seen from the preceding tables relating to secondary education, and also from those that follow relating to elementary schools, that there is a hiatus from 1867 to 1887, the former date just preceding the ten-year insurrection.

The totals showing the population, the number of primary schools, and the attendance, together with an analysis of the census figures showing the percentage of whites and the illiteracy, are here given. For details of statistics by provinces the reader is referred to the tables below. In 1894 the population, total number of public and private schools, and their attendance, in the four provinces of Havana, Matan-

zas, Puerto Principe, and Santa Clara were as follows (the figures for Havana were those of 1893):

Population	1,175,000
Public and private schools.....	1,255
Attendance	47,752

There was an increase from 1887 to 1894, as the following will show:

	1887.	1894.
Population	1,100,222	1,175,000
Number of schools.....	963	1,255
Attendance.....	36,467	47,752

In the province of Havana in 1893 74.55 per cent of the population were white and 5.83 per cent of the entire population were receiving elementary instruction.

In the province of Matanzas in 1887, the latest date for which there are available figures, the whites were 55 per cent of the population, and 60 per cent of the white and 93 per cent of the colored population could neither read nor write.

In the province of Puerto Principe the whites formed 80 per cent of the population in 1887. Over 50 per cent of the white and 70 per cent of the colored population could not read nor write in 1894.

In the province of Santa Clara 69 per cent of the population was white in 1887, and about 72 per cent of the whites and 90 per cent of the blacks could neither read nor write.

The following statistical tables of primary instruction in the different provinces are taken from the authority referred to above (Liras):

Province of Havana, population in 1893.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
White (native)	191,758	149,094	340,852
Colored	50,960	55,693	106,653
Chinese	5,543	41	5,584
Foreigners	2,448	1,587	4,035
Total.....	250,709	206,415	457,124

It results from this that 74.55 per cent of the population in 1893 were white, 23.36 per cent colored, 1.23 per cent Chinese, and 0.86 per cent foreigners. Also 54 per cent were males, but a larger proportion of the native whites were males (56 per cent) than the blacks (47 per cent), while 99 per cent of the Chinese and 61 per cent of the foreigners were of that sex, they being away from their natural habitats.

The statistics of primary schools show as regards number:

	Public schools.			Private schools.			Public and private.		
	1867.	1887.	1893.	1867.	1887.	1893.	1867.	1887.	1893.
For boys	74	107	107	50	125	140	124	232	247
For girls	66	82	91	78	83	190	144	165	281
For both sexes			11	2	21	16	2	21	27
Total.....	140	189	209	130	229	346	270	418	555

There was, therefore, one school to every 1,455 inhabitants in 1867, one to 1,680 in 1887, and one to 824 in 1893.

There were 214 teachers in the public schools, 113 being males and 101 females. Seven were under 20 years of age; 97 were between 20 and 40; 88 between 40 and 60, and 22 were over 65, and they received salaries varying from 1,500 to 300 pesos, only 2 receiving the former and 12 the latter.

The attendance was as follows:

	Public schools.			Private schools.		
	1867.	1887.	1893.	1867.	1887.	1893.
White:						
Boys.....	5,083	3,965	4,336	2,497	2,987	4,614
Girls.....	2,945	2,891	3,036	1,291	2,628	5,790
Colored:						
Boys.....		1,023	1,003	186	722	1,152
Girls.....		810	1,080	120	660	1,401
Total.....	8,028	8,719	9,455	4,094	6,997	12,957

These tables show that the total number of pupils in 1893 in the public and private schools of the province was 22,412. It also appears that there was 1 pupil to every 32 inhabitants in 1867; 1 to every 28 in 1887, and 1 to every 20 in 1893. But in the public schools alone there was 1 pupil to 48 inhabitants in 1867; 1 to 51 in 1887, and 1 to 48 in 1893. The tables show also that 2.07 per cent of the population of the province attended the primary public schools and 2.83 per cent the private, and that 4.90 per cent of the population received primary instruction. A school census of children up to 10 years for 1893 shows that the white boys were more numerous than the girls, being 23,326 to 21,844, while the colored were 8,121 boys to 8,266 girls.

The total expense for public primary education in 1893 was 207,666 pesos, which was at the rate of about 22 pesos per pupil.

A general summary of primary instruction for the province of Havana is shown in this table:

	1867.	1887.	1893.
Population.....	392,975	451,538	457,124
Number of schools.....	270	418	555
Pupils.....	12,122	15,716	a 26,732
Expenses (pesos).....		179,097	207,666

a Includes 4 320 domestic pupils.

Province of Matanzas—Population.

1867.....	191,595
1887.....	259,508
1894.....	265,025

In 1877 the whites were 49 per cent and in 1887 55 per cent of the population, and the males were 57 per cent. In 1887 5 per cent of the whites could read only, and 35 per cent could both read and write. Of the colored population 1 per cent could read only, and 6 per cent could both read and write; so that 60 per cent of the white and 93 per cent of the colored could neither read nor write.

The following table gives the number of schools in 1887 and 1894.

	Public schools.		Private schools.		Both public and private.	
	1887.	1894.	1887.	1894.	1887.	1894.
Boys.....	69	75	44	25	123	112
Girls.....	49	53	71	34	129	99
Both sexes.....	19	24	1	58	1	58
Total.....	137	152	116	117	253	269

There were 156 teachers for the 152 public schools, with salaries ranging from 1,200 pesos to 150 pesos. There were 5,652 pupils in the public schools—3,442 boys and 2,210 girls—and 4,416 pupils in the 117 private schools—2,236 boys and 2,180 girls—making 10,068 in both. This makes 1 public school to 1,743 people, and 1 private school to 2,265 people. There was 1 pupil in the public schools to 47 inhabitants.

SUMMARY.

	1887.	1894.
Population.....	259,508	265,025
Number of schools.....	253	269
Pupils.....	9,075	10,068
Expenses (pesos).....	110,262	133,514

Province of Puerto Principe—Population.

	1867.	1877.	1887.	1894.
Whites.....	23,556	56,781	54,231	.....
Colored.....	21,871	12,464	13,558	.....
Total.....	62,427	69,245	67,789	69,061

The whites were 61 per cent of the population in 1867, 82 per cent in 1877, and 80 per cent in 1887. The males predominated, being 55 per cent in 1867, 63 per cent in 1877, and 53 per cent in 1887.

The public elementary schools were as follows:

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys.....	17	17	20
Girls.....	8	15	17
Both sexes.....	.....	.....	4
Total.....	25	32	41

Or 1 public school to 2,501 people in 1867; 1 to 2,118 in 1887; 1 to 1,684 in 1894.

The private schools at the same periods were:

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys.....	12	6	2
Girls.....	9	1	7
Both sexes.....	.....	27	26
Total.....	21	34	35

Or 1 private school to 1,359 people in 1867; 1 to 1,027 in 1887; 1 to 908 in 1894.

There were 42 teachers for the 41 public schools in 1894, with salaries from 1,500 pesos (1 teacher) down to 300 pesos (with 16 teachers).

The attendance was:

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys	1,095	1,032	986
Girls	277	158	801
Total	1,372	1,190	1,787

Or 1 pupil to 45 inhabitants in 1867; 1 to 56 in 1887; 1 to 37 in 1894.

The private schools were as follows:

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys	397	277	281
Girls	148	320	507
Total	545	597	788

Or 1 private school pupil to 114 people in 1867; 1 to 113 in 1887; 1 to 86 in 1894.

In 1894 the attendance was:

In the public schools.....	1,787
In the private schools.....	788
Total	2,575

Therefore 2.58 per cent of the population were educated in the public and 1.14 per cent in the private schools—3.72 per cent in all. Over 50 per cent of the white and 70 per cent of the colored population can neither read nor write. The expenses of the public schools in 1894 were 33,548 pesos, so that each pupil cost 18 pesos, and each school 818 pesos.

The summary shows as follows:

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Population	62,527	67,789	69,061
Number of schools	46	66	76
Pupils	1,917	1,787	2,575
Expenses (pesos).....		27,829	33,548

Province of Santa Clara.

The history of primary education in this province may be said to have begun as soon as Velasquez founded the cities of Sancti Spiritus and Trinidad, because Bartolomé de las Casas took part in the founding of Trinidad, and he was among the first to instruct the young Indians. But the church instruction was a different thing from secular education, the beginning of which may be put at 1712 in this province, as will be related in its place.

Population.

	1867.	1877.	1887.	1894.
Whites	186,297	205,694	244,344	.....
Colored	102,830	115,703	109,778	.....
Total	289,127	321,397	354,122	383,790

In 1867 64 per cent of the population were white; in 1877, 64 per cent, and in 1887, 69 per cent. The males were 56, 57, and 55 per cent for the same years. In 1887 2 per cent of the whites and 1.65 per cent of the blacks could read only, and 27.75 per cent of the whites and 10.52 per cent of the blacks could both read and write.

Public schools.

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys	50	123	121
Girls	23	54	72
Both sexes			21
Total	73	177	214

There was, therefore, 1 public school to 3,960 inhabitants in 1867, 1 to 3,026 in 1887, 1 to 1,793 in 1894.

Private schools.

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys	16	37	53
Girls	12	52	68
Both sexes		3	20
Total	28	92	141

There was 1 private school to 10,290 persons in 1867, 1 to 3,824 in 1887, 1 to 2,721 in 1894.

Public and private schools.

	1867.	1887.	1894.
Boys	66	158	174
Girls	35	108	140
Both sexes		3	41
Total	101	269	355

There were 215 teachers for the 214 public schools, 132 male and 83 female, and their salaries ranged from 1,200 to 300 pesos. The public schools were attended by 4,694 boys and 3,395 girls, 8,089 in all, and the private by 2,279 boys and 2,329 girls, 4,608 in all, making a total attendance of 12,697 pupils. This makes 1 pupil in the public schools to 47 persons, and in the private 1 to 83 persons. The total expenses for the public schools were 150,644 pesos, so that each pupil cost 19 pesos, and each inhabitant was indebted 2.50 pesos for the public schools.

SUMMARY—PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

	1887.	1894.
Population	354, 122	383, 790
Number of schools	226	355
Attendance	9, 889	12, 697
Expenditures (pesos)	127, 431	150, 644

The only statistics available for the two remaining provinces, Pinar del Rio and Santiago de Cuba, are from the *Annario of the Real Universidad*, and are for the year 1888-89. They are as follows:

	Total population.	Schools.			Attendance.			Total expenditures.
		Public.	Private.	Total.	Public.	Private.	Total.	
Santiago de Cuba.....	271,010	110	76	186	6,031	1,337	7,868	82,596
Pinar del Rio.....	229,761	134	26	160	3,565	732	4,297	77,636

PORTO RICO.

Education of all kinds was greatly neglected in Porto Rico until 1837, many of the towns being without even a primary school, but since the institution of the provincial committees on primary instruction in that year (incorporated in the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres in 1851) much progress has been made. In 1861 there was a public school in every town, besides private ones in those of the first and second class. The city of San Juan had in 1861 six public and four private schools, four of the first for girls and two for boys, and of the last, two for each sex, besides a seminary, founded in 1831, with three professorships proper to the institution, and those of the French and English languages, mathematics, and design, which are supported by the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos de Pais*. According to a statement of the academy in 1852, the schools of the island were attended by 2,981 scholars. A large number of the boys were (1861) sent to Europe and the United States for education. The young creoles are exceedingly apt scholars, and very few attain manhood without a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as, unfortunately, despising mechanical pursuits, their great aim is to qualify themselves for clerkships. The education of the females was, until 1861, much less attended to, and many could not write.¹ But in 1878-79 only 5,200 pesos were in the estimates for public instruction in the island, and in 1887 only about 14 per cent of the population could read and write. In 1890 the population was 810,394, with 350,000 whites.

We are fortunate in being able to secure the following more recent information from Mr. F. A. Ober, a gentleman who has made a study of the West Indies, and whose writings, giving the results of his ethnological and historical studies, are well known.

From a text-book upon the geography of the island, by Don Manuel Quiniana y Corton, 1879, he quotes that there were in that year 363 primary schools in the island, attended by 12,144 pupils of both sexes, 256 of which were for boys and 107 for girls. (The population was then about 700,000, more than half of whom were white.) Education was compulsory and gratuitous for poor children, who were supplied with

¹The Spanish West Indies, Cuba and Porto Rico, from the Spanish of Don J. M. de la Torre (Porto Rico, by J. T. O'Neill), by Richard Swaynson Fisher. [New York, 1861.]

books, etc. From a work by a Spanish officer, Don Manuel Ubeda y Delgado, upon the history, geography, and statistics of the island, published in 1878 in Porto Rico, he takes the estimate for that year, which was 5,200 pesos out of 287,522 pesos for public works (fomento), and then quotes as follows:

The advantages of Porto Rico (as to education) are not equal to those offered elsewhere in countries more civilized, because we lack colleges and institutions of instruction of higher grade. The total lack of universities, institutes, and academies obliges fathers who desire to give their sons an education (daughters not considered) to send them to the Peninsula (Spain) and foreign countries, not that there are not good professors here of mathematics, languages, music, etc., but they are not numerous; still, by means of periodicals, standard works, etc., one may acquire a great deal that is attainable in more popular centers.

There is at present in construction a building in which will be installed the college of secondary instruction, directed by the Jesuit professors. This establishment is the only one of its class in the island, but fortunately it has given excellent results since (according to one of the professors) those who obtain its degree of bachelor of arts may rank with the best of those who enter the universities. The studies are distributed in five courses, or years, as follows:

First course.—Latin and Spanish grammar; Christian doctrine and sacred history; principles of and exercises in arithmetic.

Second course.—Latin and Spanish grammar; notions of descriptive geography; principles of and exercises in geometry.

Third course.—Exercises in analyzing and Latin translation; rudiments of Greek; notions of general history; arithmetic and algebra.

Fourth course.—Elements of rhetoric and poetry, with exercises in comparison of select pieces, Latin and Spanish, and in Latin and Spanish composition; exercises in Greek translation; history of Spain; elements of geometry and plano trigonometry.

Fifth course.—Psychology, logic, moral philosophy; elements of physics and chemistry; outlines of natural history.

Having completed these prescribed studies, including a course in French, in whatever year desired, students obtain the degree of bachelor of arts.

There is also a preparatory course for students of the first year. The average number of pupils examined for entrance is 173, of which number about 123 are approved and 50 rejected. The average number of graduates with the degree of bachelor is 15. About one-third the students, more or less, are residents and two-thirds from the outside. The Jesuits also conduct a seminary, with an average attendance of 8 scholars.

There is also an atheneum, which occasionally holds public debates, scientific and literary, with gratuitous classes for its members.

There are also in the capital (San Juan) 23 schools, with an average attendance of 1,107 pupils, divided as follows: One superior for boys and 1 for girls; 4 elementary for boys and 4 for girls; 3 private for boys and 3 for girls, and 1 for adults; 2 primary schools [besides 6 in the suburbs. The estimates were 18,244 pesos in 1878].

In the capital also we find several charitable institutions where gratuitous instruction is given, notably (1) the Casa de Beneficencia, constructed in 1841-1847 with donations from the people of the province, and which gives asylum to an average number of 140 boys and 120 girls, who are given primary instruction as well as taught music, and for whom there are workshops in which they are taught shoemaking, carpenter work, tailoring, and cigar making for boys, and needle work, washing, etc., for the girls, under the direction of eighteen Sisters of Charity.

(2) The College of San Ildefonso, erected by the charitable efforts of benevolent bodies, occupies a vast edifice, in which poor girls to the number of 36 are educated up to the age of 20 years, and there is room for 24 boarders besides outside scholars,

all under the direction of the Sisters of Charity. Under their guidance also is the school for infants, in which an average number of 150 children of both sexes are instructed, the age limit being from three to seven years.

There is also a military school with the Captain-General as director, and the chief of battalion occupying the barracks as subdirector.

In 1879 eleven papers were published in the island. The island is divided into seven departments besides the capital, and the total number of schools for these in 1878 was 274 for boys and 103 for girls—the attendance is not given—with an allowance in the estimates of 30,882 pesos.

There is a scientific and literary society in Ponce and another in Mayagüez, where there is a public library of 756 volumes. Mr. Ober gives estimates for education for 1894-95 and 1896-97, which included the institute, normal school, the atheneum of Porto Rico and lyceum of Mayagüez, amounting to 63,966 pesos in the former year and 69,776 in the latter, but primary education does not appear in the list.

Elementary instruction in Porto Rico.—The latest statistics of the elementary schools of Porto Rico are those for 1898, prepared by Dr. Carbonell, secretary of "Fomento," of the island, and obtained through the kindness of Prof. Mark W. Harrington.¹

These statistics are as follows:

	<i>Number of schools.</i>
Northern district:	
Public schools	258
Private schools.....	28
Southern district:	
Public schools	252
Private schools.....	16
Total	554

¹ The same gentleman has furnished the Bureau of Education with a proposed plan of studies which was submitted to the "representative of public instruction of the United States in Porto Rico" by Señor Mignel Rodrig Sierra, the argument for which sets forth the previous deplorable condition of the schools and teachers in that island. The latter had no due respect or social position and were not free agents to develop their schools. The government was tyrannical and the administration torpid. The teachers were without protection, the schools without supervision, without books and scientific material suited to their needs. The preamble contains this curious appeal: "And we, the teachers of all periods; we who have consecrated our youth to the service of the great cause of teaching; we who have lost our time in dedicating it to great things under a corrupt system; we, in short, who, for love of our neighbor and solely for the country which gave us birth, have succeeded in supplementing by our earnestness the deficiencies of the system, are worthy and deserve, if the new Government wishes to do justly, to be conceded liberty in the teachers' chair and to be permitted to teach from texts selected by us freely. The American Government should concede to us all that is necessary, as directors of childhood and youth in Porto Rico, to form citizens worthy of the respect of the sons of Washington, among whom we now number ourselves."

Attendance.

Northern district:		
Boys		9, 942
Girls		6, 457
Southern district:		
Boys		9, 132
Girls		4, 207
Total attendance.....		27, 936

Cost.

	Pesos.
Northern district.....	167, 347
Southern district.....	164, 020
Total, in Porto Rican money	331, 367

Children of school age.

Northern district:		
Boys		31, 141
Girls		29, 649
Southern district:		
Boys		34, 224
Girls		30, 681
Total of school age.....		125, 695
Total attendance		27, 938
Children without schools		93, 757

The following interesting table shows the growth of elementary instruction in Porto Rico from 1864 to 1881, and is taken from the report of the secretary of the governor-general to the minister, made in the latter year, which is published in the *Compilación Legislativa de Primera Enseñanza de la Isla de Puerto Rico*, by D. Juan Macho Moreno (Madrid, 1895), a work which contains everything relating to the laws, regulations, programmes, forms, etc., of elementary education in the island.

It will appear from these statistics that the increase in the number of schools was insignificant from 1867 to 1878, but from that date to 1881 it was rapid.

Date.	Public schools.			Attendance.			Expenditures.		
	Boys'.	Girls'.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Personal.	Material.	Total.
1864.....	74	48	122	2, 396	1, 092	3, 488	<i>Pesos.</i> 35, 542	<i>Pesos.</i> 1, 535	<i>Pesos.</i> 36, 857
1867.....	240	56	296	7, 543	1, 929	9, 472	90, 834	-----	90, 834
1869.....	246	67	313	6, 192	1, 937	8, 129	88, 133	-----	88, 133
1878.....	238	91	329	7, 523	3, 474	11, 097	103, 078	26, 378	129, 456
1880.....	328	104	432	10, 736	4, 482	15, 218	142, 454	48, 704	191, 158
June, 1881.....	372	112	484	18, 025	6, 095	24, 120	181, 334	70, 621	256, 955
July, 1881.....	384	117	501	18, 025	6, 095	24, 120	191, 424	71, 245	262, 669

From the same work we take a few specimens of subjects of examination programmes for teachers of elementary schools, to show the quality

¹ The Porto Rican peso is equal to 65 cents in United States money.

and scope of the preparation required. Passing over the programme on Christian doctrine and sacred history, those upon pedagogics, grammar, geography, arithmetic, history and physics, agriculture, industry and commerce, calligraphy, and orthology are all very full. For example, in morals instruction is to be given in the following subjects. Only a very few examples are taken out of many:

- 20. Obligations of man to his body and person; self-defense; immorality of suicide.
- 21. Obligations of man to work; evils of idleness. What are temperance, sobriety, chastity, and the opposite vices?
- 22. Duties of men to each other; obedience; benevolence.
- 23. Obligations to one's equals; urbanity, gratitude, fulfillment of promises.
- 25. Obligations to aid our fellow-creatures.
- 27. The duty of pardoning injuries; immorality of hate and vengeance.

In pedagogics the teacher is examined, among other things, as to—

10. Importance of attention; methods of awakening and maintaining it. The will, freedom, moral sentiments, moral science. Instincts, passions, good habits; pernicious effects of scandal upon the pupils.

There are several sections upon methods.

In algebra the subjects embrace equations of second degree, proportion, roots, logarithms, etc.

In the applications of geometry are surveying and surveying instruments.

In drawing there is the use of the scale, and many examples in the different orders of architecture, and in physics such subjects as—

11. Gases; atmospheric air: its physical properties; how it is shown to have weight; the barometer; Magdeburg hemispheres.

14. Molecular adhesion of solids and liquids; capillarity; the more common phenomena due to capillarity; endosmosis and exosmosis.

20. Light: hypotheses for explaining its nature; propagation, velocity, and intensity of light; photometers.

21. Refraction of light; its laws; phenomena dependent upon it; prisms and lenses; division of lenses by their curvature, and effects they produce with the luminous body in different positions.

29. Object of chemistry; chemical classification of bodies; analysis and synthesis; reagents; combinations and mixtures; affinity; composition of the air; Lavoisier's experiments on air.

30. Extraction of gold and silver.

These examples are sufficient to show the grade of questions asked. The programmes were published as late as 1893.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The preceding figures, as remarked at the outset, are unintelligible unless we know the social and political condition of the country as an outgrowth of its history, and we proceed to give the latter.

The same men who conquered Mexico and Peru settled Cuba and Porto Rico. Indeed, Cortes engaged his men in Cuba and took ship there for the mainland, and that island "has," as Humboldt says, "a

charm that is wanting to the greater part of the New World. It presents remembrances linked with the greatest names of the Spanish monarchy, those of Christopher Columbus and Hernando Cortes." It is curious to inquire what manner of men they were who, although a mere handful, ventured almost without hesitation to explore and conquer vast unknown countries. We observe the contrast between the Spanish conquistadores, the utterly bold, determined, large-minded adventurers, and the English and Dutch colonists of the next century on the northern seaboard. These latter had little of the conquering spirit about them. They left their native country to better themselves in a quiet way and to trade, and their ideas were principally limited to the unambitious parts they had to play. Their natural leaders stayed at home to attend to the promoting and financiering of the colonial interests instead of leading exploring parties in the wilderness. This contrast crops out in many ways. Governor Winthrop wanders three or four miles away from his companions and passes an anxious night alone in the hut of a friendly Indian. A hundred years before, a Spanish monk thought nothing of undertaking an expedition of a thousand miles in a wild country abounding in savages, and the English never undertook any such expedition as Coronado's march. They were not explorers but settlers, and only moved inland, as time went on, by a process of extrusion—by the same *vis a tergo* which drove them from Europe—so it came about that all the southwestern part of the United States received Spanish names as the Northwest was named by the other exploring nation, the French. After three centuries the requirements of a political situation stirred up the descendants of the British colonists to conquest, and they promptly dispossessed the Mexicans of their broad territories, and then the discovery of gold in California awakened the *auri sacra fames* which led them in hordes to the Pacific coast in the congenial search for sudden wealth. There was, however, one point of resemblance between the Spaniards of the sixteenth century and the English of the seventeenth. Both felt a responsibility for the lost souls they fancied they had found, and were zealous for the conversion and, incidentally, the education of the Indians. Wherever the Spaniards went they carried the university with them. No matter how narrow and perverted the education of the monks may have been, there was still in it a reminiscence of the humanities, if in nothing else than the monkish Latin they used, and some of the conquistadores themselves were imbued with letters. Even the private soldier Bernal Diaz was able to write his recollections of the mighty deeds he had witnessed, and he left an account which historians have used as an authoritative document. Like superiority of birth, superior education gave (as it still gives) an intellectual superiority of view, which was due to the European university, whose root fibers, when traced, will be found to penetrate that buried civilization from which all modern civilization has sprung, which once dominated the world with grandeur and

magnificence, and yet filled it with beauty and taste. The humanities give a culture for which no modern innovation, such as exclusively scientific studies, which are purely objective and mechanical in their essence, and therefore not tending to culture, can ever be a substitute; and it is perversion to regard such an abstraction as "science" as a new Muse, instead of the laborious handmaid of civilization, which she really is. So wherever the Spaniards came they brought culture, and it is interesting to note that to them this continent owes its first universities and first printing presses. Printing was done in Mexico a century before it was introduced into New England, and even in far-off Manila a history of the martyrdom of certain missionaries was printed at the College of San Tomas in 1634, six years before the printing press was set up at Harvard. The university at Lima is eighty years older than Harvard. This culture, corrupted as it was by monkish narrowness, resulted in time, after the institutions had become multiplied, in turning out scholars, historians, poets, statesmen, generals, and presidents of republics, of the native races, besides scientific writers who have made original investigations of the geology, botany, and mineralogy of their countries. The English, too, in the next century, brought the university with them, and English Cambridge supplied a hierarchy of culture which kept the colony out of barbarism. The university redeemed the English colonies, and the democratizing and equalizing public-school systems came later. The most original work of the seventeenth century in New England, Eliot's Indian Bible, was a child of Cambridge, and its existence was due to the same missionary spirit that actuated the Spanish monks and the Spanish kings, whose peremptory orders to the settlers to care tenderly for the Indians, treat them kindly, educate them, and convert them to the Catholic faith reappear in royal letter after letter. The English, like the Spaniards, showed a solicitude for the welfare of the souls of the natives, but it was manifested on a smaller scale, corresponding with the difference in magnitude between the Spanish conquest and the early English emigration.

As was remarked at the outset, it is important to know the antecedents of a population in which an educational system is established, and it is therefore worth while to give a summary of the political history of the Spanish colonies, and so obtain an idea of the character of the colonists, in order to understand the material upon which education has had to work. A summary of the kind desired is given by Ferd. Blumentritt, the German ethnologist, in an article upon the history of the separatist tendency (*Separatismus*) in the Spanish colonies, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for July, 1898, which is of especial interest, as it gives particulars of the character and motives of the earliest emigrants to the Spanish colonies which are not brought out in the commonly known histories of the conquest. The article was written

before the events of 1898 deprived Spain of the last of her colonies; and the author says:

The names of Columbus, Balboa, Cortez, Pizarro, and Magellan are well known to all. Who of us when a boy did not read of the adventures and heroic deeds of the conquistadores and also of the cruelties they inflicted upon the natives of the New World? From these youthful recollections, and from the influence of the newspapers—often partisan and often misinformed—comes the judgment of the educated portion of our people upon the Spanish colonial relations, a judgment that amounts more or less to this: That the Spaniards, by their "devilish cruelty," have brought the inhabitants of their colonies to despair and revolt. Others see in the financial exploiting of the colonies by the mother country, or in the rapacity and dishonesty of the Spanish officials, the ground and inducement for a war of separation. Much in these views is erroneous, but one feature of them, even if not directly expressed, is true, namely, that only the Spaniards themselves are to blame for the efforts of the colonists to become independent of the mother kingdom. If one is inclined to regard this severe charge against Spain as unjust, let him answer the question: Why is it that it is only in Spanish colonies that separation finds so many supporters? And this further question: How is it that the desire for independence is found in such widely separated countries with such different organizations and populations as New Spain, South America, the Antilles, and the Philippines, manifesting itself in the suicidal fanaticism of white, yellow, brown, and black insurgents all over the Spanish colonial empire from the earliest times until now? The various colonies never had the same social organization, nor were they in the same economical or political conditions. In Mexico, Peru, and New Granada there were Indian farmers in the highlands and negroes on the coast. In Venezuela there were the region of plantations, where negroes predominated, and the llanos where the mixed race of the Llaneros ruled the steppes. The La Plata country had its Gauchos; the Antilles were the best representatives of the plantation system; while the Philippines had their Malay and Chinese mixed bloods, governed by Spanish religious orders—a variegated picture of different races and social organizations—and yet from all has come the same cry: "Out with the Spaniards! Freedom from Spain!" It is therefore clear that the seed of separation was carried from Spain to her colonies, and that not recently either, but more than three hundred years ago. For it was not the example of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America that started the idea of separation among the Spanish colonies, although this example of the Anglo-Americans was a powerful aid, but the idea was already present. Spanish separation is not the result of the wicked example of the Yankees, but is the consequence of a process continuing through several hundred years, which we will trace from its beginning in the following sketch:

When the Spaniards settled the Greater Antilles and also established colonies on the mainland, in 1493-1520, the Government had only drawn the outlines of the relations between the new settlements and the mother country, allowing the settlers themselves the greatest liberty. Spanish cities were founded on American soil by Spanish citizens, who transplanted to the New World the free municipal constitutions of their native land. The citizens elected their representative city governments and officers (alcaldes, mayores), just as they had done in Spain, and their privileges as independent cities were confirmed by the King. A feudal nobility arose in the midst of the plains, where the Indian villages were divided among the conquerors as fiefs (encomiendas), and a title of nobility often went with these fiefs like, e. g., that of Marqués del Valle, which was given to Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. By the great emigration to the New World the population of Spain was notably decreased, although not to so great an extent as is stated in some works, and yet the Government of Castile made no objection to the principle of emigration. I speak of the

Government of Castile because the crowns of the two Spanish empires, Castile and Aragon, were not united upon one head (that of the Emperor Charles V) until 1516. The Castilian Government took the position that only subjects of Castile should be allowed to settle in the New World, and even this permission had exceptions, for emigration was strictly forbidden to converts from Judaism and Mohammedanism and to all persons who had been punished by the Inquisition and their descendants. All these restrictions, however, were more or less evaded, for we find foreigners in the lists of the conquerors, who must, therefore, either have been naturalized as Castilian citizens (as was the case with Magellan, for example) or they were permitted to go by the Government, which, indeed, sometimes took them into its own service, of which there are numerous instances. Neither could the emigration of baptized Jews and Moors and their children—the so-called “new Christians”—or of those under the displeasure of the Inquisition be prevented. On the contrary, these two classes formed the main contingent of the emigrants, at least in the first half century of Spanish colonization, in spite of the combined vigilance of the church and the Inquisition. It is difficult for us now to imagine how those unfortunates, who were seeking an asylum in the New World, could have succeeded in escaping the sharp watch of the Holy Office and have reached the shores of America unmolested, for there were spies of the Inquisition on every ship. Yet not hundreds, but thousands, of those poor people made their escape, and we will cite two facts in proof of the statement, although many more could be given. When Hernando Cortez was summoned from New Spain the Government wished to enforce the prohibition of the emigration of new Christians. Accordingly an enumeration of them was taken throughout the whole viceroyalty as a preliminary to returning them to Spain, but the matter went no further, because the number of new Christians and of those under the ban of the Inquisition was found to be so astonishingly large that the decree of removal to Spain was not carried out through fear of a revolt. There were still more of these suspected subjects in Peru, a fact which should not excite our wonder, because Peru was the most remote of all the Spanish colonies in America, and it was natural for these marked men to endeavor to get as far as possible from the mother country, although even in that *Ultima Thule* of Spanish America freedom of opinion was not tolerated, and the Holy Office was represented in Lima by a tribunal of the Inquisition as early as 1570. So to Peru flocked crowds of Portuguese New Christians, either directly from Portugal or from Brazil, where converted Jews and Moors and their children were held in slavery. These Portuguese “New Christians” were especially the objects of the zealous care of the Holy Inquisition, because, on account of their business talents and their enterprise in mining, they soon acquired more wealth than the Spanish “Old Christians.” We meet these Portuguese Jews (or “Judaizing Portuguese”) in all the *auto da fé*s of Lima, and, notably, on the occasion of the great ceremony of January 23, 1639, which was conducted with the customary pomp. Seven of the accused appeared upon white horses and with palm branches in their hands. They were the fortunate ones who had succeeded in proving their innocence. Fifty were condemned to wear the garment of disgrace, the symbol of heresy, the “*San benito*.” Among those condemned to death was Don Manuel Bautista Perez, who was noted for his wealth. He owned the house still known in Lima as “Pilate’s house.” The silver mines of Huarochoiré, celebrated for their productiveness, belonged to him, besides two large plantations. He was found guilty of Judaism, and was condemned on that account and as a leader of the Judaizing Christians. With him were burned eight wealthy merchants and one of the best physicians of his time and country, Don Francisco Maldonado, a native of Tucuman (now Argentine), all being condemned for heresy and Judaizing. At the *auto da fé* of November 17, 1641, fourteen Judaizing Portuguese figured, and the Inquisition applied to the audiencia of Lima to expel the Portuguese, who were all more or less suspected of Judaizing, from the colony. Accordingly, the viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo y Loira, Marquis de Mancera, required all the Portuguese in the colony to report to the authorities to obtain passes and go to Brazil or elsewhere

out of the colony. Six thousand of these people reported in accordance with this order, but by a large bribe they obtained a repeal of the decree and remained thenceforward in the country. The complaints of Judaizing decreased every year; yet in 1745 a wealthy landowner named Don Juan de Loyola died in the prison of the Inquisition, his servant having charged him with the offense of Judaizing.

There was, therefore, a class of men among the first emigrants who had no feeling of attachment or of grateful remembrance for the Spanish home they had left; but on the contrary felt only fear for every thing that came from Spain—her officials, her heresy judges, and her laws. These New Christians transmitted their aversion to Spain to their children, and as the latter became incorporated with the Old Christian emigrants and the Indians a caste was formed which, prominent by its numbers, intellectual activity, and wealth, would have become a dangerous ferment even if left to itself, but which was reenforced by a second emigration of dissatisfied masses.

This second wave of Spanish emigration was a consequence of the fall of Spanish liberty. Before the period under consideration the Spanish States possessed extraordinarily liberal constitutions (the *Fueros*), which far surpassed the English system of the time in respect of popular rights. We, in middle Europe, have given the nickname of "Spanish" to the stiff Burgundian etiquette introduced by Philip the Fair and Charles V into Spain, and by this rebaptism have got the false idea that this court etiquette was a national peculiarity of the Spanish people. As a matter of fact, however, before the entrance of the Hapsburgers into the Government, a tone of familiarity prevailed in the intercourse between the King and his subjects in Spain. In the sessions of the Cortes the deputies of the "third estate" criticised the King and his court with a freedom that would make the hair of a president of the Reichsrath of the present day stand on end with fright; yet neither the presidents nor the speakers of those days who expressed their opinions of their princes so openly were in danger of being accused of treason, and even Isabella the Catholic and her crafty husband never made any attempts to curtail the popular rights or even to trench upon them. This was reserved for the following emperor, Charles V.

Charles had inherited the crown of Castile in 1506, when he was 6 years old, and in 1516, after the death of his maternal grandfather, Aragon also became his. Born and brought up in Flanders, he first visited Spain in 1518, where at every step he and his Burgundian followers succeeded in wounding the national pride of the Spaniards at the same time that they broke the customs of the two realms. Then followed oppressive taxes, which were called for by Charles's contest for the Roman-German imperial throne. The discontent became general and broke out in a revolt which is generally called the revolt of the *comuneros*, a name taken from the great confederation of the cities known as the *Junta Santa*, or *Comunidad*, which was formed on July 29, 1520, at Avila. This confederation was the work of the "third estate," but at its head was a nobleman, Don Pedro Lase de la Vega, and the army of the federation was commanded by another noble, Don Pedro de Giron, and a high church dignitary, the bishop of Zamora, played a conspicuous and unexpected rôle in a military capacity. There is no doubt that the whole nobility and clergy would have ranged themselves on the side of the *comuneros* if the junta had it not, in its petition of right of October 20, 1520, presented to the Emperor an amendment to the constitution, together with other petitions and complaints, which proposed to remove the nobility from the whole machinery of the Government and hand over all Government affairs to the "third estate." The author of this radical-democratic constitution was, it should be said in passing, the aristocratic president of the junta himself. In answer to this attack upon their privileges the high nobility and clergy placed their property and power at the disposal of the Emperor, and the *comuneros* were defeated in the battle of Villalar on April 23, 1521. From this time on Charles began to rule despotically in Castile, which, with Aragon, had possessed the freest constitution in Europe up to that time. The Cortes were, indeed, summoned as before, but they played nearly the same part as the Senate in the time of the Roman emperors.

The first consequence of the fall of Spanish liberty upon trans-Atlantic possessions was an emigration in great numbers of malcontents and compromised persons to the new gold fields. Thus another element hostile to the mother country was added to the New Christians, which brought to the New World only bitter recollections of the home left behind, recollections that were handed down to the latest descendants, so that, for example, when a revolt against new monopolies occurred in Socorro, New Granada, in 1781, the insurgents took the name of comuneros. Therefore, in the first three or four decades of Spanish colonization, streams of emigrants reached America who had no special attachment to the old country, and who cherished only the animosity of malcontents toward the actual Government and the form of government itself. Besides these revolutionary constituents, the Spanish population of the New World was composed also of a great number of adventurers who had left Spain only out of ambition and avarice.

Long before Castilian liberty was buried on the battlefield of Villalar, Ferdinand, King of Aragon, who was carrying on the government in Castile for his uncle Charles, had taken care that the conquerors of the New World should not use the prestige of their achievements for establishing their own sway. Isabella the Catholic never had the remotest idea that it was possible for Columbus to create a kingdom for himself across the ocean by breaking away from Spain. The suspicious Ferdinand, who respected nothing except his religion, scented treason and defection everywhere, and he directed his efforts to removing the conquistadores from the possessions which they had conquered with their own strength and at their own expense and danger, and replacing them by mere officials who would be subservient servants of the Crown. The King was displeased when the conquerors of a district ruled it as governors, and every pretext was seized upon to withdraw the patents that had been granted, or, if that was impossible, by the subdivision of the whole districts, to restrict the governorship of the conquistadores at least in area. These latter tactics were followed in the case of the family of Columbus, whose inherited domain was much diminished by dividing Cuba. In the case of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the famous discoverer of the Pacific, the Crown listened to the complaints of dissatisfied colonists and used them to displace Balboa. But this was not enough. Balboa was still too dangerous as a private man, and so he had to die by the hand of the executioner. Everyone remembers what kind of thanks Cortez received for the conquest of Mexico.

Nor did the storm of royal displeasure smite only the lofty trees to the ground. The removal of the conquistadores from the offices which they had acquired on the strength of their patents as conquerors became reduced to a system that reached high and low indifferently. So that there was not only no sentiment of attachment to the old country among the conquistadores, but they cherished feelings of resentment which reminds one decidedly of the modern separatist sentiments of the Cubans, so strong were the feelings of the conquerors against their thankless fatherland. Thus all three of the elements which constituted the white population of the Spanish colonies were not well disposed toward Spain. The conquistadores, the new Christians, and the comuneros were all alike disposed, in the first decades of Spanish colonial rule, to sever from her the lands they had conquered for Spain.

The first undoubted illustration of this condition of affairs is afforded by the history of New Spain in the year 1526. Cortez had been summoned to Spain after experiencing a series of petty annoyances from the officials who had been sent over by Charles V. He obeyed the summons and journeyed from the city of Mexico to the coast to take ship at Vera Cruz for Europe. Before his departure from the capital, deputations from the cities he had founded in New Spain had come to him and urged him to resume the government of the colony. He refused to accede to this request, and on his journey from Mexico to Vera Cruz he had to receive deputations at every stopping place, from the feudal lords and citizens, who reiterated the request, and some even went so far as to urge him to allow himself to be proclaimed king of New Spain, but he remained true to his allegiance.

These same ideas of independence are met again twenty years later in the camp of Gonzalo Pizarro in Peru. When that brave brother of the conqueror of the Incas was urged by the colonists to make armed resistance against the officials whom Charles V had sent to Peru, he had no idea of renouncing his King. He wanted to draw his sword against the government and its representatives because, in his own view and that of his companions, the home Government had acted illegally and arbitrarily against the colony. But at the outset one of his best officers, Francisco de Carvajal, advised him to direct the revolt not simply against the viceroy but the King of Spain himself, "for" said he, "if you once take arms against either king, you can never lay them down again." Carvajal was no common adventurer, but had been a major in the royal army and had taken a conspicuous part in the battle of Pavia. How bitter must have been the feeling among the Spaniards in the colony when the resentment at oppression could drive a royal officer to high treason of the worst kind! In the course of the civil war that ensued the separatist tendency became more firmly established, and at the same time Carvajal found an ally in the Councilor Cepeda, a man who could say, "The power of all kings comes from tyranny and usurpation," a very striking remark for those times. Carvajal added, "I would like to see Adam's will, so as to know if Charles V and the Queen of Castile are set down in it as rulers of Peru." Pizarro decided at the last moment to separate entirely from the King, but it was too late; he fell in battle, and his head was struck off as that of a rebel.

So, too, in La Plata a revolt of the conquistadores against the royal officers broke out, which was subdued with difficulty. More noteworthy was the rising of Lope de Aguirre (1559-1562), whose letter of renunciation to Philip II was published by Humboldt in his *Travels Through the Equinoctial Regions*. In it occurs the following passage, which is often quoted by modern separatists: "Christian King, you have been ungrateful to me and my comrades. I believe that everything that is reported to you from here deceives you, because the distance is so great; but I counsel you to be more just to the faithful vassals whom you have here, because I and my comrades are weary of seeing the injustice and violence which your governors and officers commit in your name. We have decided to obey you no longer and *no longer regard ourselves as Spaniards*. We are fighting with all our might against you because we will not submit to the tyranny of your officers, who dispose of our property and honor as they please in order to provide places for their sons."

The preceding examples show how little love there was for the mother country existing in the first Spanish colonists, and others could easily be added in support of them, and the feeling thus early engendered served as a guide for the succeeding generations, and all the more because immigration from Spain fell off after the end of the sixteenth century, so that the discontent of the first emigrants became the common property of the Spaniards who were born in the land—the creoles. It would doubtless have disappeared in time if the Spanish Government had not, by its colonial policy, set up a dividing wall between the European and the American Spaniards, and thereby produced those unpleasant relations between creoles and Spaniards that greatly promoted the desire for independence on the part of the Spanish Americans.

It is not necessary to say that at first there was no difference between Spaniards born in America and those who were natives of Spain, either in social intercourse or political positions, but the way in which the home Government took to itself the conduct of all public affairs of the colonies by sending over the higher officials to take charge must alone have led to the feeling that European Spaniards were something more than the American, a view that in course of time became a dogma with the European Spaniards, in which the most intelligent of them have come to believe. Every European Spaniard regards himself as the representative of the nation when he visits the colonies, and looks upon the native-born Spaniards or creoles as a lower caste which he is called upon to govern. This idea that the European Spaniards

were to exert an unassailable supremacy over the creoles is hardly a thing of national origin, but first arose through the continuous influence of the governmental system and then became an integral constituent of the Spanish national character. That this is so is shown by the example of the Canary Islands. These African islands were settled by the Spaniards just before the time of Ferdinand, and when the colonization of America began the Canaries were already regarded as part of European Spain, as they are to-day, and so it has come that the Canary Islanders have always regarded themselves as Spaniards, and a separatist there would be regarded as insane or be a laughingstock.

There is no doubt that if America had been discovered and taken possession of by the Spaniards about 1420-1440, the impassable gulf between Spaniards and creoles, which sooner or later was to lead to a bloody separation, would never have existed. The first colonists, and even Isabella the Catholic, never expected that the transmarine kingdom would come to be a possession of the Spanish Crown and a charitable institution for European officials. As has already been remarked, the first Spanish colonists carried to America all the liberties they had enjoyed in their Castilian fatherland. They bore to the new world not only their language, their manners, and their religion, but also all the political organizations of their European home. They had no intention of becoming the living portion of a Spanish estate, but were engaged in founding sister provinces. Above everything else their civic autonomy and constitutional form of government were sacred to them, and to renounce these rights seemed to them like an insult to their Spanish name. Without doubt they would have eventually created conditions like those of the English colonies of North America, i. e., colonies with their own constitutions. That there were tendencies in this direction is shown by the fact that up to 1550 we often hear of *procuradores* (deputies from the cities) meeting to discuss affairs of public importance, especially petitions and complaints to the King, so that the individual colonies had their *cortes* like those of Castile and Aragon, with the difference that in the colonies only the third estate was represented (a circumstance that throws a clear light upon the democratic tendencies of the first emigrants) and that this assembly did not take the name of *cortes* perhaps because the two other estates were not, as such, represented in it.

Against this spirit of independence the Spanish Government directed all its powers, after the death of Isabella the Catholic, whose ideas were strongly constitutional. It will be, perhaps, objected that her conduct toward Columbus was not entirely free from the ingratitude which her husband and successor showed to the great discoverers and conquerors. It must not be forgotten, however, in passing judgment upon these circumstances, that the privileges which had been granted to the discoverer of America not only limited the rights of the Crown very materially, but often were opposed to the spirit of Castilian liberty. The encroachments of Isabella upon the patented rights of Admiral Columbus were all for the benefit of the settlers and colonies, like, for example, the edict of April 10, 1495, which allowed all Castilians to settle in the newly discovered lands. Also, the governor which she sent to Santo Domingo, Don Nicolas de Ovando, acted in a spirit of liberty when he granted to all the cities of that island the royal privileges of the commoners of Castile, which Columbus had withheld from them.

Ferdinand's regency altered fundamentally this policy of liberty. At his instigation a board called the *Casa de Contración* was created at Seville, which at first only was to supervise the trade and shipping to and from the New World, but which gradually assumed control of all colonial affairs to the exclusion of all other Castilian officials, depriving the *Cortes* also of any opportunity of participating in the affairs of the Indies (the colonies). After the battle of Villalar the Council of the Indies became the supreme authority in regard to all Spanish estates. Through this Council the throne exercised its absolute power over the colonies, even though the Castilian *Cortes* still retained some of their ancient rights. The Council of the Indies labored to undermine the liberties of the Spanish-American communes and to

make the government of the colonies more and more bureaucratic. This undertaking would probably have been foiled by the resistance of the colonists if the white population had been as stable at first as it was later. But since the seizure of those immense territories which constituted the Spanish colonial empire was effected in from sixty to one hundred years, while the direct immigration from Spain between the years 1550 and 1860 shows a rapidly decreasing annual list, it came to pass that upon the discovery or conquest of a new region a rapid emigration took place from colonies already settled. Thus the greater part of the colonists of Santo Domingo went to Cuba, Jamaica, and *terra firma*; those of Cuba flocked to Mexico, while the Mexican settlers went to Peru and the Philippines, etc. In this way is to be explained how it was that, in spite of the hostile feelings of the colonists toward Spain, only isolated risings, but never a universal, common, serious resistance to the Spanish Crown took place.

Meanwhile, it should be said that the Crown and the Council of the Indies showed great wisdom in the selection of the officers for America all through the sixteenth century. Nor were the offices then sinecures for the favorites and parasites of the Madrid Government. The seventeenth century, however, is for Spanish America one long, starless night. The policy of Philip II now began to bear its fruit in the mother country as well as in the colonies. Spanish absolutism had gradually accustoming the Spaniards to rely entirely upon the church and state for their very existence, and no longer to venture and act by their own initiative and at their own danger and expense. To be an officeholder or a priest was the only alternative for those who had any aspirations; and since there were not enough official positions and preferments in state and church in Spain to supply the demand, America was called upon to take care of the excess. These officials knew nothing of fidelity to their trust or zeal for duty, but regarded their positions as a means of enriching themselves at the expense of the state, or rather, at the expense of the natives, for the colonies were not maintained by contributions from the mother country.

Even in the first half of the seventeenth century the creoles manifested a deep hatred against the Spaniards. The Irish Dominican Gage, who lived in Spanish America a long time, wrote in 1625: "It would be very easy to arouse the creoles to make common cause with an enemy of Spain, for they are harshly treated; and whenever they have cases in court the judges are always on the side of the European Spaniards and against them. They regard this condition as intolerable, and to such an extent that I have often heard them say that they would rather serve any other prince than the King of Spain." These hostile feelings broke out in an insurrection in Mexico in 1624; the viceroy was taken prisoner, and it was only through the intervention of the native-born clergy that the creoles were prevented from declaring their independence. This contemptuous slight bore heaviest upon the descendants of the old conquerors, and it was moreover unlawful, since under the law they were to be preferred in filling all offices. The same Gage who was quoted above says: "In Lima there are descendants of Pizarro, in Mexico and Oajaca is the family of the Marquis del Valle (Cortez), and there are besides families belonging to the noble houses of the Girons, the Alvarados, and Guzmans, or collateral lines of the highest nobility of Spain, but no member of any of these families holds any office of honor or any high position. They are rather treated with contempt by the European Spaniards, as if they were not capable of self-government; and are looked down upon as inferiors, barbarians, or Indians." This language is heard to-day from the Philippine islanders. The Spaniards usually answer charges of this kind by saying that so and so many creoles have occupied such and such civil, military, or clerical offices. It ought to be said, however, that these creoles, although born in America, had lived and studied a long time in Spain, and so had ceased to be regarded by the Spaniards as real creoles. Such, for example, was the minister of war in the last administration of Canova del Castillo, General Azcarraga, who was a Philippine islander, but had been in Spain from his youth up, and so was it with other creoles who held high offices in Spanish America; either they were "Americans only by

accident," or they united themselves closely to the European Spaniards and sought to hide their birthmark by unadulterated Spanish principles. The Bourbons indeed introduced a better government into the colonies, and endeavored to restrict the plundering of the Indians and creoles; but the increasing number of official positions brought over an always increasing number of Spanish office seekers just at the time the creoles were awakening from the long spiritual torpor in which they had lain from 1570 to 1720.

The earliest Spanish emigrants must have been an intellectually active set of people. This is an inference from the fact that, as above mentioned, it was for the most part political refugees or malcontents who founded the cities with Spanish names in the countries they conquered and plundered. But we have another proof of the fact in the rich literature of the Conquest. We read with astonishment the reports of plain, common soldiers and merchants, and find in their presentations clearness of expression and a sharp lookout for everything worth noting. Later there was a reaction, the creoles lived at ease in their city houses or on their haciendas, while ignorance and idleness were forced upon them by the Spaniards. The small attendance at the colleges also speaks for their intellectual indolence at the period mentioned, although their ignorance probably was not so great as would be indicated by a story told by the often quoted Gage, who relates that a prominent creole at Chiapas once asked him if the same sun shone in England as in America. Spanish Americans of the present day defend this mental inactivity of their ancestors by pointing out that they were excluded from all offices, and they were wise to lead an indifferent and idle life rather than pursue studies which would only subject them to the suspicion of the governing caste, as is to-day the case in the Philippines, where the educated natives are regarded as suspicious characters.

The revival in culture and knowledge which the creoles underwent in the eighteenth century is not to be credited to the mother country, but is a consequence of foreign influence. The Spanish Government had taken every precaution to guard its colonies against foreigners, but the force of circumstances proved too strong. The numerous wars which Spain was always carrying on frequently interrupted the relations between the mother country and the colonies; and since the latter, thanks to Spanish colonial policy, had no domestic industries of their own, but were obliged to depend on Spain for many things that might easily have been produced at home, the home government found itself compelled in war times to grant individual colonies permission to relieve their most pressing needs by trading abroad. Although this permission was only granted as cases arose, yet it was sufficient to establish friendly relations between the colonies and other countries, according as Spain was in alliance with England, Holland, or France, and these relations were continued, after normal conditions were resumed, under the form of an extensive smuggling. This smuggling is of importance not only in the history of the trade of Spanish America, but because the creoles, by the intercourse thus established with other countries, came to learn foreign languages (especially English and French), and their intellectual horizon was widened by contact with foreign literatures, and all this happened just at the time when the quality of the officials who were sent to the colonies from Spain was deteriorating. Zabala says of them: "Most of them came from the provinces of Spain with no other property than a coat, a pair of breeches, and three shirts. Many of them could hardly read, and had no other knowledge of the world and affairs than what they had picked up on the voyage. * * * Many of them believed that there was no other king but the King of Spain, and no other language than Spanish." This description is evidently colored by the hatred of a Mexican for Spaniards, but Spaniards themselves like the Duke of Almodovar, Don Tomas de Comyn, Fray Angustin de Santa Maria, and the Jesuit P. Vicente Aleman, say even worse things of the King's officials than Zabala.

It can now easily be seen how dangerous it must have been for the Spanish régime which was only founded upon authority, when the rich creoles not only regarded the representatives of the motherland with the hatred of the oppressed toward the

oppressors, but also looked down upon them from a consciousness of their own intellectual superiority. Their fate seemed to them all the more pitiful and their lot the more unworthy when they heard the Spaniards boasting of their own superiority and the inferiority of the Americans. The administration of the King's favorite, Godoy, contributed especially to bring the Spanish rule in America into equal hatred and contempt, for this upstart sent to the colonies the worst of all officeholders—men who openly declared with utter cynicism that their own enriching was the only object they had in view in taking office. * * *

I have hitherto spoken only of creoles, and that because the war of independence in all the Spanish colonies was only carried on by white natives, the insurrection of Father Hidalgo excepted. This latter insurrection, of colored men alone, was, however, not successful, nor did the separatist movement meet with a successful issue until the creoles declared their independence of Spain. The Indian farmers of Central America and the region of the Andes were so indolent that they could hardly be induced to take part in the war of independence. They had not, it is true, been too well treated by the creoles, but for the most part they stood to them in much the same relation as the peasants of La Vendée sustained to their seigneurs, and were, therefore, inclined to take the part of their lords, even if they had no very clear idea of the cause of their quarrel. The Spaniards had prepared, it is true, a most admirable code of laws for the protection of the Indians, but the officials paid no attention to legal requirements and simply regarded the Indians as objects of plunder, like that corregidor who compelled the Indians under his authority to buy from him thousands of pairs of spectacles. No reasonable Spaniard could expect love and gratitude from people who had first been robbed of their liberty by his people and then condemned to everlasting servitude. Also, Spanish absolutism caused the Indians to lay all the blame for their sufferings upon the Government, although the creoles were occasionally the immediate cause. In vain had Spain founded her sway upon caste, envy, and the ancient principle *divide et impera*. At the very moment when this system ought to have withstood the supreme trial it failed completely. The common oppression which was shared by the white, the yellow, the brown, and the black man alike produced a reaction to which the Spanish dominion succumbed.

The negroes (speaking now of the eighteenth century) played only an insignificant part in the war of independence; they only appear in any force in Venezuela. The Spaniards armed them against the rebels, but they finally joined the latter. As they were mostly slaves and freedmen, without education or knowledge, they simply furnished food for powder for both parties. It is different nowadays in Cuba, when a small fraction of the negroes have raised themselves from the condition of laborers by virtue of a certain degree of education, mostly of a political character, which gives them a great influence over their fellows, an influence which is devoted to the dissemination of an unyielding and uncompromising separatist sentiment. These educated negroes, especially the mulattoes and all mixed bloods, said to themselves, as soon as they had eaten of the tree of political knowledge, that they could only attain to influence and position in the land of their birth when the colonies had become independent. In fact, it is hardly conceivable that the European Spaniards, who regard even the creoles as inferiors, would ever have intrusted either high or medium offices to negroes and other people of color, for that would infringe the unwritten law of the Spanish national pride. The Spaniards even regarded it as impossible that the creoles should ever subordinate themselves to colored men, and yet during the war of independence of their colonies on the mainland they lived to see creole nobles under the command of colored generals and chieftains, so powerfully had the hatred of the Spanish oligarchy fostered a spirit of comradeship among the Spanish Americans; and as soon as these colonies became independent States the spectacle was seen of an Indian, Don Benito Juarez, becoming President of the Republic of Mexico. If Mexico had remained a Spanish colony, Juarez could never have

risen above the position of some subordinate office, even if he could have obtained that. From the nature of the Spanish colonial system, and the narrow-mindedness of the Spanish national character, it was the demand of self-respect for intelligent and educated colored men to strive with all their might for the severance of their native land from Spain. The Spaniards can not understand this attitude of the colored races. They complain of their ingratitude, showing how they had brought Christianity and European civilization to the Indians and negroes and always treated them kindly, far differently from the English, who erect an impassable barrier between themselves and the natives and do not concern themselves about either their salvation or education. Foreign writers, too, even those who have lived a long time in Spanish colonies, speak in the same way, and point out that in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines the colored races live in an idyllic condition compared with the natives of English or Dutch colonies. But all these encomiasts forget that the whole Spanish colonial system signifies a policy which makes great promises and awakens ambition, but does not keep its promises and disappoints the aroused ambition. The man of color in the Antilles who is satisfied with the condition of a peasant and laborer can always enjoy an idyllic existence, but if he betakes himself to study and is ambitious to play a political part in his home, or aspires to a higher office than that of a clerk, he will find his career completely closed. Why do the Spaniards take so much trouble to raise the colored people to the level of their civilization, only to exclude them from office and honors, and even represent them in the press as intellectually deficient? People who are so thrust aside and subjected to such contemptuous treatment can not be expected to exhibit much regard for the Spaniards, for the rule of the latter means for them only humiliation and slavery, a perpetual helotism, which at most is ameliorated by kindly personal relations between the two races.

* * * In the days of her sovereignty upon the Continent Spain did everything to hinder any mercantile or industrial advance of the colonies by a shortsighted guardianship. The number of ships for the carrying trade between the mother country and the colonies was strictly fixed. So, too, strict rules were established which restricted the free cultivation of all plants which could flourish in the colonies, so that in many regions only certain products could be exported. This was still more true of industries, although it must be said that certain flourishing industries in Spain itself (such as the silk culture of Valencia) were ruined by foolish legislation. The Americans endeavored to reconp themselves for the damages inflicted upon them by the mother country by an extensive system of smuggling with foreign countries. In this way they became accustomed to procure all the products of industry from abroad, and busied themselves only with agriculture and cattle raising. The first Spanish immigrants had brought with them their home industries, but these as well as those of the natives, became disused, not from the indolence of the Americans, but from the force of circumstances, which, in this case, was the colonial system of the Spanish Government.

The smuggling system was fateful for the Spanish rule, for it brought not only wares, but new ideas, into the land, particularly the reflection that the foreigners were wiser and better people than the Spaniards, who had, up to that time, been considered the first nation of the world. The great profits that the plantation owners made by smuggling created the desire to have their external trade regulated by law, and this wish was fulfilled by the really glorious Government of Charles III. Unfortunately, the relief of trade was combined with the introduction of monopolies, the most oppressive of which was that of tobacco, and Humboldt has shown in several places how the tobacco monopoly was one of the measures that extended the discontent with the Spanish rule into circles which would otherwise not have cared whether they were subjects of Spain or citizens of a free state. The restriction of agriculture and free trade by monopolies not only produced discontent in the colonies, but it suggested to England, which was interested in both the legitimate and

the smuggling trade with them, the policy of fomenting this discontent, with a view either to acquire the colonies herself or convert them into free states. The younger Pitt followed this plan, which his successors did not allow to fall into neglect.

The Spanish colonies, therefore, even by the middle of the eighteenth century had become revolutionary in sentiment, but many of the discontented still adhered to the dynasty and were reluctant to sever all the bonds that united them with the mother country, while the radicals were in doubt what should be done with the colonies in case of separation; they thought of creating empires and kingdoms, but could not decide whence to derive the emperors and kings. The revolt of the present United States finally pointed out the way they ought to follow. The treaty between Spain and the Yankees, too, taught them that it could not be an unpardonable sin—a *crimen nefandum*—for a colony to rebel against the oppressions of the mother country. The example of the English colonies also showed them—and this was the most important lesson of all—the form of government which is best suited for independent colonies. In this way all anxiety as to who should rule in the free states was removed. Spain could still have retained her hold upon her colonies if the constitution of 1812 had remained, but the reaction which Ferdinand VII introduced into Spain upon his restoration in 1814 took away from the Spanish-Americans all confidence in the permanence of the liberties that had been granted them, and they preferred independence to an uncertain future. The Spaniards, however, learned nothing from the rebellion of their continental colonies. The refusal of political rights in Cuba remained, as before, the rule of their colonial policy; political reforms were granted only when they were forcibly extorted by insurrections—that is to say, when they were too late—and produced in the minds of the natives the ineradicable conviction of the ill will and envy of the mother country. Among foreigners the separatist sentiment of the Spanish Americans is explained as being due to the plundering of the colonies by Spain, a statement which is only true in a slight degree. In the first place only a few of the colonies have had an excess of income over expenditures, and in the second place even this did not all go to Spain, but was applied to making good the deficit of less fortunate colonies, just as to-day the expenses of the Spanish Guinea islands are defrayed out of the budget for the Philippines. For many decades Spain has had no income from either Cuba or Porto Rico. In the nineteenth century the Spanish colonies have been plundered in the fullest sense of the word, not by Spain, but by Spanish officials. These officials in the two centuries preceding the present were more or less permanent, a condition that has changed since the introduction of the constitutional system in Spain. Every new ministry now dismisses the higher and most of the lower officers of the former régime and replaces them with its own partisans. As ministries change frequently in Spain there is a constant going and coming of officials in the colonies, whereby the interests of the mother country are seriously affected. The officials are consequently induced more than ever to lay up something for a rainy day, and they never have time enough to acquire a thorough knowledge of either the colonial lands or peoples. As the Roman provinces were made to pay the debts of the aristocratic proconsuls and *propraetors*, so have the Spanish colonies served to provide places for the faithful adherents of the changing parties in Madrid and their parasites. It is this peculiarity of Spanish political life that makes useful reforms so difficult, if not impossible. The noble and conscientious colonial minister, Don Segismundo Moret, was compelled to yield to the storm of odium which he aroused because the reforms which he inaugurated in Cuba were real reforms. The Spanish officials in the colonies are the most extreme reactionaries even when they are the wildest radicals at home, because they know that every reform must check their abuses; so that the maintenance of the old colonial system is for them a question of existence.

Every effort at reform was represented by them as a separatist movement in disguise, so that an unfavorable prejudice against reforms and reformers was created in Spain, and the latter were as much harrassed in their native country as the “dema-

gones" and liberals once were in Germany. It seems never to have occurred to the Spaniards that such proceedings would only intensify anti-Spanish and separatist feelings, else they would never have forced such a loyal people as the natives of the Philippines have always been to an insurrection.

All that is said in the preceding article might be repeated, word for word, in describing the history of Cuba alone in the present century, after enlightenment had become diffused. The intolerable nature of the oppression and contemptuous treatment of the Cubans by the Government officials led to insurrection after insurrection. In 1860 Anthony Trollope remarked that the Cubans had lost all their rights save that of being taxed. Before this century began, or rather before the English occupation of Havana in 1762, there is little of event in the history of Cuba for the present purpose. The population was small, not exceeding 170,000 even as late as the middle of the last century. The attacks of French, Dutch, and English pirates, buccaneers, and naval expeditions against Cuba and Porto Rico continued at intervals from Drake's time down to the end of the last century. The industry and commerce of the islands were of little importance until after the English occupation, after which date the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, and, later, coffee, became sources of wealth, and with free trade there was a general awakening.

In the aristocratic slave-holding community arose a growing interest in the intellectual movement in Europe, which was prompted everywhere by the French revolution and its consequences. Cuban literature and culture took a patriotic form, and the leading men in the intellectual movement of the island took a practical part in endeavoring to regenerate a community which had no education for the common people, and where, consequently, a most undesirable and dangerous condition of life and morals prevailed.¹

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF EDUCATION IN CUBA.

We are able to give an outline of the history of Cuban education from the work of Aurelio Mitjanes² upon the development of literature and science in Cuba down to 1868. The work is mainly devoted to the literature and particularly the poetry of the island; but, as the author justly remarks, some account of the state of education of the country is essential to understand the beginnings of its intellectual activity. He divides the history of the intellectual movement in Cuba into two epochs, separated by the memorable government of Gen. Luis de las Casas, which began in 1790. Before that period there was no constant

¹ Before the strict rule of Governor General Tacón the streets of Havana were very unsafe from highwaymen, who were assassins as well as in the way of business. When one of the preceding governors was appealed to for police protection, he replied, "You should do as I do; never go out after dark."

² This author was a wealthy young Cuban gentleman, who, after graduating at the University of Havana, passed several years in Spain, where he devoted himself to literature. He returned to Cuba and died there, of consumption, before reaching his thirtieth year. The present work is posthumous.

and regular development of culture, but the investigator only finds isolated instances of educational efforts scattered through three centuries, during which time neither the Government nor the municipalities founded a single free school for the common people. After the administration of Las Casas, however, to which, as in this work of Mitjanes, all Cuban writers refer as an epoch-making one, and especially after the foundation of the Sociedad Económica, the conditions changed and real development began, always, however, by private initiative.

That there were no elementary public schools in Cuba up to the end of the last century is not surprising, however, when we compare the condition of other countries in this respect with that of Cuba. Thus President Ezra Stiles, of Yale, records in his diary under date of July 17, 1794:

This day I was visited by M. Talleyrand Périgord, bishop of Autun, etc., and M. Beaumez, member for the district of Arras. The bishop has written a piece on education, and originated the bill or act in the National Assembly for setting up schools all over France for diffusing education and letters among the plebeians. I desired them to estimate the proportion of those who could not read in France. M. Beaumez said of 25,000,000 he judged 20,000,000 could not read. The bishop corrected it and said 18,000,000.

At that same time, it should be remembered, intellectual activity, literary, philosophical and scientific, the outgrowth of superior education, was at one of the high culminating points of its history in France.

Even in Havana, up to the beginning of the last century, there were no public elementary schools, and the need of them became so evident that by the munificence of a citizen (Caraballo) the Bethlehemite fathers opened a school where reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught, which was attended by 200 pupils. In Villa Clara a school was in existence since the foundation of the town in 1689. In 1712 the philanthropic Don Juan Conyedo, of Remedios, opened a free school there, and another in 1757 at Carmen. Another was opened at Arriaga in 1759; but on the death of Conyedo these schools were closed. Don Juan Felix de Moya reopened that at Carmen, and the municipality in 1775 voted *twenty-five dollars a year* for the support of the other: but both ceased to operate definitely in 1787. In 1771 Matanzas, seventy-eight years after its foundation, authorized its governor to engage a school-teacher in Havana.

Nor were secondary studies of a high character in the last century. Then, and subsequently, too, as the historian Bachiller, quoted by Mitjanes, remarks, more attention was paid to the pretentious form than the substance, and the title of academy or institute was given to institutions which were hardly more than primary schools, which held out inducements of a speedy preparation for the university. At that time, it should be remembered, the natural sciences had not reached the importance they subsequently attained, and the study of philosophy required the royal permission, so that secondary instruction was reduced to a superficial study of the humanities, especially Latin, which occu-

piated the leading place on account of its use in fitting for the university, and because teachers of Latin were easily found among the clergy, who were the principal factors of education at that period. All this may be said without detracting from the praiseworthy efforts and antiquity of some institutions like the Chapter of Havana, which, in 1663, convinced of the need of a teacher of grammar, voted a hundred ducats for the support of one who should teach Latin, but as the plan did not meet with the royal approbation they were obliged to drop the project, only to revive it afterwards with a larger salary. In the same year the municipality provided for continuing classes in grammar by a monk of the convent, which had been suspended. In 1607 Bishop Juan de las Cabezas Altamirano founded the Tridentine Seminary, the citizens offering to pay part of the expenses annually. The secular clergy also gave lessons in Latin and morals, as Conyedo did, who prepared students for the priesthood in Villa Clara, and later Fr. Antonio Perez de Coreho, who gave lectures on philosophy in the monastery of his order. By the bull of Adrian VI. of April 28, 1522, the Scholatria was established at Santiago de Cuba for giving instruction in Latin, and by his will, dated May 15, 1571, Capt. Francisco de Paradas left a considerable sum for the foundation of a school in Bayamo, which, in 1720, was intrusted to the charge of two monks of San Domingo, in whose hands the estate increased. In 1689 the College of San Ambrosio was established in Havana with twelve bursarships, for the purpose of preparing young men for the church, but it did not fulfill its purpose, and subsequently received the severe censure of Bishop Hechavarria Yelguez on account of its defective education, which had become reduced to Latin and singing. Fr. José María Penelvar opened a chair of eloquence and literature in the convent of La Merced in 1788, which also was not a success.

After these attempts the foundation of a Jesuit college in Havana gave a new impulse to education. From the first, according to the historian Arrete, quoted by Mitjanes, the priests of this order had observed the inclination of the inhabitants of Havana toward education, and Pezuela states in his History of Cuba that the municipality in 1656 wished to establish a college of the order, but the differences between the Jesuits and the prelates in the other colonies had been so frequent that the bishops and priests in Havana opposed the plan. But as the population increased the demands for the college multiplied, and in 1717 a citizen of Havana, Don Gregorio Diaz Angel, contributed \$40,000 in funds for the support of the college. The necessary license was obtained in 1721; three more years were spent in selecting and purchasing the ground, when the institution was opened under the name of the College of San Ignacio. The old college of San Ambrosio, which had been under the direction of the Jesuits since its establishment in 1689, was then united with it, although the old college still retained its distinctive character as a foundation school for the church.

As early as 1688 the ayuntamiento (or city council) of Havana applied to the Royal Government to establish a university in the city, in order that young men desirous of study might not be compelled to go to the mainland or Spain. This request was furthered by Bishop Valdés, and finally, by a letter of Innocent XIII of September 12, 1721, the fathers of the convent of S. Juan Latran were authorized to found the institution desired, and after some years of preparation it was opened in 1728, but the chairs of morals, philosophy, and canon law were filled previously by the Dominicans even before the funds were available. The university, by the order received, was to have been modeled upon that of Santo Domingo, but finally the task of preparing the regulations for the new university was intrusted to the fathers above mentioned by a royal letter in 1732, and they were approved by the university authorities, the Captain-General, and in Spain by the Council of the Indies, on June 27, 1734. The rectors, vice-rectors, counselors, and secretaries were to be Dominicans, a condition that produced innumerable rivalries and disputes until 1842. The first professors were appointed to their positions without limit of time. Afterwards they obtained their places by competition and for a term of six years only. The first rector, Fr. Tomás de Linares, was appointed by the King in 1728, but his successors were elected by the university authorities and were renewed annually. Among the early rectors were Bishop Morell, of Santa Cruz, and the renowned Cuban orator, Rafael del Castillo. Unfortunately, for a century the university was an insignificant element of culture and was only useful as a subject of boasting on the part of Spain that she had introduced her civilization on this side of the water and on that of the Cubans that they were advancing in sciences and arts. Several causes tended to restrict the value of the university. In the first place, it was modeled on a sixteenth century pattern. The Aristotelian system prevailed in its entirety. The professor of mathematics was to teach, besides practical arithmetic, which consisted of the first four rules with the *aurea*, elementary geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy and its "deductions for the use of our lord the King." There were polemical and civil architecture, geography, the sphere, mechanics, optics, etc. These subjects should have been included in the course of philosophy, and there were few students, even of the four rules and the *aurea*. The philosophical system was the scholastic, with its eternal *summas* and involved system of logic and its defective ideas of physics. The course lasted three years, the first two of which were occupied with logic and the Aristotelian philosophy. But the university would not have benefited much more if it had been modeled upon a Spanish university of the eighteenth century, because the mother country was on the low scientific level to which the deadly politics of the Austrians had reduced her. When Charles III urged the rectors of universities in Spain to reform education he was told that it was impossible to depart from the Aristotelian system or follow the innovations of Galileo and Newton,

because they were not in accord with inviolable tradition. Furthermore, it was not always possible to find suitable teachers in Cuba. For this reason the chair of mathematics was vacant for a long time. Sometimes the Government refused to adopt very useful ideas on behalf of the university, either by negligence or ignorance, or for economical reasons. Thus the rector, in 1761, petitioned for the erection of a chair of experimental physics, which was refused, and two of mathematics, only one of which was granted. A new plan of study was drawn up, in view of the pressing need of reform, but was allowed to lie unnoticed. In 1795 Don José Augustin Caballero made an address in the section of science and arts of the Sociedad Económica, in which he deplored the backward condition of education, which, he said, retarded and embarrassed the progress of the arts and sciences, without, however, any fault on the part of the teachers, who could only obey and execute their instructions. On motion of Señor Caballero a representation was made to the King, by a committee of the society, of the necessity of reforming education in the island, beginning with the university. The committee declared, among other things, that no mathematics was taught, nor chemistry, nor practical anatomy. General Las Casas supported this motion, but the Government took no action. The same indifference, or worse, was manifested by the Spanish Government in other parts of America. It refused to permit the foundation of academies, or universities, or chairs of mathematics, law or pilot schools (the latter being pure luxuries, the decree said). The cacique Don Juan Cirillo de Castilla endeavored during thirty years to obtain permission to establish a college for Indians in his native country, but died finally in Madrid without obtaining it. The archbishop of Guatemala left money by his will for establishing a chair of moral philosophy, but the minister directed the money to be sent to Spain, it having been improperly devised, as he declared. Charles IV prohibited the establishment of the University of Merida in Maracaibo on the ground that he did not deem it expedient that enlightenment should become general in America. There were other instances of the same policy in Chile and Peru; and yet, notwithstanding all these restrictions, Humboldt observed "a great intellectual movement and a youth endowed with a rare faculty for learning the sciences—a sure sign of the political and moral revolution that was in preparation."

In Santiago de Cuba the seminary of San Basilio Magno was founded by Bishop Francisco Gerónimo Valdés in 1722, for ecclesiastical studies, with an endowment of 12,000 pesos. This establishment, however, did not come into operation until the latter part of the last century. More important was the foundation of the college and seminary of San Carlos and San Ambrosio in Havana in 1773, which was not destined exclusively for the education of ecclesiastics, but included three courses of philosophy and letters preparatory to, and besides, the higher faculties of theology, law, and mathematics, the last two of which, however, were not opened until the beginning of the present century.

Education being in such an unsatisfactory condition, it is not to be expected that literature and science should have received much encouragement in the three centuries preceding the present. Mitjanes, however, shows that printing was introduced in Santiago de Cuba in 1698, but was soon discontinued, not to reappear for a century. In Havana practically no printing was done until 1720, and then only on an insignificant scale. Poetry appeared in the sixteenth century in the form of a comedy with the strange title "The good in heaven and the wicked on earth," which was presented on St. John's day and was long remembered for other reasons than the merits of the play. The names of several versifiers, with the subjects of their poems and criticisms of their styles, are given in Mitjanes's work, from which it appears that they suffered from the pedantry, mysticism, and affectation with which readers of some of the English poetry of the seventeenth century are familiar, and they were imitators of Spanish writers of the period. The attacks of the buccaneers upon Cuban towns were frequent in the seventeenth century and the conflicts with them formed the subject of some of these early poems, while earthquakes furnished an occasional theme in the following century, which was sometimes humorously treated. But about the middle of the last century more serious literary work begins to appear with the account by Bishop Morell of the English attempts in America and his history of the island and the church of Cuba, which work is lost, and Arrate's history of Cuba, which remained in manuscript until 1830, when it was published by the Sociedad Económica. It gives the history of the island down to 1761, but is not now of importance. The work of two other historians, Urratia and Valdés, are criticised by Mitjanes, who closes his review of this period with notices of certain preachers who were celebrated for their eloquence. In 1789 there was printed at Havana a work on natural history by Don Antonio Parra which was illustrated by drawings, there being no good engravers in the island at that time. The work appears to have been of no great merit, but its account of the fishes gave it value. The author was commissioned by the Government and the botanical garden of Madrid to make collections for the cabinet of natural history at Madrid.

The second epoch in the intellectual history of Cuba began with the administration of Don Luis de las Casas, whose name is held in grateful remembrance by Cubans, and who inaugurated a new era by his zealous and noble enthusiasm in promoting intellectual and educational activity. He founded the first literary periodical and the Sociedad Económica (sometimes called Patriótica) de Habana, which has been the first mover in all the advances in the material interests and education in the island. With him cooperated an eminent physician, Dr. Romay; Arango, the distinguished writer on economics; Caballero; Penalver, archbishop of Guatemala; and many others. The Sociedad Económica was charged by a royal order with the care of education in

Cuba. An inventory was taken of the primary schools in 1793 and a deplorable state of affairs was found. In Havana there were only 39 schools, 32 of which were for girls, and the instruction was of the worst, nothing but reading being taught in many of them which were in charge of colored women. The society then founded two free schools for the poor of both sexes. The society met with much opposition, in part from Bishop Trespalacios, who was envious of Las Casas, but it succeeded in founding schools with the help of the religious orders, particularly the school of the Beneficencia in 1799 and the Ursulines in 1803. It endeavored to establish members of the order of San Sulpicio, which had met with such success in education in New Orleans, but without result. Outside the capital, gratuitous instruction for the people did not exist except in isolated cases, due to individual efforts, principally of the clergy. In 1801 the sociedad took another school census and found the number of schools in the city to be 71, with 2,000 pupils, most of which were not under the Government and were taught by ignorant colored women who had neither method nor order. Recognizing these fatal defects, the society endeavored to induce the Government to issue regulations reforming the schools and providing faithful, competent, and interested teachers, but without result. In 1816 the section of education was formed and the Government granted \$32,000 for primary instruction, and at this time some improvement in the condition of this branch was made. But notwithstanding the efforts of individuals, the funds were insufficient for the growing needs, and some of the new schools had only an ephemeral existence.

Secondary and superior education.—The society also devoted its energies to opening new branches of study in higher education. In 1793 it was proposed to found a chair of chemistry, and a subscription of \$24,615 was immediately raised, but owing to the difficulty of finding a professor in Europe the chair was not filled until 1819. The apparatus was brought from Europe, and after some delay quarters for a laboratory were found in the hospital of San Ambrosio. The first professor was Don José Tasso.

The society in 1794 formed a plan of secondary instruction which included mathematics, drawing, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, and anatomy. (The date and scope of this plan are noteworthy. Its spirit is quite modern.) The creation of a botanic garden was proposed in 1795, but the plan did not meet with such enthusiasm as the chemical laboratory, which, it was hoped, might be of use to the sugar industry. The course of anatomy was opened in 1797. In this same year a real revolution took place in the instruction in philosophy at the Colegio Seminario de San Carlos, the old Aristotelian philosophy becoming replaced by modern methods in the lectures on logic of Caballero. But in 1811, when Felix Varela took the chair of philosophy, the old system received its death blow, the names of modern thinkers became familiar in the schools, and their doctrines were freely exam-

ined. The students were taught to use their reason as a guide, and to ignore all the useless quibbles and confused terminology of the scholastic philosophy. One of his pupils, afterwards well known in Cuba, Don José de La Luz, said of this teacher, "He was the first who taught us to think." He also used Spanish instead of Latin in his lectures, retaining the latter only one day in the week, in order that its use might not be forgotten. Part of his *Institutions of Eclectic Philosophy* were published in Spanish. In physics Varela was also an esteemed professor, but later on this chair at the college was filled by José Antonio Saco, who followed in brilliant lectures, day by day, the most recent discoveries made in Europe. The Government having ordered in 1813 that political economy should be taught in the universities, the *Sociedad Económica* established a chair of this subject in San Carlos in 1818, which was supported by voluntary subscriptions. The new spirit was shown further by a change in the law course from an excessive devotion to the study of the Roman digests to the fuller study of Spanish law. At this period medicine, which, as we shall see, received such preeminent attention at a later period, was far behind the age. Until 1824 there was no chair of surgery, and chemistry and philosophy were twenty years behind the times. The promoters of superior instruction in the beginning of the new epoch, which Mitjanes puts between 1790 and 1820, were Las Casas, Bishop Espado, and the intendent Ramirez, who was mainly instrumental in organizing the instruction in chemistry and other scientific branches, with the constant cooperation of the *Sociedad Económica*. The results of the education of these thirty years could hardly be expected to show until after the close of that period. During this time a large number of newspapers and periodicals appeared, owing to the liberty granted to the press, and in some of these appeared important critical and historical papers by men of information and ability. The names of Romay, Caballero, and Arango appear as essayists, and the historian Valdés published a part of his history in 1813, which Mitjanes criticises somewhat severely. These periodicals, and particularly the one published under the auspices of the society, furnished a medium for the budding poets of the new era to display themselves, and the drama received new editions. Many of the poets of this period, whose gifts and utterances Mitjanes discusses with apparent discrimination, it can be seen are well worthy of note, and they bring a real culture to aid their native talent. It would hardly be worth while to give a bare list of their names and poems. Mitjanes's criticisms, besides, are quite technical, and bear upon versification and other literary features of the poems.

In the second period of the new epoch—from 1820 to 1842—the *Sociedad Económica*, always in the vanguard of the intellectual movement, began to find the fruits of its earlier efforts in the works of the younger men who had profited by them, and in 1830 a committee on history was formed and another on literature. The Government was now in far

other hands than those of Las Casas and did its best in the person of General Tacon to suppress the new political and economical views, mainly, it is true, on account of articles which appeared in the journals published under the auspices of the society. Still, in 1833, by virtue of a royal order, the committee on literature constituted itself an independent academy which encouraged or founded literary periodicals. Its sessions were the place of meeting for all the leading men in Cuba who were interested in letters and new ideas, and it collected a valuable library. In this period appeared the first really great Cuban poet, Heredia, whose genius was recognized in Europe, and one of whose poems, "Niagara," was translated into English by Bryant. His life was a curious comment on the Spanish rule in Cuba. He was born at Santiago de Cuba in 1803. At 8 years of age his teacher, the Dominican Francisco Javier Caro, pronounced him to be a good Latinist and an excellent translator of Horace, and at 10 he had written poems which attracted the attention of literary men. He went to Havana for the first time in 1817 and to Mexico in 1819, whence he returned to Havana upon the death of his father, in 1820. He took there the degree of bachelor of law, and in 1823 was an advocate in Puerto Principe. Thence he removed to Matanzas where he became involved with the revolutionary agents of Spanish America, and, falling under suspicion, was obliged to leave Cuba. He passed three years in the United States and the rest of his life in Mexico, where he was appointed assistant secretary of state, and afterwards was a judge of the supreme court and member of the Senate. His lyrical poems, published in New York in 1825, when he was only 22 years old, which have been republished in Philadelphia, New York, London, Paris, Hamburg, Madrid, and Barcelona, and admired in all the civilized countries of the world, placed him at once among the noted poets of the century.

Passing over other lyric poets of less note—Milanes, Ramon de Palma, and others whose works Mitjanes discusses—the next most noted name in the Cuban poetry of this period is that of Placido, whose fame, perhaps, is partly due to the circumstances of his origin and his tragic death. It was the opinion, however, of some critics that Placido was the most gifted of all the Cuban poets, but the misfortunes of his defective education, and his birth in a despised class, which condemned him to live in a social sphere far beneath that which was the due of his intellectual superiority, were sufficient to dull his inspiration. His poverty, too, compelled him often to write without other incentive, and the political oppression, which was a constant menace to everyone, was a double weight upon him until he fell a martyr to it in 1844. Placido was a mulatto, and no one born out of a slave-holding country, where color is the badge of slavery and marks the social pariah, can understand how that circumstance placed at once an impassable barrier between the unhappy victim of it and all those who would otherwise have been intellectually congenial to him. An article by Mr. W. H.

Hurlbut, in the *North American Review* for January, 1849, upon the "Poetry of Spanish-America," written when the memory of Heredia and Placido was still fresh, and Milanés was still alive, describes contemporary Cuba as follows:

All the avenues to the public mind are guarded with unrelaxing watchfulness, and the patriotism of Cuba, denied any enlarged and popular field of action, is compelled to pour itself into the heart of the people through strains of stirring poetry from the lips of men prepared for the martyrdom as well as for the championship of freedom. And imprisonment, exile, and death have, indeed, been the meeds of these hero bards, who speak always earnestly and from their hearts, in the words of brave men who have counted the cost of their devotion. It is strange, indeed, that so little should be known among us of an intellectual and spiritual life so nearly allied to the best thought and feeling of our own country.

The author speaks sympathetically of the career of Heredia, who as a man was held in honorable remembrance for the integrity, generosity, and amiability of his character, and whose sufferings testified more loudly than his words to the depth and strength of affection with which he clung to the best hopes of his country. Thoughts of sorrow or of hope for Cuba underlie almost all his poems, translations of passages from which are given in the article referred to. Placido, whose name was Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés, was born at Matanzas in 1809. "His education was of the rudest kind; nearly all the learning that he acquired he owed to the impulses of his own mind, followed out with all the energy of an indomitable will," and he had established his reputation when he was called upon to play the higher parts of a hero and a martyr. An insurrection broke out among the slaves in 1844, and Placido was accused of being the organ of communication between the insurgents and the British consul, who was suspected of favoring them. The insurrection was suppressed with a savage ferocity which was fresh in the minds of the readers of the article in the *North American*. Placido was condemned to death, and he awaited his fate with entire composure. "In the intervals of the duties which crowded upon his shortening life he poured out the emotions and aspirations of his soul in poetry; and these death songs, full of undying truth, have written themselves deeply and forever on the hearts of his countrymen. One of them, especially, his 'Prayer to God,' composed the day before his execution, was eagerly learned and recited by the young men of Matanzas, and has been universally considered his finest production." A translation of the poem is then given, of which the translator says that "it is difficult to convey into English words the fire and force of expression of this noble poem." The night before his execution Placido addressed a farewell letter to his wife and a "farewell," in poetry, to his mother, and the next morning passed through the streets with his fellow-victims "with a serene face and an unwavering step and chanting his 'Prayer' with a calm, clear voice"—a spectacle which, in other times and countries, would have furnished inspiration for heroic verse. Prone as we of English descent are to suspect the contrary, Placido's

conduct at this supreme moment was undoubtedly sincere and not theatrical. His ignoble birth, as well as the political subjection of the island, harrowed his soul, as is evident in the extracts given in this article we have used, e. g., in the "Sonnet to Greece," and the "Hymn to Liberty," written on the morning of his execution, which is thus rendered in the spirited translation by an anonymous writer:

O Liberty! I wait for thee
 To break this chain and dungeon bar:
 I hear thy spirit calling me
 Deep in the frozen North, afar,
 With voice like God's, and visage like a star.
 Long cradled by the mountain wind,
 Thy mates the eagle and the storm,
 Arise! and from thy brow unbind
 The wreath that gives its starry form,
 And smite the strength that would thy grace deform!
 Yes, Liberty! thy dawning light,
 Obscured by dungeon bars, shall cast
 Its splendor on the breaking night,
 And tyrants, fleeing pale and fast,
 Shall tremble at thy gaze and stand aghast!

Placido's poetry is of ethnological interest, as he was partly of African descent, although it is impossible to know of what tribe. Some of the slaves who were brought to Cuba at an earlier period came from a region where they had become mixed with Arabs, and could read and write.

The article continues:

The works of Placido were suppressed by a vice-regal edict, and his name was covered with official infamy; but by the inhabitants of Cuba the memory of this true son of the people will always be gratefully cherished. Never have the rights of man found a more heroic martyr than in this despised and humble laborer, this pariah of society, bearing in his natural form and color the badge of disgrace and servitude. Surely his death has not been in vain. It is by the fall of such victims that men's thoughts are turned against tyrants and their tyranny. Hundreds and thousands of human beings droop and die in dumb, vulgar misery, and the world's slumbers are unbroken; but let one hero be led out from among them to sacrifice, and his voice penetrates to the four corners of the earth. Yet a few years and it will be seen that Placido, like the greater Toussaint, fell not obscurely or alone, but encompassed by the most faithful and unforgetting friends, beheld and remembered by "great allies,"

— "By exultations, agonies,
 And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

We have been thus lengthy in this digression because of the date of the article (1849), the prophetic feelings of its author (who was a

¹Tennyson's ode to liberty, beginning "Of old sat Freedom on the heights," was written some dozen years before Placido's death. There is a resemblance between the ideas in each poem, but one has the academic polish while the other is the natural cry of genius. It is impossible to imagine that Tennyson, an English gentleman, accustomed to write in the midst of quiet and scholarly surroundings, could have written his ode if he had known that he was to be publicly executed a few hours afterwards.

South Carolinian), and because the episode of Placido's death marks an antiquated phase of history which has now disappeared from this side of the Atlantic.

In other chapters of his interesting history Mitjanes gives a discriminating account of the dramatic writers, novelists, and narrative poetry from 1820 to 1842, which must be passed over to note activity in other directions. In history Ramón de la Sagras and Pezuela's works appeared in 1831 and 1842, respectively, the former being rather of a political-economical character, while the latter takes up the history of the island from the beginning, using the early authorities, and the Sociedad Económica published many memoirs upon historical as well as upon philosophical, medical, chemical, and botanical subjects. A noticeable feature of this period was the appearance of a large number of periodicals which manifested a new political and intellectual activity.

The political changes of 1820 in Spain had their effect upon education. Upon the suppression of the convents the Government gave the chapel of one of the Augustine orders to the Sociedad Económica for establishing a normal school, and established a chair of constitutional law in the seminary of San Carlos, and in the university, but both the normal school and the new chairs were soon after suppressed by another political change in 1824, and the \$32,000 which the section of education had received from the municipality for elementary education was also reduced, soon after which that section received its deathblow by the royal order of February 8, 1825, withdrawing the funds which had been allotted to it, in consequence of which it was no longer possible to maintain the new free schools. It is to be observed that during the reign of Ferdinand VII the university, which was more directly connected with the Madrid Government, suffered more than San Carlos, which was protected by the Sociedad Económica and the diocesan bishop, and it remained in a backward state until the Government commissioned Francisco de Arango to examine and report upon the condition of the institution, which task he accomplished, with the aid of those most interested in the needed reforms. His report, in 1827, led to the reforms embodied in the plan of 1842. The medical faculty meanwhile was reorganized and modernized, and philosophy also, in the hands of the new teachers, became a living force, the French school (Cousin) being represented in the period from 1840 to 1856.

In primary and secondary education a great advance was made in the private colleges. From 1827 to 1830 the convenient distinction was drawn between elementary and superior instruction and new colleges were established (five in number), in which the instruction was so excellent that it was said in 1830 that there was no longer any need to send young men abroad for their education. The professors in these colleges were well-known men of letters.

As to free primary instruction, outside of Havana and Matanzas it

was in an exceedingly backward state. The census of 1833 showed that there were only 9,082 pupils registered in the schools of the whole island, and this figure is far above the number of those actually attending. There were then 190,000 or 200,000 inhabitants under 15 years of age. The provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago, with 250,000 or 300,000 inhabitants each, had 1,408 and 991 pupils in school in 1840, respectively. In Villa Clara there was only one school from 1821 to 1834.

The period from 1842 to 1868, the date of the beginning of the obstinate insurrection that lasted ten years, was prolific in poets and dramatists, whose works Mitjanes criticises with discrimination, and we are astonished at the number of names, especially when we reflect that the entire population of Cuba was only 1,400,000 in 1868, of which 800,000 were white. Let anyone compare the literary activity in Havana with that of any city of equal size in the United States and he can judge of the singular intellectual activity manifested in the island. Upon scientific education and the sciences Mitjanes says nothing, but we can supplement this historical sketch by the official list of royal decrees and orders reorganizing public instruction, the origin of which, we have seen in the foregoing, was always due to the remonstrances or memorials or suggestions of the islanders, and never proceeded from the Government itself.

*Secondary and superior instruction.*¹—The royal decrees concerning secondary and superior instruction in Cuba and Porto Rico during the first half of the century provided principally for making valid in Spain the titles of licentiate or doctor obtained in Cuba and Porto Rico. In 1863 a general reform of public instruction was effected, by virtue of which it was divided into primary, secondary, superior, and professional branches. In 1871 a decree provides that professors of the University of Havana are eligible for professorships in Spain, which was followed in 1878 by a decree making the professorate in the colonies and the peninsula one body.

In 1880, at the close of the ten-year insurrection, special schools, which had been called for by circumstances, such as the dental college of Havana, were created, besides societies of agriculture, industry, and commerce. In this year the minister for the colonies drew up a memorial of the unsatisfactory condition of public education in Cuba and Porto Rico, especially in regard to the university and institute of Havana. It recites that the first step toward secularizing education and assimilating it with that of Spain in that respect was taken in 1842, and that the assimilation was nearly complete by 1863 as far as legislation and form were concerned. But Cuba, he adds, was not then prepared for so vast and centralized an organization, and many obstacles and delays arose that checked the proposed reform. The insurrection of 1868 interfered with education very seriously, inter-

¹From the *Diccionario de Legislación de Instrucción Pública*. Eduardo Orbanejo. Valladolid, 1893.

rupting the studies and so making it difficult or impossible for students to finish their courses, which, again, unfitted them to become teachers in the secondary schools which were soon after established all over the island. This state of things also interfered with the habilitation in the Peninsula of studies followed in Cuba, and so tended to separate the two countries in that respect. All these considerations led to the decree of June 18, 1880, regulating superior and secondary instruction, and coordinating those branches in Cuba with the same grades in Spain established by the decrees of 1874 and order of 1875. One of the principal features of this decree was the article authorizing the establishment of a secondary institution in the capital of each Cuban province at the expense of the province or municipality, with a subvention from the Governor-General from the estimates for the island. In capitals where there were no public secondary institutes colleges of the religious orders might be substituted by the Governor-General, with the advice of the council. But the degrees granted by these private institutions were to be verified, as only the degrees of public institutions were recognized. In accordance with this decree an institute of secondary education was established in Porto Rico in 1882, there being already several in Cuba; an agricultural commission was organized in Cuba, and in 1885 a professional school was established in Porto Rico like those in Havana, where there were a nautical school, a professional school proper, fitting its students to practice chemistry and the mechanic arts, and an art school. In 1886 the following plan of studies was drawn up for the law faculty of the University of Havana, which we give here for the sake of showing the scope of the studies in that department. There are two sections, one of the candidates for the licentiate and the other for the doctor's degree.

Section of the licentiate.

Metaphysics.	Principals of canon law.
General and Spanish literature.	Political and administrative law.
Critical history of Spain	Elements of finance.
Elements of law.	Public international law.
Political economy and statistics.	Private international law.
General history of Spanish law.	Proceedings in civil, criminal, canon, and
Principles of Roman law.	administrative law, and theory and
Spanish law, civil, common, and statute.	practice of briefing public instru-
Criminal law.	ments.
Mercantile law of Spain and of the prin-	
cipal countries of Europe and America.	

Section of the doctorate.

Philosophy of law.	Principles of public law of ancient and
Higher course of Roman law.	modern peoples.
Church history and discipline.	History of private law of ancient and
Public ecclesiastical law.	modern peoples.
History and critical examination of the	Law literature, principally Spanish.
principal treaties between Spain and	
other powers.	

A similar reform was effected in the faculties of medicine and pharmacy of the University of Havana in 1887 by a royal decree which brought that faculty upon the level of a Spanish university. The plan of studies was as follows:

Preparatory course.—Physics, advanced course; general chemistry; mineralogy and botany; zoology.

These subjects were to be studied in the faculty of sciences and natural history.

Section of licentiates.—Descriptive anatomy and embryology; normal histology and histo-chemistry; technical anatomy, practice in dissection, in histology and histo-chemistry; human physiology, theoretical and experimental; private hygiene; general pathology, with clinics and clinical preliminaries; therapeutics, materia medica, with writing prescriptions, and hydrology, hydrotherapeutics, and electrotherapeutics; pathological anatomy; surgical pathology; topographic anatomy; practice of medicine, with clinics; clinical surgery, medical pathology, clinical medicine; obstetrics and gynecology, with clinics; special course on the diseases of children, with clinics; public hygiene, with medical statistics and sanitary legislation; legal and toxicological medicine.

Course for doctorate.—Critical history of medicine; public hygiene, advanced course, including a historical and geographical course of endemics and epidemics; biological chemistry with analysis: chemical analysis, especially of poisons.

Lectures upon some of the above studies are appointed to be had every day during the course, others daily for a certain time, and others twice a week, according to the importance of the subject.

The plan of studies for pharmacy included the preparatory course above given. Then follows:

Course for licentiates.—Study of physical instruments and apparatus as applied to pharmacy, with exercises for practice; descriptive botany, with determination of medical plants; mineralogy and zoology applied to pharmacy, with the corresponding pharmaceutical material; inorganic chemistry applied to pharmacy, with exercises; vegetable materia pharmaceutica; exercises in animal, vegetable, and mineral materia pharmaceutica; organic chemistry applied to pharmacy, with exercises; chemical analysis, particularly of foods, medicines, and poisons, with exercises; practical pharmacy and sanitary legislation.

Course for doctors' degree.—Biological chemistry, with analysis; critical history of pharmacy and pharmaceutical bibliography.

The decree specifies in what way the programme is to be carried out.

This programme is essentially the same as that of a European university.

As showing a disposition to adopt new features, it is important to note that the same decree that contains the above programme also directs that a chair of industrial mechanics and applied chemistry shall be created in the Havana Institute. This institute already possessed a

chair of experimental physics, while practical chemistry and mechanics were taught in the professional school.

We give also the plan of studies of the faculties of philosophy and letters and of sciences of the university as prescribed by royal order of 1887, together with the attendance in 1888-89. As these studies are of a general nature they are not designed to fit students for professions like the special subjects in the law and medical faculties. The list shows the interest shown in such subjects.

Programme of the Royal University of Havana, 1888-89.

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY AND LETTERS.

	Number of students.
General and Spanish literature.....	119
General literature.....	7
Spanish literature.....	15
Greek, first course.....	19
Greek, second course.....	10
Greek and Latin literature.....	12
General history, first course.....	19
General history, second course.....	25
Metaphysics, first course.....	132
Metaphysics, second course.....	12
Critical history of Spain.....	124
Hebrew.....	1
Arabic.....	8
Æsthetics.....	4
History of philosophy.....	4
Critical history of Spanish literature.....	5
Sanscrit.....	5

NOTE.—At the same time 24 students were classified in this faculty from private instruction, having passed their examinations, i. e., their degrees having been verified, as explained in the decrees. Of these 24, 5 were examined in Porto Rico.

FACULTY OF SCIENCES.

General studies:

Mathematical analysis, first course.....	19
Mathematical analysis, second course.....	7
Geometry.....	19
Analytical geometry.....	6
Cosmography and physics of the globe.....	8
Advanced physics.....	137
General chemistry.....	141
General zoology.....	138
Mineralogy and botany.....	138
Lineal drawing.....	9
Physico-mathematical sciences:	
Differential and integral calculus.....	2
Theoretical mechanics.....	1
Descriptive geometry.....	1
Advanced experimental physics.....	6
Higher physics, first course.....	1
Higher physics, second course.....	2
Higher physics, experimental, first course.....	1
Higher physics, experimental, second course.....	2
Geodesy.....	1
Mathematical physics.....	3
Theoretical and practical astronomy.....	3

	Number of students.
Physics and chemistry:	
Inorganic chemistry	4
Experimental chemistry	4
Organic chemistry, and experimental	8
Drawing applied to physico-chemical science	3

Natural sciences, including anatomy and animal and vegetable physiology, mineralogy, zoography of vertebrates, articulates, mollusks, and zoophytes, phytography and botanical geography, drawing applied to natural history, comparative anatomy, and stratigraphic paleontology, 27 students in all.

We give the programme of the Institute of Havana to illustrate the grade or scope of this class of instruction in Cuba. The programmes of the other provincial institutes are essentially similar to it, some of the commercial subjects being dropped or changed.

Latin and Spanish (two courses).	Physiology and hygiene.
Rhetoric and poetry.	Agriculture.
Geography.	Mercantile arithmetic and bookkeeping.
Spanish history.	Geography and commercial statistics.
General history.	Political economy.
Psychology, logic, and ethics.	Practical commercial exercises.
Arithmetic and algebra.	Chemistry applied to the arts.
Geometry and trigonometry.	Industrial mechanics.
Physics.	French, English, and German (two courses each).
Chemistry.	
Natural history.	

This, it will be seen, is a very "practical" course.

The preparatory course of the professional school of the island of Cuba comprised arithmetic, algebra, linear drawing, geometry, trigonometry, and ornamental drawing, while the professional course proper embraced topography, theoretical and practical surveying, topographical drawing, descriptive geometry, the mechanics of construction, strength of materials, construction of all kinds, building and architectural drawing, international mercantile law, history of commerce, the materials of commerce, cosmography, pilotage, and hand work.

The school of painting and sculpture of Havana had 454 students. The programme included elementary drawing, drawing from the antique, sculpture, landscapes in lead pencil, carbon, and oil, both copies and from nature; color drawing, claro-obscuro, copies of pictures; drawing from nature, from the living model, and original compositions.

The programmes given above are too general to enable one to judge of the quality of the instruction. For instance, Greek might cover Xenophon, or lectures on the tragic poets, or Homer, and geometry might include anything from elementary geometry up to that of three dimensions. The inaugural addresses, 1888-89, however, before the university, allow us to form an opinion. Thus the inaugural address in 1890 of Dr. Don Juan Vilaro y Diaz is a very able paper upon some points in evolution, which are supported by a large number of references to observations by the author himself and other persons. They range, as usual, in the full exposition of the argument, from paleontological data down

to variations in living species, and the essay is in support of natural selection. The programmes at hand, while containing a plentiful amount of theoretical, mathematical, and physical subjects, have less applied science, such as electrical and mechanical engineering, than is found in the technological schools elsewhere, where manufactures and various industries make a demand for them.

To complete this part of the subject we give the plan of studies of elementary schools taken from the *Resumen de la legislación de primera enseñanza virgente en la isla de Cuba*. Habana, 1895. Por José Estebán Liras.

This plan is as follows for the lower grade: (1) Christian doctrine and sacred history adapted for children; (2) reading; (3) writing; (4) elementary Spanish grammar and orthography; (5) elementary arithmetic, including weights and measures; (6) elements of agriculture, industry, and commerce, to be varied according to locality.

Primary superior instruction embraces, besides an amplification of the foregoing: (1) Elements of geometry, linear drawing and surveying; (2) rudiments of history and geography, especially Spanish; (3) elements of physics and natural history adapted to the more common necessities of life. In schools for girls of corresponding grades, articles 6 of the elementary, and 1 and 3 of the primary superior, are replaced by (1) women's work; (2) elements of drawing applicable to the same, and (3) elements of domestic hygiene.

The same authority gives the following brief sketch of the history of public elementary education in Spain and the colonies:

Primary instruction.—The laws and royal orders and decrees in accordance therewith affecting elementary education in the colonies are substantially those regulating education in Spain. Up to 1821 public primary education was not a function of the State and was not regulated by any general law in Spain.

On June 20 of that year the Cortes decreed that public primary instruction should be free and that a school of that character should be established in every town of 100 inhabitants, and that there should be one school for every 500 inhabitants in cities [thus antedating the passage of the similar law in France by twelve years]. Following this was the plan of February 16, 1825, the provisional plan of July 21, 1838, and the royal decree of September 23, 1847. On September 9, 1857, was promulgated the law which still prevails. Besides the foregoing, the royal decree of February 23, 1883, made primary education obligatory. Primary education is obligatory for all Spaniards. The fathers and guardians, or others having charge of children, shall send them to the public schools from their sixth to their ninth year of age unless they furnish the same grade of instruction at home or in some private school. (Plan of studies of December 7, 1880.) The Spanish Cortes in 1813 proposed to make reading and writing a condition of citizenship, a measure which excited Jefferson's admiration.

In Cuba four general dispositions affecting public instruction have been promulgated, following the law of the Peninsula. These are the general plan of 1842, the plan of studies of 1863, the organic regulation of primary instruction of 1871, and the plan of 1880, which now prevails. The plan of 1842, for Cuba and Porto Rico, was based on the peninsula law of 1838, and the later ones on that of 1857. The plan of studies of December 7, 1880, is that which prevails now on general points. In 1890 normal schools were created, in 1891 the secretaryships of the provincial committees for education were provided, and in 1892 special school deposits for primary instruction were established.

As everyone knows, it is impossible to form a correct idea of the real condition of education from royal orders and decrees, and plans of studies which make, or may make, a deceptive appearance, and we therefore present the testimony of competent witnesses who have had opportunities of observing the condition of education in Cuba from about 1800 down to the most recent years.

Humboldt, in his personal narrative, says of the Cubans of his time that intellectual cultivation was almost entirely restricted to the class of the whites and was as unequally distributed as the population.

The first society of the Havanah resembles, in ease and politeness of manners, the society of Cadiz and of the richest commercial towns of Europe; but quitting the capital, or the neighboring plantations inhabited by rich proprietors, a striking contrast to this state of partial and local civilization presents itself in the simplicity of manners that prevails in the insulated farms and small towns. The Havaneros were the first among the rich inhabitants of the Spanish colonies who visited Spain, France, and Italy, and at the Havanah the people were the best informed of the politics of Europe and the springs put in movement in courts to sustain or overthrow a ministry.¹

And of the educational institutions he says:

At the Havanah the university, with its chairs of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and mathematics, established since 1728; the chair of political economy, founded in 1818; that of agriculture and botany; the museum and the school of descriptive anatomy, due to the enlightened zeal of Don Alexander Ramirez; the public library; the free school of drawing and painting; the national school; the Lancasterian schools, and the botanic gardens are institutions partly new and partly old.

The Countess Merlin, who was a native of Havana, but had been absent in Paris many years, returned there and published three volumes of letters, with the title "La Havane," in 1844. She says of education in Havana at that period that it produced two contradictory impressions—a consciousness of undeniable progress, which was increasing, and a lively sense of relative inferiority. There were extreme eagerness for knowledge, quick intelligence, minds well prepared to receive it, and every ray of light from Europe was greeted with enthusiasm. With all this there were great imperfections, *lacuna*, in the organization of public instruction and in the tendencies of pri-

¹ Vol. XII, p. 157, of Miss Williams's translation, 1829.

vate education, and the neglect and indifference of the Government was an obstacle to progress. The Cubans kept themselves informed of everything educational and scientific that was going on in Europe, and on the death of Ferdinand VII, when aristocratic Spain endeavored to imitate the culture and civilization of France and England, some Havanaese, profiting by the movement in the mother country, obtained permission to form a literary "Académie," a name which, perhaps, was not the best title that could be found, but which promised a better intellectual future. But the Captain-General saw in this institution a germ of political reform and danger, and it was dissolved. More than once educated young men have asked permission to found and maintain chairs of literature and science, but in vain; the same fear prompted the Government to withhold its consent. In the absence of satisfactory means of education at home many fathers of families sent their sons abroad for their education. As soon as this was known at Madrid a royal order came directing the parents to recall their sons and forbidding them to send them abroad in the future. This order eventually fell into desuetude. Enterprising men then obtained permission to found colleges and maintain them at their own expense. The lower classes, however, were entirely without elementary instruction, and the Government refused to establish a single school at its own expense. When the sons of wealthy families could only obtain an education with difficulty, and at great expense, how could the children of the poor obtain any education whatever without public schools and teachers maintained by the Government?

This situation, which was better suited to produce assassins and bandits than citizens, aroused the interest of some of the Cuban patriots, who formed a society called the Society of the Friends of the Country, which, having no funds but the individual subscriptions of the members, could accomplish little. Primary schools, therefore, were still few in 1844. In 1836, with a population of 417,545 free (colored and white) persons in the Province of Havana, only 9,082 attended school. Of that population there were 99,599 children from 5 to 15 years of age. In a previous period there was even less instruction, and in 1836 there were 90,517 children absolutely without education. In 1844 there were still more, because the population had increased and the primary schools, being always without resources, could not keep up with it. As nothing could be obtained from the Government, the Cubans resorted to theaters and masked balls to raise money for founding schools. The Sociedad Patriótica, or Económica, which was founded in 1793 by Governor Las Casas, who gave liberally of his own fortune for founding schools, began now to bear fruit and the situation was improving. The countess mentions a museum of natural history as existing in 1844, and the school of design, which was established in 1815 by Ramirez, and adds that there were no attempts at intellectual development which did not meet an active and disinterested sympathy among the creoles. Every one

of their sons brought back from his foreign travels something to advance civilization in the island. The number of able and distinguished men was then larger than could have been expected, and included savants and writers on political economy who kept abreast of all European progress. Besides literary men, including poets, she gives the names of Saco, José de la Luz, and Del Mante, and concludes by saying that one curious consequence of the absence of primary instruction simultaneously with the advanced condition of higher education was to be seen in the juxtaposition, in strange contrast, of the oldest traditions and a modern college, and journals written in elegant style, published in a city where the old Castilian language of Cervantes and Lope de Vega was still spoken.

In 1855 J. J. Ampère (son of the French physicist whose name is given to a "law" in electro-magnetism) published an account of his travels in America, in the course of which he visited Havana and says of the library of the university that it contained the recent French scientific treatises, the works of Cousin, etc. There was at that time no great literary and scientific movement at Havana; nevertheless, there was a marked progress in the number of students in the schools. He speaks of a school of mechanic arts with 240 students, and 15 foundations for the orphans of officers and families who had emigrated from the mainland. The governor, General Concha, did much for this school.

In 1859 Mr. Richard H. Dana visited Havana and wrote as follows about education as he saw it. His opinion is the more valuable, as his observations were made during a vacation trip, and he must have had Harvard in mind while making comparisons:

As to education, I have no doubt that a good education in medicine and a respectable course of instruction in Roman and Spanish law and in the natural sciences can be obtained at the University of Havana, and that a fair collegiate education, after the manner of the Latin races, can be obtained at the Jesuit College, the Seminario, and other institutions in Havana and in the other large cities; and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart have a flourishing school for girls at Havana, but the general elementary education of the people is in a very low state. The scattered life of planters is unfavorable to public day schools, nay, almost inconsistent with their existence. The richer inhabitants send their children abroad or to Havana, but the middle and lower classes of whites can not do this. The tables show that of the free white children not more than 1 in 63 attend any school, while in the British West India islands the proportion is 1 in the 10 or 20.

The life in the country, the free, careless monteros or guijaros who hardly need to work, whose principal occupation is cock-fighting and who can see no need of schools, doubtless had much to do, as Mr. Dana noticed, with the low number of elementary schools.

But Havana, which at that time had a population of 150,000, was admirably equipped for secondary and university studies, and a writer in the *National Quarterly Review* for 1866 (vol. 14) said of it:

Far from being behind the age in the provision which it made for education, there is not one of our cities, not even the modern Athens, which excels it in that respect. Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and one or two other American cities have,

indeed, better public schools than Havana. They afford better facilities for the education of the poor. But the higher educational institutions of Havana are on an extensive and liberal scale. We must admit, on due examination, that we have no institutions that are equal to their free school of design and painting, or their free school of mathematics. The professors in each of these schools have been selected for their superior qualifications in different countries of Europe, a large proportion of them being Germans, French, and Italians. If it still seems incredible that Havana has some educational institutions which are superior to those of Boston or New York, we ask is the fact more incredible that the same city has a fine botanical garden in which botany is taught in all its branches by professors who have graduated at the famous Jardin des Plantes, in Paris, and other similar schools, while we have no botanical garden worthy of the name? The capital of Cuba has also a first-class university, one which may be compared to that of the city of New York, and which has separate chairs for jurisprudence, medicine, chemistry, theology, comparative anatomy, and agricultural botany.

In 1887 Professor Froude, the historian, visited Cuba, and gives the following interesting and appreciative account of the well-known Jesuit College at Havana, which has been especially famous as the seat where the celebrated meteorological observations of Father Viñez were made. He says of the Jesuits:

They alone among the Catholic clergy, though they live poorly and have no endowment, exert themselves to provide a tolerable education for the middle and upper classes. * * * Their college had been an enormous monastery. * * * The Jesuits have taken possession of the largest convents much as a soldier crab becomes the vigorous tenant of the shell of some lazy sea snail. They have a college there where there are 400 lads and young men who pay for their education; some hundreds more are taken out of charity. The Jesuits conduct the whole, and do it all unaided, on their own resources. And this is far from all that they do. They keep on a level with the age; they are men of learning; they are men of science; they are the royal society of Cuba. They have an observatory in the college, and the Father Viñez, of whom I have spoken, is in charge of it. His name is familiar to students of meteorological science, and he has supplemented and corrected the accepted law of storms by careful observation of West India hurricanes. The libraries were well furnished, but the books were chiefly secular and scientific. The sleeping gallery was divided into cells, open at the top for ventilation, with bed, table, chest of drawers, and washing apparatus, all scrupulously clean. Everything was good of its kind down to the gymnastic courts and swimming bath. The cost of the whole establishment was defrayed out of the payments of the richer students managed economically for the benefit of the rest. From the courtyard we turned into a narrow staircase, up which we climbed until we reached the roof on and under which the father had his lodgings and his observing machinery. Cases stood around the wall containing self-registering instruments of the most advanced modern type, each with its paper band unrolling slowly under clockwork, while a pencil noted upon it the temperature, the ozone, the electricity. He took us out to a shed among the roof tiles, where he kept his large telescope, his equatorial and his transit instruments, not on the great scale of State-supported observatories, but with every thing which was really essential. He had a laboratory, too, and workshop, with all the recent appliances. He was a practical optician and mechanic. He managed and repaired his own machinery, observed, made his notes, and made his reports to the societies with which he was in correspondence, all by himself.

At my companion's suggestion he gave me a copy of his book on hurricanes. It contains a record of laborious journeys which he made to the scene of the devastations of the last ten years. The scientific value of the father's work is recognized

by the highest authorities, though I can not venture even to attempt to explain what he has done. * * * As we took leave the marquis kissed his old master's brown hand. I rather envied him the privilege.

Mr. R. H. Dana's visit to the Belen (Bethlehem) was in 1859. He described it as a group of buildings of the usual yellow or tawny color, covering a good deal of ground, and of a thoroughly monastic character.

It was first a Franciscan monastery, then a barrack, and now (1859) has been given by the Government to the Jesuits. * * * These perform every office from the highest scientific investigations and instruction down to the lowest menial office in the care of the children. It is only three years since they established themselves in Havana, but in that time they have formed a school of 200 boarders and 100 day scholars, built dormitories and a commons hall, restored the church and made it the most fully attended in the city. Father Antonio Cabre, a very young man of a spare frame and intellectual countenance, with hands so white and so thin and eyes so bright and cheeks so pale, is at the head of the department of mathematics and astronomy. He took us to his laboratory, his observatory, and his apparatus of philosophical instruments. These, I am told, are according to the latest inventions and in the best style of French and German workmanship. There was a cabinet of shells, the beginning of a museum of natural history, already enriched with most of the birds of Cuba, and a cabinet of the woods of the island in small blocks, each piece being polished on one side and rough on the other.

The recent condition of elementary education in Cuba is ably discussed by Señor Manuel Valdés Rodríguez in a pamphlet with the title *La Educación Popular en Cuba*, which is a lecture of the course given by the Real Sociedad Económica in 1891, a society which has such an honored name in the intellectual history of the island. This work is published together with another by the same author on *The Problem of Education*, which consists mainly of articles contributed to *El Pais* and the *Revista Cubana*, reviewing the work of the international congress of education and the educational exhibition at Paris in 1889.

In this review the author presents to his fellow-countrymen the results brought out by the discussions and exhibits at Paris and indicates how the Cuban elementary school system could be made to profit by them. He points out certain essential differences between the Cuban social life and that of other countries and that such differences should be taken into account in reorganizing the Cuban schools. He takes up different countries—Germany, France, the United States, etc.—and gives a summary of their elementary instruction, the material of instruction, and statistics. He is particularly impressed with the union between the common schools and the domestic and political life of the United States, whereby the school is not an interruption of, but a factor in, both, and he pointed out the antagonism that often exists in Cuba between the elementary school and the home, and between the unfortunate school teachers and the alcalde.

In the second paper Señor Rodríguez, who is a teacher by profession, but is also a man of reading and well informed in modern philosophical

and pedagogical ideas, proceeds to discuss the actual condition of elementary instruction in Cuba. He first calls particular attention to the precocity of Cuban children, whose faculties ripen early but soon lose their freshness, and then gives a pedagogical and psychological discussion of intellectual, moral, and social education, in which he notices the views of various writers—Herbert Spencer, Herbart, Pestalozzi, the criticisms of Tolstoi—and in the section upon social education he takes occasion again to call attention to the close union between the elementary school and private and public life in the United States, but at the same time he refers to the crying evil of bad literature which the public school children of the United States are led to read. He quotes from the report of the association of teachers in New York in 1889 in which is a quotation from one of the most distinguished pedagogues of America, to the effect that many American boys would be better off morally and physically if they never had learned to read, and he comments upon certain similar evils in Cuba. He then speaks of the actual condition of primary schools in Cuba, and says that there are practically none. The number of them has increased, he says, but the principal fact in connection with them is their creation and insertion in the budget. They are neglected by the Government, which provides no inspectors; by the local juntas, whose members often do not know where they are; by the fathers of families, who do not believe in the gratuitous service, and by the teachers themselves, who have often to go unpaid.

In 1869 the Government closed 64 schools in Havana, and only in 1872 did it reopen 32 of them. Four more were afterwards established, besides 8 for colored people.

But the conditions of these schools were deplorable. The buildings could not accommodate the pupils allotted to them; some had no class rooms, so that the attendance in some cases was not over 20. The civil governor, Señor Rodriguez Batista, did his best to increase the attendance, but, as many teachers remarked, neither the limited accommodations of the buildings, nor the absolute want of teaching material, nor the general conditions of elementary instruction, warranted the attendance of the required number of pupils. It would be a great injustice to impute such a lamentable state of things to the conduct of the teachers. On the contrary, they manifest an exceptional and sincere disposition corresponding to the lofty ends of their mission, but they are extremely poor, and some are in danger of starving. In this same year, 1891, Señor Dionisio Vega, by authority of the teachers of the capital, appealed to the press on behalf of the teachers in the rural districts, to whom arrears amounting to \$117,957.50 in gold were owing, a deficit which had been accumulating since 1887. It would be unjust not to speak of the generous efforts of the present civil governor to ameliorate the situation, but it still remains an anomaly, and the larger part of the teachers have been obliged to sell their vouchers at

an enormous discount in order to live. "To my mind, however," continues Señor Rodríguez, "the saddest and most dangerous feature of this state of things consists in the strange apathy of our public and their ignorance of the real state of things, which I can only explain by the profound intellectual lethargy and prostration of the lower classes, who are plunged in the heavy sleep of ignorance, while we take no heed of their dangerous situation. This indifference is unjustifiable, for, better or worse, we shall have to form our people out of this contingent, and unless we can raise them from the slavery of ignorance, now that they have been freed from bodily servitude, our country will soon resemble a nation of some primitive people. An odious distinction has come to exist in our system of education between the rich or powerful and those who have been disinherited by fortune. For the first class there are the university and the institutes in the various provincial capitals; for the second, a situation has grown up which renders education nearly impossible. The son of the rich or well-to do family has the incentive of a future to spur him on to acquire an education, while the child of poor parents has neither this incentive nor any means of attaining an education. It is true that the education of the better classes is profoundly utilitarian and egotistic, frankly calculated to further personal interests, the door to higher aims, which should animate our country, being closed; but the situation of the plebeian classes is lamentable, as every notion of school, teacher, pupil, moral influence, and instruction is gradually becoming extinct. It may be said that within a short time our entire elementary education will consist of the most rudimentary ideas of mechanical reading and writing. Reading and writing imply a deep signification when they are combined with the development of the mind and conscience; otherwise, they are dead things. Formerly the rich and poor child went to school together for a certain period, a circumstance which had inestimable advantages both for the general social conditions of the country and because it opened the way for talent. Many of our men of letters came from the lower classes."

The present law provides that the government shall have the direction of the schools, including their morals, hygiene, and instruction, text-books, and everything affecting them, while the city authorities are to pay for their support without any participation in the management. Such a system is likely to produce real antagonism between the municipal corporation and the government, because the former are not eager to pay for services which they can not control. This explains the constant struggle with the town authorities to pay the teachers' salaries. But in order to manage the schools properly, which the local authorities have to support, the government needs skilled persons who understand the problems and necessities of education in its technical aspect, who are called inspectors, and who form an intermediary between the government and the schools. But in point of fact, so profound is

the neglect of the elementary schools, there have been no inspectors, either provincial or general, for many years; so that the government is absolutely ignorant of the inner life of the schools, their needs, their regular operation, and the more insignificant matters that affect their life.

The only activity in promoting the welfare of the schools is manifested by the diligence of the teachers. The slight influence which the provincial deputies can exert is shown by the failure to create recently a normal school at Havana, notwithstanding the efforts of Don José María Carbonell, senator from the university. To make some amends for such deficiencies, the law has created local and provincial juntas, the former of which exercise the right of visiting the schools, fixing the examination days, and seeing that the schools are in operation regularly, and in short, are a kind of intermediary between the teachers and the heads of families. But as the government appoints the persons who, in the minds of the heads of families, are an integral part of this machinery, it results that such appointments, in the midst of the prevalent profound indifference and atony in educational affairs, are without influence upon the real and effective life of the schools. The darkness of the situation becomes intense when we reflect that elementary education has had no regulation for years which should direct and arouse to practical life the force naturally inherent in the institutions. Organization, system, method, all are absolutely neglected or ignored.

Señor Rodríguez asks what remedy can be found for this condition of things, and finds it in an increased political activity and the press. By political life he means particularly a greater initiative on the part of the municipalities, and an amplification of their functions, or greater decentralization.

As the municipalities are poor, and irregular in their payment of teachers' salaries, he thinks that both this misfortune and the want of activity and interest can be cured by the action of political parties in the better sense of the word; and this political activity, he says, has had a great influence upon the elementary schools in France, in Spain, and in Italy particularly, where the principles of the French revolution have penetrated. The school, he continues, when well organized acts spontaneously in forming upright minds, guiding the conscience, preparing men for the work of life, nourishing the mental faculties, and assisting the individual development, cultivating, in short, these three aspects of the individual, viz, the man, the citizen, and the productive agent. There is, he concludes, no other alternative; but either the care of producing these results must be left entirely to the government or the people must take the initiative and assume the charge of such importance themselves. Every civilized country must necessarily choose the latter course. In that case, with the desire or ambition to accomplish this purpose, the political party to effect it will

rise, whose activity is inseparably connected with everything affecting the general interest of the people. A political party, once formed, the promotion of the elementary schools should be included in its programme, and the whole ayuntamiento, or council, with its alcalde, and the corporations connected with it, should be asked for their profession of faith. And an enlightened press should advance these interests and be their safeguard. The paper closes with a reference to the public-spirited men and women in Cuba who have devoted themselves to establishing schools or improving education, as has already been noticed.

In an appendix Señor Rodríguez gives the law regulating primary instruction, with his own observations, showing deficiencies in the various articles. The date of the law is not given. The articles are as follows:

ART. 2. Elementary instruction shall comprise Christian doctrine and sacred history, reading, writing, principles of grammar with exercises in orthography. Elementary arithmetic, including coins, weights, and measures. Elementary lessons in agriculture, industry, and commerce suited to the locality.

ART. 3. Instruction which does not include all these subjects shall be regarded as incomplete for the purposes of this plan of studies.

ART. 125. In every town of 500 souls there shall be a public elementary school for boys and another for girls, even if incomplete. Incomplete schools for boys shall be allowed only in smaller towns.

ART. 126. In towns of 2,000 souls there shall be two complete schools for boys and two for girls; in towns of 4,000 there shall be three, and so on, increasing the schools by one for each sex for every 2,000 inhabitants, including private schools; but one-third of the whole shall always be public schools.

ART. 127. In the provincial capitals and towns of a population of 10,000 one of the public schools shall be a high school.

ART. 131. The governor-general shall provide infant schools in the department capitals and towns of 10,000 inhabitants.

ART. 133. In towns of 10,000 inhabitants there shall be a night school or a Sunday school for adults, and besides, a class in linear drawing and ornamental drawing, with application to the mechanic arts.

ART. 134. The supreme government will promote the education of the deaf, dumb, and blind by providing at least one school for them in Havana.

ART. 137. In order that those who intend to devote themselves to primary education may obtain the necessary instruction, there shall be one normal school in the capital of each province.

ART. 141. The general government will promote the establishment of normal schools for female teachers for improving the instruction of girls, and will establish model schools where it is convenient, under certain requirements which the regulations will determine.

Upon the foregoing Señor Rodríguez remarks that no provision is made in the appropriations for carrying out the requirements of the law. There was in 1890 only one high school for boys and another for girls in Havana, one for boys in Guanabacoa, one in Matanzas, one in Puerto Principe, and one in Santiago de Cuba, six in all, the law requiring that there should be one for every 10,000 inhabitants. There was not one infant school in the island, under the law, but one under the auspices of the Real Casa de Beneficencia y Maternidad de Habana had been successfully conducted for several years. Neither was there

a night school nor a drawing school founded by the municipalities, but the Real Sociedad Económica established that kind of instruction in 1878 for adult whites and blacks. There is also a school of mechanical arts in Havana. As to normal schools, there is also no provision for them in the appropriations, yet since the twenty-two years during which the normal school of the Esculapian fathers has been closed, which turned out accomplished teachers, the State has established two such schools in Havana, one for male and the other for female teachers, but none of the provinces have one. It is the glory of the Sociedad Económica to have installed a preparatory night school for male and female teachers which is free, and is supported by different members of the Society of Friends of the country. We give the summary of Señor Rodríguez:

Province.	Population.	Number of schools incomplete.	Number of private schools.	Elementary schools.	Elementary schools required by law.	Elementary schools to be established.
Havana.....	452,023	80	354	112	524	412
Pinar del Río.....	229,761	99	26	35	274	239
Matanzas.....	259,754	74	112	69	300	231
Santa Clara.....	351,265	95	93	79	404	325
Puerto Principe.....	68,881	11	35	22	74	52
Santiago de Cuba.....	271,010	72	76	38	294	256
Total.....	1,632,639	431	696	355	1,870	1,515

This table shows that in a population of 1,432,199¹ there were 355 elementary schools in 1891, and that 1,515 were still to be established to conform with the requirements of the law, which calls for 1,870. These figures show also that there was one elementary school to 4,036 inhabitants.

We take, at the risk of some repetition, the following additional notes on public elementary education in Cuba from the translation of a book by Raimond Cabrera, with the title, Cuba and the Cubans. The author says, "Until the last century was far advanced the Cubans had not a single public institution where they could have their children taught to read and write. The first school was that of the Bethlehemite Fathers, in Havana, and was established through the generosity of Don Juan F. Carballo. He was, according to some authorities, a native of Seville, and according to others, of the Canary Islands. He repaid thus generously the debt of gratitude he owed the country where he had acquired his wealth. Already, in the sixteenth century, a philanthropist of Santiago de Cuba, Francisco Paradas, had afforded a like good example by bequeathing a large estate for the purpose of teaching Latin linguistics and Christian morals. The legacy was eventually made of avail by the Dominican Friars, who administered it, but when the convents were abolished it was swallowed by the royal treasury, and thus the beneficent intentions of the founders were frustrated, to

¹The figures in the column "Population" add up to 1,632,699, but as Señor Rodríguez uses 1,432,699 in his discussion, the error can not be determined.

the permanent danger of the unfortunate country. Only these two institutions, due entirely to individual initiative, are recorded in our scholastic annals during the three first centuries of the colony. The thirst and scent for gold reigned supreme. The sons of wealthy families, in the absence of learning at home, sought schools and colleges in foreign parts (in this century). On their return, with the patriotic zeal natural to cultured men, they endeavored to better the intellectual condition of their compatriots. This enforced emigration of Cubans in quest of learning was fought against by our government. The children of Cuban families were forbidden to be educated in foreign countries. This despotic measure was adopted without any honest effort being made to establish schools for instructing the children of a population already numbering nearly 500,000 souls.

“The Sociedad Económica was founded in 1793, during the time of Las Casas, whose name has always been venerated among Cubans. Then, as now, the members of this association were the most talented men of the country, and their best efforts were directed toward promoting public instruction. It gave impulse and organization to the school system in Cuba; it established inspections, collected statistics, and founded a newspaper to promote instruction and devoted its profits to this cause; it raised funds and labored with such zeal and enthusiasm that it finally secured the assistance of the colonial government and obtained an appropriation, though but of small amount, for the benefit of popular instruction.

“In 1793 there were only 7 schools for boys in the capital of Cuba, in which 408 white and 144 free colored children could be educated. From this privilege the slaves were debarred. The seven schools referred to, besides a number of seminaries for girls, afforded a means of livelihood for a number of free mulattoes and some whites. The schools were private undertakings paid for by the parents. Only one, that of the reverend Father Senor, of Havana, was a free school. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught in these schools. Lorenzo Lendez, a mulatto of Havana, was the only one who taught Spanish grammar. The poor of the free colored classes were on a par with the slaves. The Sociedad Económica founded two free schools, one for each sex. The bishop, Felix José de Tres Palacios, nullified the laudable efforts of the country's wellwishers by maintaining that it was unnecessary to establish more schools. From 1793 to 1893 the society was unable to accomplish even a part of its noble purpose—it was found impossible to obtain an official sanction of popular education. In 1817 there were 90 schools in the rest of the island—19 districts—all, or nearly all, founded by private individuals. In 1816 the section of education of the Sociedad Económica was established. It afforded a powerful impulse to the cause of education, thanks to the influential support of the governor, Don Aliquando Ramirez. The schools improved, the boys and girls, both white and black, were

taught separately, literary contests were opened, annual examinations were made obligatory, prizes were distributed, and a powerful incentive was created among all classes for the cause of education. But the concessions attained for the society by the influence of Ramirez were revoked by royal order of February, 1824. In this year the municipality of Havana loaned the Sociedad Patriótica \$100 for schools.

“ In 1826 there were only 140 schools in the island, of which 16 were free, and in 1827 the society obtained \$8,000 per annum for the establishment and maintenance of new schools. In 1836 there were only 9,082 children receiving elementary instruction in the whole island. In 1860 the number of schools had increased to 283 for whites and 2 for colored, yet the attendance was proportionately less than in 1836, owing to the increase in population. Popular instruction was neglected or despised by deputy governors (military).

“ The reformed course of studies of 1863 did not improve the condition of the schools, and the secretary of the governor made recommendations that virtually tended to keep the population in ignorance in order to keep it Spanish. In 1883 the schools numbered as follows:

Province.	Public.	Private.	Vacant.
Havana	173	101	8
Matanzas	95	22	13
Pinar del Rio	82	18	25
Santa Clara	103	18	3
Puerto Principe	24	4	3
Santiago de Cuba	58	21	15
Total.....	535	184	67

“ But the teachers were not paid and public instruction was neglected.”

This work gives a list of names of wealthy Cubans, both men and women, who have founded colleges and schools, and of societies which have the promotion of education for their object. The author adds that the clergy are indifferent in this matter. There is not one parish which supports a free or endowed school.

The preamble of a decree reforming education in Cuba was published in the Official Gazette of Havana November 17, 1871, and a translation of it is given in an appendix in the work just quoted. On account of its historical interest we give a summary of a portion of the preamble. It states that the insurrection of 1868 was due to the bad system of education; that while the old methods were slow the new are prompted by eagerness for hurry, and the child is taught a number of things, whereas its mind is unable to comprehend many things at a time. A number of subjects should therefore be suppressed. Balmés is quoted as the authority for the psychology and pedagogy of the preamble. The latter goes on to say that this haste to teach many things has made religious instruction secondary to that of the arts and sciences, a fatal error which has produced fatal consequences. It refers to statistics to

show that crime has increased with education, and states that Aimé Martin found the remedy for this evil in educating instead of merely instructing. But as there were many religious sects, Martin unfortunately selected an irreligious religion as the means of educating, and consequently there was no decrease in crime. Señor Lasagra is quoted to prove that suicides are more numerous in Protestant than in Catholic countries, and more so in the capitals than elsewhere. This is due to too great individual freedom of thought and consequent changes in social and economic conditions, which have produced dissatisfaction, despair, and suicide. Philosophical and religious sects have multiplied, and the multiplicity of these has always and everywhere produced doubt and skepticism, which in their turn have engendered a materialism whose only offspring is disbelief in virtue and morality. Under its influence some are tortured with unhappiness, without hope of the future, while others are filled with envy. Religious instruction had been too much neglected or too carelessly performed, and the real remedy would consist in Christianizing or Catholicizing education, by putting the government and municipal machinery of education in the hands of the religious teaching orders, when the evil would disappear. It goes on to say, with severe condemnation of the schools where they had taught, that many of the insurgents had been teachers, and mentions particularly the school formerly conducted by José de la Luz. Instruction must be supplemented by moral and religious education, and great care should be taken to prevent access to (politically) evil literature. Even in text-books of elementary geography, it declares, have wicked doctrines been inserted. In one of them we read that the greatest event of the present century in America was the revolt of Bolívar. "See under what seductive forms the minds of children are predisposed to treason." The preamble concludes by recommending a greater scope to religious instruction, the suppression of private teaching, and placing the plans of studies under the Catholic clergy.

There is a number of learned societies in Havana, and Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, of the Library of Congress, has published a list of 33 whose publications are received in Washington. By means of these publications and separate works, like the History of Pezuela and the Natural History of Sagra, the history of Cuba, its natural history (land and marine fauna, mineralogy, and botany), ethnology, and geology have been made known, while the meteorology of the region has been investigated by the observatory, whose work is known all over the scientific world. The number of medical journals is noticeable, and Vol. XXXIV (August and September, 1897) of the *Anales de la Real Sociedad de Ciencias Médicas, Físicas y Naturales* (the only specimen at hand), contains four articles on medical subjects, viz, a criticism by Dr. Santos Fernandez upon certain experiments with the X-rays upon a blind person, another upon the bacillus of the tuberculosis of Koch, and the two others are experimental studies connected with typhoid fever. The

remaining article of the number is a long and masterly account of the discovery of argon and prediction of helium, by Dr. Gaston Alenso Cuadrado. The *Revista Cubana* contains able articles upon general philosophical, historical, and other subjects, besides those of especial interest on Cuba. The paper upon elementary education by Señor Rodriguez, which we have used, was published in that review. Judging from the titles of the periodicals we should say that there is little of mechanical or electrical engineering or "applied science" in them, for which there is probably no demand in Cuba, while the exhaustive mathematical treatment of such subjects (especially that which was "made in Germany," like much recent "American science") has been imported into the United States in the last twenty-five or thirty years, where there is a field and demand for it. But for a population of 200,000 souls, including many blacks, the number of scientific, educational, and literary periodicals in Havana is remarkable, and they contain valuable original articles.

To sum up, therefore, the educational condition in Cuba, the evidence shows that the higher education is of a superior character; the study of the humanities has borne its usual fruit in literary taste and culture, and Cuba has given birth to poets who have attracted attention and won the praise of European critics. In recent years the sciences, with such technical applications as are adapted to the needs of a community which is not a manufacturing one, have been cultivated, and the enlightened part of the public has been kept informed of European philosophy and progress—all this with scant aid from, and sometimes despite the opposition of, the government. Elementary public instruction, on the other hand, has been and is in a very backward state, partly on account of the social condition of the island, but principally on account of the apathy and often the actual hostility of the government toward any serious attempts at improvement.

II.—THE PHILIPPINES.

The character of the population of the Philippine archipelago is vastly different from that of Cuba and Porto Rico. In the latter colonies the aboriginal inhabitants had become extinct by the end of the first century of Spanish occupancy, and their place as laborers was taken by negro slaves, whose supply was replenished from time to time, but particularly between 1762, the period of the English occupation of Havana, and the middle of this century. The whites, however, form the majority of the population in Cuba, while in the Philippines the vast majority of the population is composed of the native races, the Spaniards and other whites forming only an insignificant proportion of the whole. The population of the group is given at a little over 7,000,000, while the total civilian Spanish population, including creoles, amounts to less than 10,000. The native population is composed of two grand divisions, the Tagales and the Visayas, who are of Malay stock, and a small number of Negritos who, it is agreed upon all hands, were the original inhabitants of the islands. But the mingling of the different Malay tribes with the Negritos and with each other, in the long course of centuries, has produced innumerable varieties of dialects and customs, character and form, to which the Chinese, who, aside from their mestizos, now number 100,000 souls, have contributed their share, until a large number of tribes is now recognized with distinct languages, which run into dialects so subdivided that among the wild tribes of the Negritos and other mountain men, isolated family groups have been found with a dialect of their own. Jagor (Reisen in den Philippinen), following a Spanish authority, gives a list of over thirty languages and dialects spoken in the different islands.¹ The Tagales and Visayas, who are Christianized, are all called Indians by

¹ In the *Historia General de Filipinas*, Tome III, p. 535, Señor Montero y Vidal gives the following interesting table of the Philippine dialects and the number of natives using them, published in 1869. But there is necessarily much difficulty in obtaining such statistics, and different authors give different figures:

Dialects.	Number of natives.	Dialects.	Number of natives.
Visaya.....	2,024,409	Tinguan	7,059
Tagalo.....	1,216,508	Suffin	5,928
Cebuano.....	385,896	Chamerro.....	5,360
Ilocano.....	354,378	Mandaya.....	4,104
Vical (Bicol).....	312,554	Hongote.....	3,932
Pangasinan.....	263,000	Ibilao.....	3,845
Pampango.....	193,424	Manobo.....	3,103
Zambal.....	68,936	Malangue.....	2,893
Panayano.....	67,092	Calamino.....	2,744
Ibanag.....	57,500	Agutaino.....	1,961
Ifugao.....	22,961	Dadaya.....	1,816
Acta (Negritos).....	13,272	Igorrote del Abra.....	1,071
Coyuyo.....	12,999	Igorrote de la Gran Cordillera.....	644
Igorrote.....	10,325	Carolino.....	580
Itaves.....	9,686		
Gaddan.....	9,337		
Benguetano.....	8,363	Total.....	5,075,680

the Spaniards. There are, besides, Mohammedans in the Sulu archipelago and in Mindanao, who have been the inveterate enemies of both Spaniards and "Indians" ever since the discovery of the islands. They are called "Moros" by the Spaniards, a name given them when the memory of the wars with the Moors in Spain was still fresh.

A writer in the *Catholic World* for August, 1898, divides the population as follows, as regards their religion: Nominally under the order of the Augustines, 2,082,131; of the Recollects, 1,175,156; of the Franciscans, 1,010,753; of the Dominicans, 699,851; of the Jesuits, 213,065; and those under the secular clergy, 967,294, a total of 6,158,250 Christianized Indians, leaving a million or more for the wild tribes and the few Negritos.

The conquest of this population by a few hundred Spaniards in the sixteenth century was remarkable for the ease with which it was accomplished and the means which really effected it, for it was the monks rather than the soldiers who won the islands for Spain, and they have retained the spiritual and intellectual control of them ever since. Long before the Spaniards discovered the group the natives had acquired the social constitution which they still retain in a measure and which is thus described by Mallat (*Les Philippines*, Paris, 1846): The Philippine islanders, says that author, had no kings, properly speaking, but in each village there were certain individuals more powerful and influential than the others, who were distinguished either by birth or by personal qualities. They could make war and had the title of rajah, which was hereditary. They were a kind of petty feudal chiefs who looked out for the interests of their subordinates and the latter, in their turn, followed the rajah to war or to sea, or worked for him in the field, in fishing, etc. There were also chiefs, or governors, of larger territories. Slavery existed at the time of the conquest, all captives being reduced to that condition, and the Spaniards endeavored to abolish it. There were, therefore, three classes among the natives—nobles, plebs, and slaves. The natives were deeply superstitious, but without any formulated religious beliefs; they feared and worshiped any objects in nature which they imagined could injure them—the sun and moon, lightning and thunder, rocks on which they might be wrecked, certain birds, etc.—in short, their religion was a fetichism, but they had no priesthood like the Buddhists, for example. They lived as they do now, on fish and fruit, both of which are in profusion, cultivated rice, and had trade with China and Japan. The military conquest was easy because there was no national life, no conscious unity of race or government. As Semper (*Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner*) explains, as soon the Spaniards had achieved a few victories over the village chiefs the followers of the latter yielded their homage to the conquerors as they had been accustomed to do to the native victors, the Spanish officer merely taking the place of the conquering petty chief, and they came to receive his commands. On the other

hand, the ceremonial of the monks appealed for several reasons to the imagination of the natives and they were eager to adopt or assimilate the religion which it represented. With comparatively few exceptions they have never understood the symbolism but have remained half Christian and half pagan to this day. They merely regard the Christian prayers and texts as superior "medicine" (as an American Indian would say), to their own, and Semper states that the priests complained to him that the same men would be devout Christians one day and the next would pray to their "Anitos" for a good harvest. Ancestor worship was and still is practiced among the wild tribes, and as to education the "Indians" of the different islands had alphabets of their own when the Spaniards arrived and could read and write, as they can and do to this day. Semper remarks that up to the beginning of this century the Spanish priests in Mindanao made use of the native alphabet even in their official business. The natives had no literature, however, and therefore no history, and no tradition as to their origin, which has been worked out by ethnologists by the natural-history method. They were not in the "stone age" like the American Indians, but had iron-pointed spears and arrows and smelted copper, an art which is still practiced, not by the more civilized agricultural Tagales and Visayas, but by the mountain tribes in Luzon. The tobacco and coffee culture was introduced by the monks, and the former now forms a great source of wealth to the religious houses. The Negritos and the wild tribes, who are described as *remontados*, i. e., peoples who refused to stay in the plains, cultivate the soil, and pay tribute to the Spaniards, but took to the mountains, still use the poisoned arrows of their ancestors. They are intractable, make raids upon the settled "Indians," and are perpetually at war with each other. They are miners in a primitive way, and bring in the gold which eventually finds its way to the Chinese merchants in Manila and on the other islands. After the partial military subjugation of the country there was a second and more complete conquest of the tractable imitative "Indians" by the monks, whose intellectual or spiritual superiority the natives speedily recognized and acknowledged, and they soon came to take the place of the original "dattos" or petty chiefs, a position they retain to this day, the hereditary possessors of that authority still appearing in the political capacity of "gobernadoreillos," or petty governors, while the padre is the real center of the village community, its spiritual head, counselor, and adviser, as well as the collector of spiritual fees of all kinds.

The history of the Philippines from the time of the first conquest is not remarkable for its political interest. It consists of contests with the piratical "Moros," the successful repulse of the great Chinese pirate invasion in 1575, attacks by the Dutch, who were carrying the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II wherever there were Spanish colonies upon which to wreak revenge; an occasional capture by the English of the ships that made annual trips to Acapulco from Manila (one

English ship sailed up the Thames with sails of damask, and her cargo brought several hundred thousand dollars, all from the plunder of this Manila fleet); earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and insurrections among the natives, which make up the story until 1762. In that year Manila, like Havana, was taken by the English and held for a year, until the declaration of peace restored the city to the Spaniards. The significant events were the insurrections. The Spanish colonial policy began its work early. In 1581 the "encomienda" system was practiced in the islands as it had been in America, but the natives refused to be enslaved wholesale, or to submit to practices which were alien to their ancient village or clan system, and revolted. The opposition of the clergy, too, was so active that news of the contention reached the ears of the King, who issued orders abating the "encomienda" system and strongly favoring the natives. The protest of the religious orders was so earnest that they petitioned to be allowed to return to new Spain rather than witness the extortion of the officials. The King, with the knowledge of what had happened in America and the old protests of Las Casas in mind, and with the general outcry of Europe against the enormity of the Spanish practice ringing in his ears, was prompt to suppress the repetition of an outrage that had brought the Spanish name into disgrace. The later insurrections were not serious until we come to the present century, when the causes which have been pointed out in the article by Blumentritt given above had come into full operation. It is very noteworthy, however, that a widespread insurrection took place when the English captured Manila, both among the "Indians" and the Chinese. In the early part of this century serious insurrections broke out from time to time, and in 1872 the revolt of the native troops at Cavite was the most dangerous of all until the final outbreak of 1896.

Of the intellectual capabilities of the Indians of the Philippines (i. e., the Christianized natives), Blumentritt, the German ethnologist, who has studied them, has a high opinion. He says, in the article before quoted, that they are distinguished by a higher capacity for education than the so-called civilized Indians of Central America and the Andes region. The number of Philippine Indians who attend the secondary schools and the university is relatively very large and from them have come politicians (he gives the names of Dr. Rizal, Marcelo H. Del Pilar, and Mariano Ponce); artists like the painter Juan Luna y Novicio, whose picture "Spoliarium" was brought out in the Leipzig *Illustrirte Zeitung*; ethnographers like Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino; and linguists like Pedro Serrano Laktar, who are all known outside of their own country.¹

¹ Among the suspected persons in the insurrection of 1896 was the artist Luna (a mestizo), whose large historical paintings (such as that which shows the dragging out of the bodies of dead gladiators from the arena of the Colosseum, and bloody scenes from Spanish history) were much admired at Madrid. The Dr. Rizal men-

The Chinese mestizos have played a conspicuous part in the colonies on account of their wealth and inherited business enterprise and talent, which make them one of the most progressive elements of the population. There are no red-skins in the islands, but pure-blooded Malays and their mestizos, who resemble the Japanese, with whom they are allied by race, not only in their physical appearance, but in their mental characteristics. A Tagale said, "We are Japanese with a dash of Spanish blood and of the Catholic faith; we represent progress; the Spaniards are only *laudatores temporis acti*—the backward element."

Another competent observer of the Tagal character was Jacobo Zobel de Zangroniz, a biographical notice of whom appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau* in 1897. He was born in Manila, of a wealthy German father and Spanish mother, received his education in Germany and Spain, where he took his university degree, and became interested in archeological pursuits. He spent several years in Europe, following his favorite studies and attracting favorable notice by his publications, before returning to Manila. He was active there in promoting the literary and scientific as well as commercial movements after 1870, which brought him into conflict with the monks, and he was imprisoned. He owed his release to the personal intervention of the German minister for foreign affairs. He remarks that the numerous other Malay tribes of the archipelago are inferior to the Tagales both physically and mentally. Two thirds of the Tagales can read and about half of them can write. They are a cheerful, peaceable people, are disposed to enjoyment, and have an eye rather to pleasures and things that are beautiful and attractive than to the useful and profitable, in which they are totally unlike their Chinese neighbors. They work enough to supply their needs—an easy task, because of the superabundance of rice and fish—and are willing to work just a little more, to provide brilliant-colored clothes, festivities, etc. Art, especially music, is their passion. The village vagabond will sit all day over his violin or flute, and even the meanest village has one or more bands of 20 or 30 pieces, and they will play much better than the regimental bands of the surrounding English colonies. They like the *dolce far niente*, revery, melancholy, but are also eager to hear stirring tales of adventure, new discoveries and inventions, mythological and ghost stories. Their

tioned in the text, who was a savant and known both for his scientific and literary attainments, also belonged to the insurrectionary party. His novel *Noli me Tangere*, *Novela Tagala* (with a motto from Schiller) was printed at Berlin in 1886. It is described as presenting, although in an exaggerated way, the misery of the natives in the islands, their harsh treatment in the Spanish prisons, and the pernicious influence of the priesthood upon them, especially the women. There was for a long time uncertainty as to Rizal's fate. One rumor was that he had died on shipboard, while another had it that he had been appointed surgeon to the Spanish troops in Cuba. The truth is, however, that he was shot in Manila by the military authorities, his fate thus recalling that of Placido, in Cuba, fifty years before.

superstition is rather practical than religious, by which is meant that they believe less in spirits than in the magical action of healing herbs, in the laying on of hands in disease, etc., and therefore they were early attracted by the Catholic Church. Unfortunately they know very little of Spanish, so that they have no means of improving themselves by reading, their material in this respect being almost exclusively prayer books, a few stories about the saints, etc. Whenever any other kind of reading in their language comes in their way, such as tales of chivalry and enchantment—even quack advertisements and the like—they devour them greedily. In another passage in his letters, Zobel, speaking of the relation of the natives to the monks and the tobacco monopoly, says that the latter were attempting to represent both to the colonial and the home governments that they alone can offer a sure support to the Government, since they can keep the mass of the natives in check by their moral influence without other aid. This claim, he continues, was only true to the extent that the natives, timid, indifferent, and lazy as they are, fear the white monks and pay them a superstitious obedience, but do not love them. In the provinces where tobacco is grown the natives are not allowed to cultivate anything else. The State sells it for cash, but pays the farmers in paper which is not redeemable for two, three, or even four years, so that they are compelled to sell their certificates to the Chinese or Spanish usurers at a great discount. Even this is borne patiently by the easy-going people. But religious fanaticism, which is not rare among the lower native priests (who are excluded from all higher spiritual dignities), sometimes leads to dangerous revolts of the natives (as in 1842), whose customary mildness and indolence are liable occasionally to change into blind fury.

As has been said, the monks played a conspicuous part in the acquisition of the islands for Spain. They came as missionaries with the conquistadores and soon became the leaders of the natives, and have remained ever since in possession of nearly all the parishes. As in the other colonies, so in the Philippines, they brought with them the educational system with which they had been familiar, and very soon after the settlement of Manila they founded colleges and other educational and charitable institutions, which have survived until now and to which is due the literary and scientific activity, which, beginning with a history of the islands, accounts of the "martyrdoms" of missionaries, etc., has produced works on the natural history of the islands, their ethnology and history, including dictionaries and grammars of the native languages. The latest fruit of the scientific activity of the Jesuit fathers and the most important and best-known scientific institution in the Philippines, and perhaps in the whole East, is the famous meteorological observatory of Manila, which was founded in 1865, and now has one of the most complete equipments for meteorological observations in the world. An important practical service which

the observatory renders shipping is the warning of approaching hurricanes, which it is enabled to give by means of its branch stations at different points in several of the islands. The Jesuit Father Faura, who is so well known for his meteorological work and has been for a long time in charge of the observatory, began forecasting the weather as early as 1879. Expeditions have been made under his direction all over the archipelago, with a view to making magnetic and other observations. A report upon the terrestrial magnetism in the Philippines was prepared by P. Ricardo Cirera, S. J., the director of the magnetic section of the observatory, to be presented to the meteorological congress at Chicago. It contains, besides, some historical matter and a mathematical discussion of methods, tables and charts showing the isogonal and isoclinical lines, magnetic meridians, isodynamic lines, and diagrams showing the magnetic variation at Manila, and the perturbations. The college of Santo Tomás was founded by the Dominicans in 1611 and was formally opened in 1619. Pope Innocent X conferred the title of university upon it in 1645 with the two faculties of theology and arts, which were subsequently enlarged by Clement XII by the addition of the faculty of law in 1734. The King became the protector of the university in 1680, and it received the additional title of "royal" in 1785. Its courses and faculties were reorganized in 1870 with the title of University of the Philippines.¹ It had 581 students in 1845 and nearly 1,000 in 1858, at the time of Sir John Bowring's visit. Since the reorganization in 1870 and the separation of secondary instruction from the university the attendance has become subdivided, but no statistics are available to show the attendance in the last few years. The representative in Washington of Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader in the Philippines, who is himself a graduate of the university, says that the total number of graduates is 11,000. Although the university is the most important institution, it is not the oldest in Manila. In 1585 the King ordered that a college should be established in which the sons of the Spaniards of the archipelago could be educated under the direction of the Jesuits, but the institution—the college of San José—was not opened until 1601. Its first students were sons or relations of the early authorities of the country. In 1630 the college of San Juan Latran was founded by a charitable individual for the orphans of Spaniards. The founder became a Dominican and the institution remained in charge of that order. Besides the inmates, a large number of boarders, both "Indians" and mestizos, received instruction there until both it and the college of San José were included in the institute in 1870. In

¹ These historical notes on the educational institutions in the Philippines are taken from the *Historia General de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta nuestros días*, por D. José Montero y Vidal, Madrid, 1887; Mallat, *Les Philippines*, Paris, 1846; Semper, *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner*, Würzburg, 1869; Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen*, Berlin, 1873; *Memoria sobre Filipinas y Jolo*, por el Excmo. Señor D. Patricio de la Escosura; edited by D. Francisco Canamaque, Madrid, 1882.

1632 the college of San Isabel, for Spanish orphan girls, was founded, and is now in charge of the sisters of charity. Not only were colleges and schools established in Manila, but in other islands. Thus the Jesuit Sanvitores established schools in the Ladrone Islands, and a seminary for the education of the sons of the natives in 1669, in support of which the Queen, Marianna of Austria, contributed 3,000 pesos annually, for which act of charity the name of the islands was changed from the Ladrones to the Mariannes, which they bear now.

It was not only the Government and the Spaniards who founded educational institutions, however, for in 1694, as Montero's chronicle states, a mestiza named Ignacia del Espíritu Santo founded the beaterio de la compañía, which still exists, and which was soon attended by many Indian girls and mestizas; other beaterios were in existence later, and the oldest convent school, that of Santa Potenciana, was founded in 1589.

In 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines, they had 4 colleges in Manila and in Cavite, 1 in the island of Cebu, 1 in Iloilo, 1 in the island of Mindanao, and 2 in the Marianne Islands, 10 in all. (Montero, II, 183.)

In 1770 a royal decree began the effort, which has been repeated ever since without effect, to make Spanish the common official speech of the islands, and in 1781 the Sociedad Económica was established, having for its object improvements in the industry and commerce of the country and incidentally of the schools. The first paper or periodical appeared in 1811, which contained principally translations of articles in English papers concerning the war in Spain against the French, the courage of the Spaniards, etc. The next periodical appeared in 1821, which had only a short life, while the Sociedad Económica founded a mercantile paper in 1824 that lived for ten years. In 1837 the *Flora de Filipinas segun el sistema sexual de Linneo*, by Fr. Manuel Blanco, was published in Manila, which is described as an important contribution to the natural history of the islands. In 1842 the periodical *Seminario Filipino* began its existence, and contained European and Asiatic news, besides local and mercantile notes, and a daily paper was started in 1846, which lived four years. In 1852 the Jesuits were reinstated, and sisters of charity were directed by royal order to go to the Philippines and take charge of the beaterios there. They arrived in 1862, and have charge of a dozen "colleges" and charitable schools for girls in Manila with (in 1885) 1,030 pupils. At the same time the fathers of St. Vincent de Paul came to the islands, and now have 4 colleges and seminaries in Luzon, Cebu, and Iloilo, with a total attendance (in 1885) of 1,580 male and 40 female pupils.

In 1855 a commission was appointed by royal order to draw up regulations for primary education, in accord, as far as possible, with the Spanish law of 1838, and to report upon the expediency of establishing a normal school at Manila. In 1861 a school of botany and agriculture

was established at Manila under the inspection of the Sociedad Económica. In 1863 plans of primary instruction which had been approved for Cuba were sent to the governor of the Philippines for his examination. The plans proposed by the minister for the colonies for secularizing the University of Manila met with the most violent opposition from the religious order which had had charge of it, and its opposition was seconded by other persons, so that the plans as contemplated could not be carried out. It is important, however, to show what changes were intended, and a summary is here given of the preamble and plans of study proposed, which are taken from the *Diccionario de legislación de instrucción pública*, por Eduardo Orbaneja.

The minister for the colonies, under date of October 2, 1870, proposed that instruction should be given at the University of Madrid in Tagalog and other studies which would give information about the Philippines and the English and Dutch East India possessions and their methods of government, especially for the benefit of those who intended to enter the colonial service. A decree of the same date established the plan proposed. On November 6 a royal decree established an institute of public secondary instruction in Manila with the title of Philippine Institute. The plan of studies was—

Spanish and Latin grammar.	Arithmetic and algebra.
Elements of rhetoric and poetry.	Geometry and plane trigonometry.
Elements of physical geography.	Elements of physics and chemistry and of natural history.
Elements of descriptive geography in general and of Spain and the Philippines in particular.	Psychology, logic, and moral philosophy.
Universal history—History of Spain and the Philippine Islands.	General outline of anatomy, physiology, and hygiene.

The same provision was made here as in Cuba for the verification of degrees from private institutions.

The studies which fit for the industrial professions in the same institution included—

Mercantile arithmetic.	Spherical trigonometry.
Bookkeeping and accounts.	Cosmography, pilotage, and manœuvres.
Political economy and mercantile and industrial legislation.	Theoretical and applied mechanics.
Geography and commercial statistics.	Physics and chemistry applied to the arts.
French, English, Tagalog, and Visayog.	Topographical drawing and hydrography.
Surveying.	Lineal and ornamental drawing—landscape, figures, and painting.

This institute absorbed the college of San José and municipal atheneum, college of San Juan Latran, nautical academy, and academy of drawing, painting, bookkeeping, and languages. On the same date the decree changed the title of the old University of Santo Tomás at Manila to that of the University of the Philippines. The faculties of

law and medicine were reorganized, the latter containing the following studies:

Descriptive and general anatomy, two courses.	Surgical pathology, with operations, bandaging, etc., one course.
Exercises in osteology and dissection, two courses.	Medical pathology, one course.
Physiology, one course.	Obstetrics and special pathology of women and children, with clinics, one course.
Public and private hygiene, one course.	Medical and surgical clinics, two courses.
General pathology, with clinics and pathological anatomy, one course.	Legal and toxicological medicine, one course.
Therapeutics, materia medica, and writing recipes, one course.	

The pharmaceutical course was also reorganized.

On December 5, 1870, the minister for the colonies drew up a long exposition of the history, condition, and needs of public instruction in the Philippines, which recites the early activity of the Augustines, Dominicans, and Jesuits in education, especially in founding the college of Santo Tomás in 1611 and of San José in 1601, but points out that by the process of absorption by the religious orders education became concentrated in their hands. That while every acknowledgment should be made of their services in earlier times, their narrow, exclusively religious system of education, and their imperviousness to modern or external ideas and influences, which every day became more and more evident, rendered secularization of instruction necessary. He cites the attempts in this direction made since 1835, which had been only partly successful, on account mainly of want of persistence in following them up and the political changes of the times in Spain. He goes back to 1785, when the first classification of studies was made in the archipelago, and when secondary instruction included a very modest amount of the humanities, consisting for the most part of tedious Latin taught with great prolixity, some scholastic philosophy, mostly intended to prepare for the study of casuistic theology, and some extremely rudimentary mathematics.

While this part of education remained in the hands of the clerical element, the laity, especially the association called the Sociedad Económica, established the nautical and accountant schools, the school of drawing and painting, and other no less valuable institutions, which were at first maintained by private funds, although subsequently by the State. (These were all united in the institute.) The university instruction was entirely insufficient. There was no faculty of medicine or pharmacy, very little natural science, and less of history, philology, and linguistics. This is now corrected. The minister remarks that it would be entirely Utopian to attempt to give the Government charge of all the education, because of the social condition in the Philippines and the supremacy and power of the monks.

On October 29, 1875, a royal order was issued regulating the courses in the university and prescribing plans of study.

The faculty of law was much enlarged to cover, besides the Roman and canon, civil, mercantile, and criminal law, political economy, statistics, and general and Spanish literature.

How many of these reforms were carried out eventually can not be decided from any evidence now available. The minister who succeeded the author of the above sensible proposition had the order revoked as far as secularizing was concerned.

As to primary instruction, it has been shown that the Philippine islanders could read and write their own languages when the Spaniards arrived. According to a table in the book of M. Alfred Marche (*Luçon et Palaouan. Six années de voyages aux Philippines. Paris, 1887*), there are five alphabets in use in the archipelago. All travelers state that there are schools in every village, which are under the control of the priests. Good observers have noticed the aptitude of the natives for instruction. Thus, Mallat states that the children begin very early to make their letters in the sand or on leaves. Some of them, he goes on to say (he was writing in 1842), become distinguished calligraphers, and can imitate all kinds of writing, drawing, and printed characters. He relates a story of a missal which was copied by an "Indian" and sent to the King of Spain. It was so well done that it was impossible to distinguish it from the original. They copy maps, also, with great exactness. It follows that instruction among the Indians was far from being backward when compared with that of the lower classes in Europe. Nearly all the Tagales can read and write. However, the sciences, properly so called, have made little progress among the Philippine islanders. A few of the mestizos have a slight tincture of them, and those of the Indians who have taken orders know Latin. The best educated are without doubt those who, having studied at the university of Santo Tomás, have become lawyers. Among them can be found advocates worthy to be compared with the most celebrated in Spain. As to literature, there is a Tagale grammar and a dictionary and a combined grammar of the Tagale, Bicol, Visaya, and Isinay languages. These are all published by the monks at the Santo Tomás press. There are several public printing offices in Manila. The literary works proper consist mostly of poems and tragedies in Tagale. The former are sometimes on very grave subjects, such as the Passion, and the tragedies are very long.¹ There are also short poems and songs, of which both words and music are national, and the Indians can write the music with wonderful ability. They are all musicians, and some of them can play five or six instruments. There is not a village, however small, where the mass is not accompanied by music. The choice of airs is not always the most edifying, and one sometimes hears waltzes and airs from the French opera bouffe in the churches.²

The military music of the garrison at Manila and the large towns

¹ M. Marche, forty years after, relates that a tragedy which was performed in a village where he was staying lasted two or three days.

² M. Marche heard airs from *La Fille de Madame Angot* played at a funeral.

of the provinces is carried to an astonishing degree of perfection, so that there is nothing better of the kind in Madrid. The Indians play from memory the overtures of Rossini and Meyerbeer. Semper, writing in 1869, says of education among the natives: "The Christian Spaniard has not been able to exert much more influence of a spiritual than of a political nature upon the character of the natives. Popular instruction was formerly and is now entirely in the hands of the priests. Excepting the professors of common and Roman law, all the chairs of the university of Santo Tomás in Manila are in the hands of the priests, who naturally arrange not only the theological lectures, but those upon metaphysics, physics, and logic as well, according to the principles of the Catholic Church. In the provinces every village has its public school, in which instruction is obligatory; but, besides reading and writing, only Christian doctrine and church music are taught. This instruction, moreover, is by no means generally given in Spanish; at least, the general introduction of Spanish as a school language is still so recent that it will be long before the Spanish officials will be able to converse even with their subordinates in Spanish. On the east coast of Mindanao, one of the oldest and most settled provinces, the native dialect was exclusively used until forty or fifty years ago, and the priests used the old Malay alphabet until the beginning of the century even in their official business. The number of natives—the Spaniards call them 'Indians'—who can read and write is tolerably large; but owing to the total unreliability of all statistics on the subject nothing accurate can be said. In 1863 the Government attempted to make an enumeration of the population and, incidentally, to note the number of those who could read and write. The fact that the result was never published seems to confirm the opinion that an unsatisfactory condition of things was found.

"The surprising facility with which Christianity spread over the islands, even in the beginning of the conquest, leads one to suspect that it only served as a cloak for the ancient religious customs, and, indeed, partly amalgamated with them. Trustworthy monks still complain that the same men go to church one day to pray to their Christian God and the next offer sacrifices to their heathen idols or 'Anitos' for a good harvest. In some places there has even been a backsliding into the old heathen times."

Jagor, another competent observer, says of the natives in the Camarines, a province of Luzon, that they have schools in every village. The teacher is paid by the Government and usually receives \$2 a month without board or lodging. In large towns the salary rises to \$3.50 a month, but then an assistant must be paid. The schools are under the supervision of the local priests. Reading and writing are taught, the copies being set in Spanish. The teacher is required, it is true, to teach his pupils Spanish, but he does not understand it himself, while the officials do not know the native language, a condition of things which the priests have no power or inclination to change, because it increases

their power. Only those Indians know Spanish who have been in the service of Europeans. At first a kind of religious primer is read in the native language, and later Christian doctrine is taught. On the average, about half of all the children go to school, ordinarily from their seventh to their tenth year. They learn to read and some learn to write a little, but soon forget it. Only those who become clerks can write a running hand, but they usually have a very good hand. Some priests do not allow boys and girls to attend the same school, and they pay a special female teacher \$1 a month. The natives learn counting with difficulty and use shells or stones as a help, piling them in little heaps, and then counting them out.

In 1890, according to the *Gran diccionario geográfico, estadístico, é histórico de España y sus provincias de Cuba, Puerto Rico, Filipinas, etc.*, edited by Rafael del Castillo, there were 1,016 schools for boys and 592 for girls in the archipelago, with an attendance of 98,761 boys and 78,352 girls.

For the following additional information we are indebted to a brief account of the educational facilities of the Philippine Islands by Mr. Alex. A. Webb, United States consul at Manila, which was written in 1891: Mr. Webb states that the general government appropriated \$404,731.50 for schools in 1890, of which sum the normal schools received \$10,520. The salaries of the teachers were, \$800 for the director; professors, \$800; teachers of drawing, \$600; teachers of ordinary branches, \$400, and assistants, \$120. The two directors of the school of drawing and painting, which was established in 1875, were paid \$1,200 each by the government. By royal decree of October 1, 1890, the School of Arts and Sciences was established at Manila. Here are taught languages, bookkeeping, higher mathematics, chemistry, natural history, mechanics, political economy, mercantile and industrial legislation, drawing, modeling, engraving, wood carving and all the trades.

A school of agriculture was established at Manila July 2, 1889, for the purpose of giving those natives who had acquired a common school education a theoretical and practical education in agriculture and horticulture. It opened with 82 students and last year (1890) had 50, but it is hoped and expected that there will be an increase in interest among the natives as soon as the work of the school can be extended. Similar schools have been established in the provinces of Isabela de Luzon, Ilocos, Albay, Cebu, Iloilo, Mindanao, Leyte, and Jalo. They are supported entirely by the government and managed by the priests.

Mr. Webb mentions the Royal Society of Friends of the country, which was founded in 1813 for the purpose of encouraging the interest in the arts, sciences, commerce, and industries, and says: "It is claimed on its behalf that it has accomplished a vast amount of good, but there is not that degree of energy and activity manifested in its work to be seen in similar organizations in some other countries." It has accumulated a library of about 2,000 volumes on the arts and sciences, natural history, and agriculture.

On the 17th of August, 1887, a Royal decree was issued establishing a public museum and library in Manila, under the management of a board of civil and military officers to be appointed by the governor-general of the islands. Work has been commenced upon the project and it bids fair to develop into a very creditable institution in a few years.

This review of the educational condition of the Philippines would not be complete without some fuller account of the monks, whose power and position in the islands is an anachronism, recalling the middle ages. The complaints which are now apparently with justice urged against them should not cause us to forget their early services to the natives and to civilization. We are accustomed to hear of travelers and scientific men venturing everywhere in furtherance of fads or impelled by curiosity, or the vice of competition, and risking their lives from these purely selfish motives, but the motives which urged Catholic priests in the sixteenth century to go all over the world and encounter death everywhere, from the woods of Canada to the remotest parts of China, were self-sacrifice and devotion for what they believed to be the spiritual welfare of savages and heathen. In the historical paper before cited Blumentritt says of the monks in the Philippines:

They won for themselves, in early times, great gratitude from the natives by protecting them from the government officials, which was increased by admitting them to religious orders. But this happy condition was changed in the present century, for when the orders were abolished in Spain, the Philippines offered an asylum to the crowd of European novices whose numbers soon closed further admission to the natives. Since that time, the Philippine monks have been European Spaniards, who are often the only white men in the country districts, and who, being the only representatives of the ruling race, have made use of that position, in fact if not with right, and constituted themselves the rulers of the land. In the fear that a liberal government might deprive them of their last refuge, the Philippines, by handing the parishes over to the (native) secular clergy, the Spanish monks began to pose as the only reliable support of Spanish rule in the archipelago and to throw the suspicion of independence upon the secular clergy. So great is the ignorance of the Spaniards of the affairs of the archipelago that this suggestion was easily entertained, although all insurrections had been suppressed, not by the monks but by the government. Their power was further increased by the money they circulated in Spain and the fear of the Spanish Government that they might place their wealth at the disposal of the Carlists.

These monks have been the enemies of every administrative reform which the colonial ministers have promised or effected from 1868 until the present time, and they have consequently and naturally appeared as the enemies of all progress and improvement in their country, not only to the secular clergy, but also to all the other inhabitants of the islands. At their instigations all natives of superior intellectual attainments who would not play the hypocrite were persecuted and transported, so that there was a fearful sense of insecurity all through the country. What kind of a spirit actuated them is best shown by the fact that they accused the Jesuits, who are highly esteemed, of liberalism and so brought suspicion and distrust upon the teachers who were educated in the Jesuit teachers' seminary.

The Filipinos started a journal in Madrid, called *La Solidaridad*, which contended for constitutional reforms. But the undertaking was unsuccessful, because the mass of the Spanish nation showed absolutely no inclination to trouble itself about the affairs of its Asiatic colonies, and the monks were able to purchase enough

newspapers to combat or render ridiculous the efforts of the Filipinos. Indeed, the latter were told that political rights are not obtained by begging, but by fighting, to which their leader, Marcelo H. del Pilar, answered that the day when the Filipinos, no longer trusting the justice of Spain, should take up arms, would be a day of sorrow for the Spanish nation, for it would no longer be a question of the granting of political reforms, but of breaking away entirely from the obstinate and deaf mother country. This prophecy was soon fulfilled. Up to the present time only the educated and rich inhabitants of the islands had taken part in the efforts at reform, while the mass of the people stood aloof. The greed of the monks, however, who had acquired immense landed estates, induced them to raise their rents until their tenants and the small farmers, in despair, rose in the revolt of August, 1896, which was directed less against the Spanish Government than the monks themselves.

The conclusion, which is obvious from the observations and history which have been presented, is that the few Spaniards in the Philippines, while they have not made a radical or decided change in the customs and habits of thought of the natives, have nevertheless imposed their religion upon them to a considerable extent, have taxed them successfully, and have them under military control. The humanities, under the conduct of the priests, have borne their usual fruit in civilizing the comparatively few natives or mestizos who have been brought under their influence, until they have produced statesmen, artists, and literary men who have become known in Europe by their merits. It is clear, also, that while the natives of the archipelago have a greater power of resistance to alien influences than those of the American continent, the greater portion of them show decided and superior intellectual capabilities.

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