RAFAEL PALMA AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEARNING IN THE PHILIPPINES: PARADIGM SHIFT FROM THE SPANISH TO THE AMERICANS

BY

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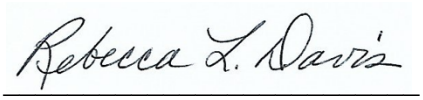

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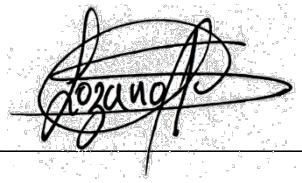

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to God, for providing me wisdom and guidance. He is the center of my life. To my parents, Rev. Ernesto Lozano Padilla, and Rev. Irma Fernandez de Lozano, whom always believed in the power of education and assured it to all their children, as well as the love for God, with example, words and loyal service.

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ABSTRACT

The following historical research focuses on changes in education from the Spanish to the American colonial systems, a paradigm shift. The study is based on Rafael Palma's writings between 1899 to 1933, extending to 1945 considering his posthumous publications. Palma, though relatively unknown today, was a significant Philippine educator. The writer took into careful consideration Palma's Spanish language sources, especially those available at the University of the Philippines Archives. The research is built upon primary source material, such as books, articles, speeches, essays, presidential reports and other documents.

For over three-hundred years, Filipinos were under the colonial power of the Spaniards. Education in the Philippines was under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. Though the Spanish brought primary education to the Philippines, higher education was for the elite, and it was oppressive. Although Spanish education demonstrated improvements over the years, education did not reach the whole country and it never changed in its original intent, to educate people to remain loyal to the Church.

After more than three-hundred years of Spanish rule, a new colonial power took over the Philippines. The Americans arrived in the Philippines in 1898. The Americans brought a less oppressive educational paradigm. Everyone deserved education, and education for the mases would prepare Filipinos for independence.

Bridging these two periods a name that was highly respected, but now almost forgotten is Rafael Palma (1874 – 1939). By living in both periods, Palma himself

experienced the changes, and saw the improvements under the Americans, but also criticized freely whatever he believed was not right. He was an agent of change.

The philosophies that Rafael Palma developed were closely related to aspects of transformational learning, and, in particular, critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is a philosophy that was developed in the late nineteen-seventies by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. His philosophies aimed toward the transformation of oppressive educational systems through developing a capacity for critical thinking, which included freedom from the pre-conceived notions of others.

What would later be called transformational learning and critical pedagogy were already in the mind of Palma. The philosophies that Palma developed were revolutionary in his time and still remain useful today. Palma advocated academic freedom and education for both service and national development. As well, he related education to hospitality, morality, and religion. All of these were discussed by later educators and philosophers of education.

Palma compared education under the Church to education under the state. Each provided what the other did not. For instance, under the Spaniards education enforced strict morality, whereas the Americans separated morality from education. Palma also compared methods of instruction based on his own experiences. He described the differences between oppressive and liberated educational systems. The Spanish wanted people to remain servants, or, in other words, oppressed. Though the Americans ignored morality, they provided freedom in education.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The following dissertation deals with the early twentieth century paradigm shift in education in the Philippines. By focusing on Rafael Palma, the research will be able to focus on an important period of transition, from the Spanish colonization era to the American one.

With the arrival of each colonizer, Spaniard and American, new social systems were introduced in the Philippines, producing changes in ways of living and thinking. those changes were produced by new modes of education.

Paradigm shifts are common, but misunderstood. Through the study of Palma, this research will consider the positive and negative impacts of change in education in the Philippines and see transformational learning in historical context.

During the course of my study of Rafael Palma, and the paradigm shift in education, I came to realize that Palma himself was the source of change, giving him the name of primary source of the paradigm shift from the Spanish to American educational system and his early approach to transformational learning.

Background of the Study

Researching the history of the Philippines, I discovered a similarity to my home country, Peru. This made my 2011 transition to the islands for further education easier and more pleasant. Language, culture, and customs were indicative of the strong influence of the early Spanish colonization in both countries. That influence still remains in the people and the culture, especially in the areas of religion and architecture, but the educational system in the archipelago had changed through the years. Continuing my study of the country, I visited several historical places: museums, libraries, and archives. Spanish colonization brought positive and negative influences to an existing culture, as well as the destruction of the past.

Peru was colonized by Spaniards in 1532, and it did not received its independence until 1821 under the revolutionary Jose de San Martin after 289 years of oppression. In 1565 Spain conquered and Christianized the Philippines, changing the people's beliefs and practices to Catholicism and the values and attitudes in this ideology.[1] Among the countries in Southeast Asia, the Philippines became the country most affected by European culture, even though, unlike Peru, the Spanish taught their language only to the elite.

As my questions concerning the culture and religion grew, I asked, "What happened with education in the Philippines?" Remembering my own education, I contemplated the difference. Since Spain was the first country to colonize the archipelago, the Spaniards were only the first to introduce Western education, systems, and structures. The Philippines fought for and declared its independence on June 12,

[1] Rosario Mendoza Cortez, Celestina Puyal Boncan, and Ricardo Trota Jose, *The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), 2, 35.

1898, under President Emilio Aguinaldo in Cavite. However, the Philippines could not achieve its independence after the Spaniards left. The Americans immediately took over the islands, bringing a new language and new systems in many areas, but especially in education.[2]

It is important to study education and its changes through history in order to understand other paradigm shifts in educational systems. Change has both positive and negative impacts. Transition periods provide the breaking points from one set of mentalities and philosophies of education to another. The old traditional education system left from the Spanish and Portuguese era still reigns over South America. Understanding the paradigm shift in the Philippines may benefit the Philippines, where this study centers, but also countries in Latin America where educational changes are considered to have a negative impact on society, and until now few changes have been made.

Long before Freire, Rafael Palma is a name highly regarded in many descriptions of Philippine education. He was an educator with many contributions during the era of transition, and his insights of changes in education in the Philippines from one colonial power to another are valuable in different contexts of educational paradigm shifts.

Born in 1874 in Tondo, Manila, to a poor family, Palma received his early education during the Spanish time. His father provided as much instruction as he could afford because he deemed the value of education as a treasure for his children. In his

[2] "Philippine Declaration of Independence," June 12, 1898, accessed April 17, 2020, http://fileserver.net-texts.com/asset.aspx?dl=no&id=26668.

autobiography, Palma mentions the education he received under the Spaniards "changed little by little." This is because he saw the new things brought by the Americans.[3]

Though Palma was not active in the Revolution, he wrote that, "the overthrow of Spanish sovereignty produced tremendous change in my ideas and habits."[4] He witnessed many different approaches in education that took place under the American regime. As a self-described "lover of high ideals and principles," Palma looked upon these changes positively.[5]

Articles, quotes, and the buildings named after Rafael Palma brought my attention to his work and influence. In a master's thesis completed in 1957, Pricilla Valencia wrote that Palma's ideas were revolutionary and impacted the mind of Filipino youth for generations. He was a "scholar, statesman, patriot, and champion of academic freedom."[6]

Since most of Rafael Palma's educational ideas and concepts were in Spanish, his writings grabbed my attention, since Spanish is my first language. Among his works are publications in *El Renacimiento* (1910). During the American War, Palma was the editor of *La Patria*, later called *La Independencia,* founded in 1898. His articles, according to *Primo Estrada*, "were mostly short stories and articles on social education to bring into the public consciousness the principles of the new regime." Another helpful resource was

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[3] Rafael Palma, *My Autobiography*, trans. Alicia Palma (Manila: Capitol Publishing House, 1943), 1, 9, 11.

[4] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 24-25.

[5] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 11.

[6] Priscilla G. Valencia, "Educational Ideas of Rafael Palma" (master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1957), iii.

My Autobiography, translated from Spanish to English by Rafael Palma's daughter in 1941.[7]

In an article entitled "Rafael Palma As Scholar and Historian," the historian Gregorio F. Zaide relates the importance of the study of the material of Rafael Palma, and pleads for translation of his works, because, "Spanish is a dying language" in the Philippines.[8] Even historians have little knowledge of it. Until now, there are not many articles or materials of Palma translated to English, hence these materials are unknown for today's generation.

While centering on Palma, as background in the second chapter, I will seek for an understanding of Spanish and American educational philosophy during their time of occupancy. This will be divided into the history of education in the Philippines before Spanish occupation and during its early years of occupancy. Other sections in this chapter regard the philosophies and practices of Spanish education between 1800 to 1900, and finally, American educational practices in the Philippines between 1900 to 1920. The third chapter deals specifically with Rafael Palma. The fourth chapter applies this study of Rafael Palma to Transformational Learning.

This research is limited to education change in the Philippines in a certain period, between the years 1898 to 1920, and extends to 1933, when Palma ended his presidency from the University of the Philippines. That period is considered the transitional period from the Spanish to American colonization. As is the nature of historical research, this

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[7] Palma, *My Autobiography,* 11; Primo Estrada, "Today in Philippine History September 3, 1898, La Independencia Came Out With Its First Issue," *The Kahimyang Project*," https://kahimyang.com/kauswagan/articles/1269/today-in-philippine-history-september-3-1898-la-independencia-came-out-with-its-first-issue.

[8] Gregorio F. Zaide, "Rafael Palma As Scholar and Historian," in *Great Events in Philippine History: Patriotic Calendar* (Manila: M. Colcol and Co., 1951), 12.

study examines as many of Palma's writings as are available, and places them within the context of change.

Most of the documents studied in this research are from Palma's period as President of the University of the Philippines. Palma's early writing did not deal directly with education but, rather, dealt with political aspects in the form of poems, like the ones presented in *Voces de Aliento*. Writings after his presidency of the University of the Philippines, as Chairman of the National Council of Education, were limited. Some primary sources are located in the National Archives of the Philippines which for several months was closed for renovation. However, the material found at U.P. dealt directly with his views of the paradigm shift of education between the Spanish to the American system.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to explore and analyze the positive and negative areas of change in education in the Philippines during the transition from the Spanish to the American colonial era through the eyes of reformer-educator Rafael Palma, and to identify insights that can be applied to other contexts, cultures and eras of education in order to guide the ones who are facing or will face changes in their systems and structures.

Furthermore, unexpectedly, Rafael Palma's thoughts foreshadow many of the ideas of transformational learning, and, in particular the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire. Palma was earlier in different aspects of the educational philosophy of transformational learning that was grounded in the seventies, and developed around the world years later.

Theoretical Framework

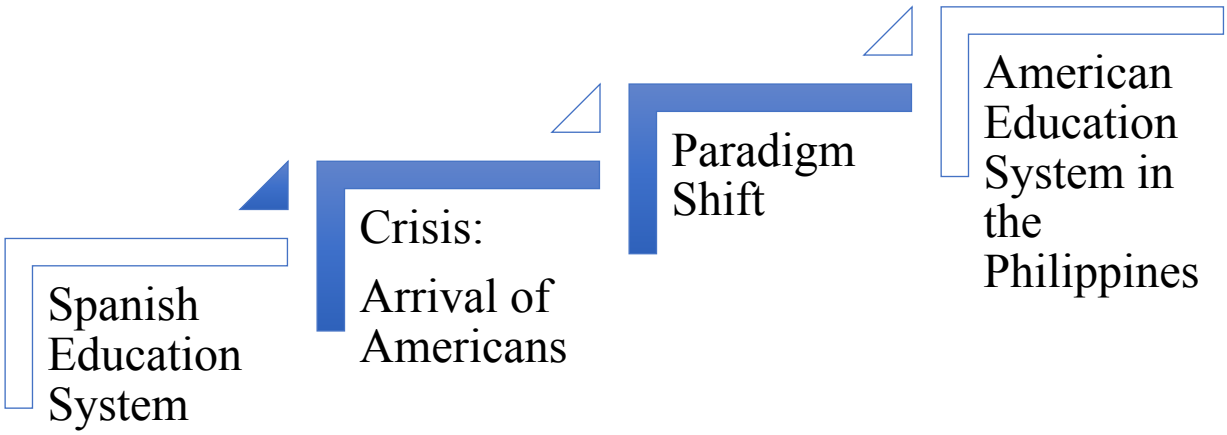
I am using Thomas S. Kuhn's understanding of paradigm shift, expressed in his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution,* to organize the theoretical framework for this study. Kuhn was a historian of science, but his model can be applied to the history of education. Kuhn's ideas helped to change minds in the 1960s by providing an image of science different from the traditional one. A paradigm shift results from periods of crisis based on new discoveries and scientific evidence that does not fit into existing explanations. The classic structure, the so-called normal science, encounters challenges. The products are new ideas and models. Paradigm shifts are "successive transition" from one concept or idea to another via "revolution."[9] Paradigm shifts come in cycles. I am applying Kuhn's understanding of paradigm shift to the changes from Spanish to American education in the Philippines. Like science, educational history is one of on-going transition. What is accepted as wisdom and best practice in one generation is discarded as antiquated in the next. Education will always seek and experience changes.

For Kuhn paradigm shifts are "successive transitions" from one idea to other. These transitions could be either peaceful or revolutionary events and dictate further practice.[10]

[9] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 12.

[10] Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 10-12.

Framework


Spanish Education System
Crisis:
Arrival of Americans
Paradigm Shift
American Education System in the Philippines

make them more inclusive, discriminating, reflective, open, and emotionally able to change."[15]

Research Questions

What was Rafael Palma's response to the change from the Spanish to the American system of education? In answering this question, as background, this dissertation asks: What were the late nineteenth century Spanish philosophies and practices in education in the Philippines? What were the early twentieth century American philosophies and practices in education in the Philippines? More directly, this dissertation asks, as perceived by Rafael Palma, what were the principal changes in education from the Spanish to American colonization in the Philippines? And finally, What insights from Palma's philosophy and practices can be considered in the field of transformational learning in modern education?

Importance of the Study

Though there were various studies on this important period in Philippine history, no one has yet approached the paradigm shift regarding philosophies and practices of education from one era to the other, focusing on one Philippine revolutionary educator, Rafael Palma, who was considered, at one time, to be "a member of the 'triumvirate of national leaders' with Quezon and Osmeña."[16] I consider the paradigm shift from the

[15] "Transformative Learning Theory (Mezirow)," *Learning Theories*, accessed July 23, 2020, https://www.learning-theories.com/transformative-learning-theory-mezirow.html.

[16] Conrado Benitez, *History of the Philippines*, rev. ed. (Manila: Ginn and Company, 1954), 397.

Spanish to the American era to be the most important aspect in the history of Philippine education.

The importance of this research can reach beyond the Philippines. This study aims to be presented as an example to other countries that have not moved or transcended their educational ideals or systems over many years.

For many years, I believed that the Peruvian way of educating students was particular to Peru. Years later, I became aware that the bad practices were not just a Peruvian system; it was part of the Spaniard colonization system that oppressed the people they conquered. I was able to find tremendous similarities between Peru and the Philippines as well as other countries in Latin America.

If changes were made, they were often considered negative or interruptive. The historical part of the research will help educators remember how processes of change affect people's mindsets. The recommendations at the end of this study will help various educators in Latin America or other countries to assess transformational learning and educational shifts in higher levels of instruction.

Methods and Sources of Research

This is a historical study on education. Galero-Tejero Erlinda in *A Simplified Approach to Thesis and Dissertation Writing* describes historical research as the review of records and documents and other written forms.[17] Saeedeh Shafiee from the Islamic Azad University-Najafabad in her handbook *Historical Research* defines historical research as the collection and evaluation of data. The work of the researcher in this field

[17] Erlinda Galero-Tejero, *A Simplified Approach to Thesis and Dissertation Writing* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 2011), 47.

is to "describe, explain and understand" previous actions or events. In this methodology, unlike other methodologies, manipulation of data is not possible. Rather, the goal of history is to reconstruct what happened in the past.[18]

To reconstruct the past, historical research uses both primary and secondary sources. "Primary sources," says Mary Lynn Rampolla, are important because the writer deals with material "directly involved" with the person or the era of study.[19] Richard Marius in *A Short Guide to Writing About History* stresses the importance of primary sources in historical research. History always looks back to the primary sources; those are the "nearest to any subject of investigation." The most common primary sources are written documents, but photographs, paintings, architecture or even interviews are part of this area. Primary sources include "eyewitnesses accounts, decrees, letters and diaries, newspapers and magazines, speeches, autobiographies and treatises, tax rolls, census data, and marriage, birth and death registers."[20]

In historical research, a secondary source is material that "has been already interpreted out of the primary source."[21] Secondary sources often guide the researcher to primary sources. Though secondary sources are helpful for interpreting primary sources, these materials have to be read carefully, Rampolla warns, because another's interpretation of the primary source may affect one's own.[22]

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[18] Saeedeh Shafiee, *Historical Research* (Najafabad, Iran: Ata Language Publications, 2015), 2.

[19] Mary Lynn Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History* (Boston: Trinity College, 1998), 3.

[20] Richard Marius, "A Short Guide to Writing About History," in *Guidelines for Historical Research and Writing* (London: Pearson Press, 2014), 1.

[21] Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, 4-5.

[22] Marius, "A Short Guide to Writing About History," 1.

There are several processes that can be used for historical research. In my case, I gathered material from different local libraries, especially the library of the University of the Philippines. I was privileged to be a research fellow at the University of the Philippines under their Third World Studies Center. Since Rafael Palma was the second Filipino president of the school, the University of the Philippines contains most of the primary material. A few other sources were found in the National Archives of the Philippines, and in early-twentieth-century newspapers published in the Philippines.

Some of the material gathered in the University of the Philippines was found in microfilms. An old source, *The Modern Researcher*, by Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, explains the importance of microfilm collections to research. Some libraries moved away from microfilm and, regrettably, primary source material was not transferred to new technologies. Though much of the information nowadays is available in computerized formats, this is not the case for materials related to Palma.[23]

At the same time, since most of the material is not available electronically and cannot be easily photographed or photocopied, note taking is very important in historical research. What is more important is the organization of the notes. In *History and Historians* Mark Gilderhus suggests organizing notes "topically and chronologically."[24]

While secondary sources describe the broader historical context in which Palma lived and wrote, the primary sources are separated chronologically and then by topic. I have made clear the difference between my "own thoughts and the ideas of the author."[25]

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[23] Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, fourth ed. (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1985), 67; Mark Gilderhus, *History and Historians: A Historiographical Introduction* (Upper Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000), 92-93.

[24] Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, 94.

[25] Marius, "A Short Guide to Writing About History," 8-9.

Gilderhus says that writing is part of the historical research process. In writing history (unlike many social sciences), the researcher communicates the findings "in plain, jargon-free prose" in a systematic form, and "the degree to which students of history can attain such capability will determine their successes and failures."[26]

Like grounded theory in social science research historical research often takes the researcher to unexpected directions and to unanticipated conclusions.

Sources

As to the first research questions, secondary sources are sufficient to provide the context of the transition from the Spanish to the American Era. Many authors provide insights regarding education under the Spanish regime, including aspects of instruction, but I have found more sources about the American era and what Americans did in the Philippines and their contributions to the improvement of education, than in regards to the Spanish.

As to Rafael Palma, I consulted four of his books: *My Autobiography*, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, *Biografía de Rizal*, *Alma Mater*, and *The New Mentality,* as well as speeches, presidential reports and newspaper interviews. These are located in the Main Library of the University of the Philippines. Most of the initial primary sources are located in its Filipiniana Section (basement) and University Archives (third floor) and National Library of the Philippines. Other primary sources are Palma's articles on educational reform that were published before, during, and after the transition of the Spanish to the American era in the Philippines. As editor and writer for some of the

[26] Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, 88.

newspapers of the era, Palma published in: *The Philippine Magazine, Philippine Journal of Education, La Independencia,*, and *El Renacimiento*. (These are in the libraries of the University of the Philippines and the National Library of the Philippines.) *El Renacimiento* [The Rebirth], founded in 1901, was a newspaper published in both Spanish and Tagalog and was a part of the Filipino resistance to Spain. It investigated and presented the abuses and corruption of Spain, yet, paradoxically, defended the use of Spanish as the official language of the Philippines.[27] On the basis of these primary sources, by combining the evidence, I have developed my own interpretation of Palma.

The secondary studies on Rafael Palma are limited. The only known thesis, that of Priscilla Valencia, emphasizes Palma's "revolutionary" ideals, which, she believes, impacted the mind of generations. She advocates that Palma should not only be read but "digested and assimilated."[28]

Other secondary sources provide responses to the influences imparted by Rafael Palma, and describe generally the educational system shift. There are not many materials that deal with the latter, but certain ones mention Palma. Most helpful is *Rafael Palma: A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary*, *The Americanization of Manila: 1898 – 1921*, edited by Cristina Evangelista Torres.[29] No one has attempted a complete study of Palma's writings, but he is mentioned in various histories of Philippine life and thought. For instance, there is mention of Palma in chapters of *Mixed Blessings: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines*,

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[27] Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, The United States, and the Philippines* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 177.

[28] Valencia, "Educational Ideas of Rafael Palma," iii, 2.

[29] Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila: 1898 – 1921* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 2010).

edited by Hazel Ferguson[30].

Some of the material available from Rafael Palma is translated into English. Such is *Our Age*, *New Mentality* and his Inaugural Speech as president of the University of the Philippines. In some cases I was able to compare both sources to see if the translation carried the original thought of the author. In some of the cases I was able to do my own translation, and I have supplied some missing thoughts. Not to devalue the original translation into English, I felt more comfortable presenting in this work a closer English translation than the previous translations.

[30] Hazel McFerzon, ed., *Mixed Blessings: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2011).

CHAPTER II

Historical Background

In order to understand the context of this study, it is important to understand the background and the historical setting in which Rafael Palma lived, studied and worked. Rafael Palma's life covered the period from the Spanish to the American occupation, living through the changes, taking what was good, improving upon it, and setting new ideals.

Each period of colonization has tremendous information which has to be studied in parallel with the primary and secondary sources. The first background, to understand the first shift in culture and adaptation, is the study of the Philippines before colonization. The second one is the Spanish colonization and examines what Spain brought into the archipelago over three-hundred years. Further, we will examine the American's occupation of the Philippines and their new system of education.

The Spanish system in which Palma started his education, and the American one in which he continued and served for most of his life had tremendous differences. The late Spanish period from 1863 to 1899 represented an authoritarian rule, characterized by inherited monarchs. "It was poor and inclined toward conservatism." On the other hand, commented Frederick Fox, the American system for the next thirty-five years after the overtake was "a rich and extensive republic, young and bursting with energy."[31]

[31] Frederick Fox, "Official Spanish Policy Concerning Elementary Education in the Philippines from 1863 to 1898, Compared with Official American Policy from 1900 to 1935" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1952), 1.

History of Education in the Philippines under Spain

Though there is comparatively little information about education before the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines, Filipinos before the Spanish "were already a civilized people" with their own educational system. Neither schools nor anything similar seems to have existed. Education was concentrated at home, and the only known "educator" was the local shaman.[32]

Most of the people that the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century were capable of writing and reading. The Spanish observer Antonio Morga in 1609 observed that Filipinos had their own writing characters and writing system, which used some dots and commas, an alphabet, and numbers. The writing system was composed of at least sixteen letters, and three vowels modified their pronunciation if a mark or *korlet* was placed over or under them. Both men and women were able to write in their native language.[33] In the city of Manila, one hundred percent of the population was able to read and write, Morga believed.[34]

The introduction of a Spanish system of writing implied the first abrupt educational paradigm shift in Filipino society.

Historian Renato Constantino notes as well that Muslim influences were deeply entrenched in the country and that Spanish colonization "froze the evolution of what had

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[32] Yolanda Javier and Alegre Mogol, *The Filipinos, Their Education: Yesterday and Today* (N.p.: Ernest Printing, 2005), 23-24.

[33] John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 59.

[34] Antonio de Morga, *Sucessos de las Islas Filipinas,* edited and translated by J. S Cummins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 269; F. Landa Jocano, *Philippine Prehistory: An Antrophological Overview of the Beginning of Filipino Society and Culture* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines System, 1975), 193, 166.

once been the more advanced society."[35] In *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, Constantino describes colonization as nothing but a "misfortune." Why? The Philippines had to endure not one but four stages of liberation. The first came with the Spaniards' misguided attempts to "liberate them from being slaves of the devil."[36]

Indeed, the Spaniards' purpose was to bring Catholic faith to the islands. In order to do so, instruction under the Catholic Church was introduced in the Philippines as part of evangelization, and "indoctrination in the faith was the primary aim of instruction."[37]

Education was under the supervision of the Catholic religious orders, whose missionaries initially taught the catechism using Spanish as the language of instruction. Later the missionaries decided that in order to evangelize more effectively teachers must learn native languages. The Franciscans succeeded most in instruction, according to historian John Leddy Phelan. The Franciscans had learned much from their experiences in teaching the natives in Mexico about Christian faith.[38]

At first, Catholic orders were established in the towns. The Spanish provided for the population one level of education: the primary or elementary school level. Higher education in the Philippines under the Spanish did not benefit all classes or levels of people. It was reserved for Spaniards. The Jesuits in Manila in 1595 started the first school for Spaniards during that era, San Ignacio. By the year 1611 the Dominicans had opened the College of the Lady of the Rosary, later called the College of Santo Tomas.

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[35] Renato Constantino, *The Philippines A Past Revisited: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (Quezon City: n.p., 1974), 1, 3-26.

[36] Constantino, *The Philippines A Past Revisited*, 26.

[37] Mendoza, Puyal and Trota, *The Filipino Saga,* 50.

[38] Javier and Mogol, *The Filipinos, Their Education*, 14; Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 59.

This was elevated to a university in 1621. Much later, in 1859, Jesuits founded Ateneo Municipal de Manila. These institutions were only for boys. For girls, Santa Potenciana was founded in 1591 and Santa Isabel in 1632, both in Manila. Even with the existence of universities in the Philippines, many wealthy families sent their sons to be educated in Europe.[39]

This trend increased during the late nineteenth century. Filipinos, including students, living in Europe created a group called *filibusterismo*. They wanted to expose evil things done by the Spaniards in the Philippines to the Spanish government. They were mainly located in Madrid. This *filibusterismo* movement targeted young generations.[40]

The curriculum of education in the Philippines under the Spaniards consisted of three R's: reading, writing, and religion, with a strong stress upon religion. "The curricular goals were the acceptance of Catholicism and the acceptance of Spanish rule," note Tomas Andres and Francisco Felizardo. The methodology of instruction was memorization and repetition with the purpose to "serve and love God."[41]

Education between the crucial years 1857 to 1879 passed through many changes. In Spain in 1857, the Moyano Law mandated education or public instruction and applied not only in Spain but also in its colonies. With this decree education was provided to all children from six to nine years of age. Some of the ties with the Catholic Church and its

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[39] Mendoza, Puyal and Trota, *The Filipino Saga,* 127.

[40] Constantino, *The Philippines A Past Revisited*, 148.

[41] Tomas Quintin D. Andres, and Francisco Felizardo, *Curriculum Development in the Philippine Setting* (Mandaluyong City: National Book Store, 1989), 16-17.

influence over education in schools were removed. No matter what the law ordered, in the Philippines public instruction remained primarily for the Spaniards.[42]

Alberto Luis Gomez described the impact of the 1857 Moyano Law in his doctoral thesis written in Spanish in 1984, *La Geografia del Bachillerato Español (1836-1970): Historia de Una Crisis* [Geography of the Spanish Bachelor's Degree (1836-1970): History of a Crisis]. Gomez presented different controversies surrounding the law. During the Liberal Period the Moyano law became *desfigurado*, which meant it was radically changed. That is, the Liberal Party members carried new freedoms and ideas in education that were not previously provided. The Liberal Party modified the law so that secondary education became instructional and preparatory for those who sought to have more studies, including college education, after they finished their basic education. More and more changes were made, the most innovative being the length of studies. A five-year course of studies was fixed in the secondary level. This prevented students from wasting time and provided goals in their education. Students were able choose their own subjects, as long these "did not go against the logical order of studies. A maximum number of hours of lectures were fixed to prevent children from working needlessly in higher works according to their early intelligence and endanger their health."[43] If the student took credits or classes in certain areas that were specifically designed, the student was able to end his or her secondary education with a technical degree. An optional program allowed them to perform a profession without the need to continue in higher

[42] Pau Miret-Gamundi and Rocío Treviño, "Population Europe Resources Finder and Archive," February 10, 2017. http://www.perfar.eu/ policy/education/spain.

[43] Alberto Luis Gomez, "La Geografia del Bachillerato Español (1836-1970): Historia de Una Crisis," (PhD diss., Universidad de Santander, 1984), 123, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

education. (Thus was provided in different schools in Peru as late as the 1980s.) This law evolved as new educators and contributors made improvements. The Spanish government appointed heads to oversee the Education Department.

An 1863 decree provided additional "reform" to the system of Spanish education. Two schools for each municipality were to be established with a standard curriculum--one for boys and one for girls. Education was made "available to the masses." Earlier the colonial state intended to educate people with the purpose of inducing them to obedience, says Erin Hardacker, but this new system "provided Filipinos with the tools to function outside of colonial rule."[44]

By the time that the 1863 law was promulgated, the Jesuits in Manila had established a teacher's training school, Escuela Normal de Maestros. The main purpose of this school was to prepare native instructors to use and to teach Spanish to all students. The friars (that is, the Augustinians and Franciscans) opposed this *Escuela Normal* since some of the friars were able to speak and were fluent in the native languages. They used this ability to a great advantage in their role of being the "intermediary between colonial government and the natives," notes educator Andrew Gonzalez. This position was important for them to keep. If they taught Spanish to the natives, their positions would have been overtaken. By this time a group of rebels formed, called the *propagandistas*, who were against the *frailes* (friars). The opening of Escuela Normal de Maestros did not pacify this group. The Jesuits accused the friars of "circumventing the royal decrees for mandating the teaching of Spanish and of denying access to Spanish to the native

[44] Erin Hardacker, "The Impact of Spain's 1863 Educational Decree on the Spread of Philippine Public Schools and Language Acquisition," https://eric.ed.gov/?q=COLONIAL+ EDUCATION + SPAINandid=EJ1002429, accessed February 5, 2017.

populace in fear of losing their control on the people."[45] The propagandist group represented an educated elite trained by the same friars in the Spanish language, but they accused the friars of not teaching the language equally to all students. The Spanish language did not reach their countrymen. Ironically, Filipinos were unable to read the propaganda that their compatriots, the rebels, circulated in Europe, because the material was written in Spanish.[46]

One can compare the Philippines to Spain's attempts to establish education in other colonies. On October 12, 1535, the Spanish founded the first Viceroyalty, called Nueva España (New Spain), which covered all of what is now Central America. Other Viceroyalties were created that covered what is now South America. Education in the Philippines came after schools were secure in Latin America. In the islands the Spaniards only repeated what they had done in South America. For example, Peruvian education was selected for the elite and for the so-called *mestizos*. School classes were imparted by a religious order with no designated curriculum for the students. Repetition and rote described all instruction. Women were not allowed to study, unless politically or economically connected, but the education they received was also inferior and simple. At the beginning, as it was in other countries, there were no rules, or government body that regulated education.[47]

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[45] Andrew Gonzalez, *Language and Nationalism: The Philippine Experience Thus Far* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1983), 4.

[46] Gonzalez, *Language and Nationalism,* 6.

[47] Francisco Rubino, "Revista Digital de Historia y Ciencias Sociales," http://www.claseshistoria.com/america/colonial-espana.html, accessed February 10, 2017.

It is important to cover the late nineteenth century practices under Spanish colonization. The reason is, it was during these years that Rafael Palma received his early education, and, hence, his early thoughts on the things that had to be changed.

The Philippine population of 667,000 increased to 6,000,000 from the arrival of the Spaniards in 1591 to 1885. During the late colonial era, new laws were established that aided the development of the country in education, trade, and economy. The changes allowed new minds and intellectuals to appear; including Emilio Aguinaldo, Jose Rizal, Juan Atayde, Jose Turiano, and Pio Valenzuela. They were called *Ilustrados*, which means "illustrated" or "enlightened ones."[48]

Changes in the Philippines followed liberalization in Spain. Liberalization shaped the minds of Spanish leaders in education as well as politics. One educator, Miguel Morayta Sagrario (1834-1917), was born in Madrid and became a professor in the Department of Philosophy in the Universidad Central. Since he was involved in both journalism and politics, his philosophies spread. During the opening ceremony of a new academic year 1884-1885, he declared professors as free persons in their duties with no limitations to their instruction. He advocated the independence of the Philippines and condemned unlicensed educators in the Philippines with no rights to teach. This type of instruction had not been a normal practice in the Philippines, according to Moryata, and carried on by priests and nuns. Several news outlets and presses recorded Morayta's speech, which was rejected by different Catholic bishops. It encouraged students to revolution in Madrid.[49]

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[48] Glenn Anthony May, *A Past Recovered* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987), 12; Constantino, *The Philippines A Past Revisited*, 126-127.

[49] Miguel Morayta Sagrario, "Proyecto Filosofía en Español," http://www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a

Alejando Pidal (1846-1913) was a supporter of Morayta in his advocacy of independence for the Philippines. In 1884 Pidal was appointed Minister of Development, considered equivalent to the Minister of Education. Pidal was a very conservative man. During his time, he imposed laws upon the non-official schools in Spain in favor of a privileged group and not for the sake of general education.[50]

Meanwhile, in the Philippines, in spite of liberalization, Filipino intellectuals reacted against what American historian Glenn Anthony May calls a mode of obedience to "honor the master."[51] As Philippine historian Teodoro A. Agoncillo, in *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan,* describes, during the Spanish educational and administration system in late colonial times, the Church and the priests controlled the natives' lives. Education continued to make religion the "dominant subject." This education instilled within the Filipinos the "fear of God and respect for the friars, under all circumstances." This was inculcated into the minds of the people with a severity that left no room for the expression of doubt." Classes were not adequate. The curriculum was not adequate. Agoncillo says that students left the schools with the same ignorance they had when they entered.[52]

During the revolutionary times, some *Ilustrados*, educated in Europe, were gathered in a group called *Katipunan,* a Tagalog term meaning "association." This was a group that sought independence. Pio Valenzuela (1869-1956), for instance, joined the

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284.htm, accessed February 17, 2017.

[50] Gomez, "La Geografia del Bachillerato Español (1836-1970)," 151.

[51] May, *A Past Recovered*, 8.

[52] Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: Excel Printing Press, 1956), 8.

Katipunan when he was in his fourth year of medicine in the University of Santo Tomas. As editor and author of the first issue of *Kalayaan* (liberty), he wrote articles in Spanish and Tagalog that criticized colonization and sought for independence. Later, several other intellectuals contributed to this paper.[53]

The Philippines' war for independence started before the Spanish-American War. At about the same time, Cuba sought for its independence from Spain.[54] The revolution created The First Philippine Republic in 1898 with Emilio Aguinaldo as President. Departments were created and led by secretaries: Departments of Public Instruction, Foreign Relations, Navy and Commerce, War and Public Works, Police and Internal Order, Treasury, Agriculture, and Manufacturing Industry. President Aguinaldo issued several decrees, including one on the "educational programs of the Revolutionary Government." *La Independencia,* issued on October 9, 1898 expressed a need for primary instruction and proposed a curriculum.

The Republic's Malolos Congress had the "best educated Filipinos of the time." Most of them had studied in Europe: Pedro Paterno, the president of the Congress, Tomas G. Del Rosario, Vicente Gonzales Maninang, Mariano Abella, Fernando Canon, Santiago Icasiano, and Tomas Arejola. They represented different areas, including Zamboanga, Albay, Isabela, and Bontoc, among others.[55]

Amid uncertain times, education was not left behind. The Malolos Constitution gave a tremendous consideration to education. The first change was the separation from

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[53] Carlos Quirino, *Who's Who in the Philippine History*, edited by Lancion Conrado (Makati: Tahanan Books, 1995), 200; *Dr. Pio Valenzuela*, http://www.valenzuelausa.org/Pages/LifeOfDrPio Valenzuela.aspx, accessed February 20, 2017; Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 47-48.

[54] Mendoza, Puyal and Trota, *The Filipino Saga,* 165-66.

[55] Mendoza, Puyal and Trota, *The Filipino Saga,* 194-195.

the Church of its control over education. Title III, Article 5 of the Constitution guaranteed "freedom and equality of all religions, as well as the separation of the Church and State." Title XII, article 23 declared that anyone has the right to establish learning institutions under legal authorization and that "public education shall be free and obligatory in all schools of the nation."[56] The congress established a system of public schools, a university and a military school. Significantly, the local schools were removed from the control of Catholic priests and given to government authorities assigned by the Congress.[57] But the First Republic was short-lived.

Meanwhile, several periodicals carried the views of the educated Filipinos mentioned above. *La Independencia* (Independence) joined the *La Libertad* (Liberty) with its first issue on September 3, 1898. *El Heraldo del a Revolución* (Herald of the Revolution) was first published on September 29, 1899.[58] Palma was involved in some of these newspapers.

Philosophies and Practices of Early 20th century American Education in the Philippines, 1900 to 1920

The second period of education in the life of Rafael Palma came under the Americans. Officially, the United States declared war against Spain on April 21, 1898. Once the United States decided to annex the Philippines, the Americans planned for a new system of education in the country. Said President William McKinley: "There was

[56] Javier and Mogol, *The Filipinos, Their Education*, 27; Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines 1899.

[57] Mendoza, Puyal and Trota, *The Filipino Saga,* 182; Javier and Mogol, *The Filipinos, Their Education*, 26-27.

[58] Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 115.

nothing left for us to do but to take them all and to educate the Filipinos."[59] The American educational system flowed into the Philippines. This brought an abrupt shift in the educational paradigm.

Education in the Philippines during the Filipinos' war with Spain, and then with the American occupation, was interrupted. Some schools or universities did not operate for a semester or more. This frustrated the goal of many desiring to graduate. Rafael Palma wrote in *My Autobiography* that his graduation was prohibited in 1898 by the arrival of George Dewey at Manila Bay. During the war time many of the school buildings were destroyed or burned, preventing the spread of information about what was happening, especially in the provinces.[60]

The lack of education left by the Spaniards in the Islands had to change. The Americans believed that education was the only possibility for the Philippines to achieve self-governance. Under this premise, the American Secretary of War, on January 21, 1901, passed Act No. 74 to recruit teachers. The Americans left their guns (or most of them), says Amparo Lardizabal, and decided to instruct the people. More was needed to provide a real education for those who had been left behind, as education had been designed only for a small group of people, the elite. Now the masses were to receive proper attention. Teachers were urgently needed to replace the military, which was not trained for the job. This system was organized with the arrival of professors and educators called Thomasites – so-called because of the name of the ship that brought

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[59] Princess Orig, "Kayumanggi versus Maputi: 100 years of America's White Aesthetics in Philippine Literature," in *Mixed Blessings: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines,* ed. Hazel McFerson, second ed. (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2011), 118.

[60] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 24; Amparo S. Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education* (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1991), 40-41.

many of the teachers with experience and qualifications to fix the problem.[61] The Thomasites began arriving in the Philippines on August 23, 1901.[62]

Many changes under the American regime began in education after the Spaniards left the islands. The stated primary American objectives in the Philippines were to establish civil rights and to "educate the people for self-government." The Americans discerned that the Spanish had intentionally kept the masses low by denying them education and health care. The Americans changed the system in order to fulfill its goals to "provide free primary instruction to every Filipino child."[63]

McKinley, historian Frank Golan believes, truly wanted Filipinos to have self-government.[64] Yet the measures may not have been altogether altruistic. Filipino historian Gemma Cruz Araneta says, "As Spain used religion to colonize and Hispanize, the United States of America established the public education system for pacification and Americanization." She compared the meaning of the Catholic Church under the Spaniards to the influence of public schools under the Americans.[65] Similarly, Cristina Evangelista in *The Americanization of Manila: 1898-1921* writes that "education as the handmaiden of American colonial policy led to the overhaul of the Hispanized school

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[61] Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education*, 5, 42.

[62] Torres, *The Americanization of Manila*, 138.

[63] Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education*, 47, 49. See also Daniel R. Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 82-83.

[64] Frank Golan, *Face of Empire: United States-Philippine Relations, 1898-1946* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), x.

[65] Gemma Cruz Araneta, "The Gabaldon Legacy," accessed February 20, 2017, http://gabaldon. ivanhenares.com /2006/08/those-gabaldons.html.

system."[66] Indeed colonialism gave the Americans total legal domination over foreign territory and its people instead of extending its supremacy through military power. Colonialism allowed the United States to have control and power to re-educate the people in the Islands.[67]

The American colonial education system in the Philippines, which lasted formally until 1935, aimed to "train the Filipinos about the American culture and way of life." Americans imposed a curriculum based on Western ideas and traditions.

For instance, the curriculum for primary level included three grades with two main aspects, body and mental training. Body training included singing, drawing and physical education, while mental training took care of English, arithmetic, geography and civics. For the secondary level a similar curriculum was designed with the addition of physiology and sanitation. Colleges founded by the Americans provided strong instructors and mentors, with the aim "to replace the soldiers and the Thomasites."[68]

In order to accomplish the education of the masses, Act No. 1801, in 1907 (called the Gabaldon Law) provided education to everyone through new municipal government schools. In 1913 the municipalities also began to provide night schools teaching English to the people.[69]

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[66] Evangelista, *The Americanization of Manila*, 137.

[67] Julian Go, "Introduction: Global Perspetives on the U.S Colonial State in the Philippines," in Julian Go and Anne Foster, eds., *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 4-5.

[68] Tomas Andres and Francisco Felizardo, *Curriculum Development in the Philippine Setting* (Mandaluyong City: National Book Store, 1989), 17-18.

[69] Cruz, "The Gabaldon Legacy"; Mendoza, Puyal and Trota, *The Filipino Saga,* 314-15.

The Americans approached the colonial enterprise differently in the Philippines than elsewhere. In a chapter in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, Alfred W. McCoy, Francisco A. Scarano, and Courtney Johnson describe the difference between the Americanization of Puerto Rico and the Americanization of the Philippines. In Puerto Rico, English instruction was with an intention to erase the memory of the Spaniards. In the Philippines compulsory education tried to provide education with the idea of improvement. Sadly, some Filipinos dropped education after they finished the compulsory years.[70]

With educational knowledge, tools, and skills the islands had the chance of a "transition to modernity." Raul Pertierra and Eduardo F. Ugarte conclude that this purpose and goal of education was constantly repeated throughout the history of the American colonization in the Philippines.[71]

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[70] Alfred McCoy, Francisco Scarano, and Courtney Johnson, "On the Tropic of Cancer: Transitions and Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed, Alfred McCoy and Francisco Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 23.

[71] Raul Pertierra and Eduardo Ugarte, "American Rule in the Muslim South and the Philippine Hinterlands," in *Mixed Blessings: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines,* ed, Hazel McFerson (Quezon City: University, 2002), 37.

CHAPTER III

Rafael Palma

When addressing the matter of paradigm shift of education in the Philippines, one of the persons that comes with high regard is Rafael Palma. Historian Gregorio F. Zaide said that "a man may be good, but not great; he may be great, but not good. Only a few illustrious men in our country are good and, at the same time great." Palma fit both characteristics, Zaide said, good and great. To people with such characteristics, Zaide compared Palma to the Catholic Saint Thomas More, "a man for all seasons."[72] In Palma's case, the seasons began with the Spanish colonial empire and ended with the Philippine commonwealth. He witnessed change, not only politically but educationally.

Among many things, Rafael Palma became an educator. During those years he had the opportunity to put into practice new ideas. Palma proved to be a revolutionary of ideals and an early advocate of transformational learning, even before aspects of critical pedagogy were presented by Paulo Freire in the early nineteen seventies.

One of the reason why it is important to study Palma from an historical perspective is to revive his thoughts and to put them into practice in educational systems that have not seen change and are afraid of it. Change is inevitable, and Palma handled change with respect, patience, hope and determination.

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[72] Gregorio F. Zaide, "Rafael Palma as Scholar and Historian," in *Great Events in Philippine History :Patriotic Calendar* (Manila: M. Colcol and Co., 1951), 1, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archive.

Biography of Rafael Palma

Rafael Palma is an important transitional figure. Sergio Osmeña, later President of the Philippines, says of Palma that his life covered the Spanish revolutionary period, the American period, and also the period of "reconstruction" under the Commonwealth.[73]

Rafael Palma was born on October 24, 1874, in Tondo, Manila. As many people from his time, Palma was born in a strong Catholic household. Rafael's father, Hermogenes, had poor roots, however, his mother, Hilaria Vicente Velasquez "belonged to a distinguished family." Rafael Palma said about his mother that she was the only one of her family who married "an indio." His mother's sisters all married "rich Spaniards and Spanish mestizos." Rafael's father was likely an employee in the house of his future wife, the Vicentes.[74]

The Palma family improved their economic status by moving from Tondo to Lecheros. The new house, even though built with "bamboo and nipa," which are materials from the area, had different rooms, including a kitchen, a dining room, and living room, making the house "one of the most spacious and tallest" in the community. Rafael Palma said that the increase in their status was not only apparent by the new house, but also by having two servants.[75]

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[73] Osmeña, "Foreward," in Palma *My Autobiography*, i, ii. See also Carlos Quirino, *Who's Who in the Philippine History*, ed. Lancion Conrado (Makati: Tahanan Books, 1995), 159, and Evangelista, *The Americanization of Manila*, 1.

[74] Miguel R. Cornejo, ed. "A Brief Biographical Sketch of Rafael Palma: Lawyer, Journalist ,Educator, Author, and Stateman" in *Cornejo's Commonwealth Directory of the Philippines*, Philippines (Manila: N/P, 1939), 1996, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives; Palma, *My Autobiography*, 1,4.

[75] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 4-5.

Rafael Palma formally started his education in 1882, at eight years age, under the public school system. In 1885, Palma began preparatory secondary at Ateneo. In 1892, Palma enrolled in the University of Santo Tomás, while undertaking a parallel "two year commercial course at Ateneo," graduating from that program in 1894.[76]

Rafael Palma had tremendous skills and proficiency in writing, which allowed him to work for different newspapers. Palma considered himself a journalist. He had the "itch" to write after his readings, and tried to imitate those who were influencing him. His first writings after his graduation in bachelor of arts were for a Roman Catholic magazine, and for *El Comercio*, between 1890 and 1892. The writings were basically literary tales.[77]

While Palma was a student of law in the University of Santo Tomás (UST), one of the most significant events in history occurred. In 1896 Rafael Palma, age twenty-two, witnessed the execution of Jose Rizal.[78] About this event, Palma wrote:

> This morning, I attended the execution of Dr. Jose Rizal. A great multitude invaded the field of Bagumbayan where the event took place. I was anxious to see the hero, I wanted to see his face that had defied the tyrants, his head that held such a great idea like the creation of a nation. In short I wanted to see the figure of that illustrious patriot who was prepared to offer his blood for his country. I saw him two times. I imagined he would be serene and tranquil as he marched to the scene of his immortality and glory… and I but can truly say that I was not disappointed. His countenance was pale but serene and bright like the heavens

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[76] A full account of the education of Rafael Palma is described under the Education of Rafael Palma section ahead. Palma, *My Autobiography*, 15, 16, 21, 22.

[77] Rafael Palma, "Reminiscencias de un Periodista" (1924), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 413, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[78] Danilo Donor, "The Death of Dr. Jose P. Rizal: Eyewitness Accounts," *The Filipino Journal*, Alberta, January, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20120204220348/http://www.filipinojournal.com/alberta/our-columnnist/philippine-history/the-death-of-dr.jose-p.rizal-eyewitness-accounts.html.

> above. He laughed at times while he talked to the two Jesuit priests and the officer who accompanied him.[79]

Years later, Palma was able to connect this event with his skills in writing and he became as well an educator and an historian, writing an award winning biography of Rizal.

According to Palma, reading the works of Jose Rizal felt both "anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic." These feelings created in him the need to leave a military group created by the Spaniards against the Americans. Of this occasion, Palma wrote, "What am I doing here, with a rifle in my hand, on guard for the Spanish cause when the majority of my countrymen are on the other side, trying to liberate their country? . . . I should fight on the side of my people, of my own blood and race!"[80]

The transition of two regimes happened while Palma needed one more year to finish his education at UST. With the revolution, Palma wrote, his Spanish education changed.

Palma became an editor for *La Independencia,*[81] originally published by Antonio Luna. He also wrote for *El Nuevo Día* and *El Renacimiento*. Palma considered himself a "novice in newspaper." *La Independencia* (The Independent) saw its first issue on September 3, 1898 under the editorship of Luna and Salvador V. Del Rosario. In this newspaper, Palma wrote "short stories and articles on social education to bring into the

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[79] Robert Paul [pseud.] Rafael Palma, "El Fusilamiento de Rizal," trans. Alicia P. Bautista, *La Independencia* [?], December 30, 1899.

[80] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 24, 25, 28-30.

[81] Palma, "Reminiscencias de un Periodista," 416 – 417: "The Independent was small newspaper, it was four pages of texts and announcements. Even though the cover looked similar to the Spaniard newspapers, the difference was that the content was original . . . We were many [working] and we were able to fill up to eight pages, but the finances were limited. I even remember that all, with the exception of the director and the chief editor received thirty pesos per month as payment . . . *The Independent* held a long campaign of independence, so the Islands were not to be returned to Spain and an independence would be declared," my translation.

public consciousness the principles of the new regime." Palma took over the direction of the newspaper when Luna, besides being the publisher, became a general of the anti-American Filipino forces. In 1900 Palma traveled to Cebu, where he started to work under Sergio Osmeña on a newspaper called *El Nuevo Día*[82] (The New Day). With the need to complete his law bar examination, a new practice introduced by the Americans, Palma returned to Manila. While there, he founded *El Renacimiento*[83] (Rebirth). This last was founded together with people that worked earlier with him earlier in *La Independencia*.[84] The first issue was published on September 3, 1901. Palma said that he "always believed in the power of ideas, and in the newspaper as a condenser and molder of public opinion."[85] Carlos Romulo said that both *El Nuevo Día* and *El Renacimiento* were "mouthpieces for the advocates of Philippine independence."[86] Indeed, these were published in times in which the country was in the transition to a new regime.

There is not much information about Palma's private life. Most information comes from *My Autobiography* and scattered remembrances from close friends and relatives. Rafael Palma married in 1901 to Carolina Ocampo, a woman he had courted

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[82] Palma, "Reminiscencias de un Periodista," 421, said "Senator Osmeña is the one who invited me, he wanted to publish a newspaper. It was invited as well the former resident commissioner, Jaime C. de Vera and together we brought to public light *El Nuevo Día*. But we did not have the sponsor. There was censorship in Cebu, different than in Manila. For that reason, those who wrote in *El Nuevo Día* needed to be prodigious with words so the censorship will accept our works and we will be able to fill each day the columns of the newspaper," my translation.

[83] Palma, "Reminiscencias de un Periodista," 424, *El Renacimiento* included different sections, it had a "editorial, literarily, scientific or industrial, according to the case an economic, politic and about other current issue. That is the reason why *El Renacimiento* had success," my translation.

[84] Palma, "Reminiscencias de un Periodista," 423, The people who served in *El Renacimiento,* according to Palma, were Guerrero, Apostol and Jose Palma, his brother, my translation.

[85] Cornejo, ed., "A Brief Biographical Sketch of Rafael Palma," 1996: see also Palma, *My Autobiography*, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39-40.

[86] Carlos Romulo, "Rafael Palma," Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archive.

from 1896. Palma considered himself to be a very fortunate person. She was the daughter of Martin Ocampo, the administrator of *El Renacimiento*. His marriage was as well as his life, a private occasion. A simple ceremony was held in the Quiapo Church. It was prepared just one day earlier.[87] Carolina Ocampo's relatives were Mariano Ocampo, a Federalist, and Pablo Ocampo, a Nationalist. Pablo Ocampo was in exile in Guam after the overthrow of the revolutionary forces. Among those in exile with Ocampo was Apolinario Mabini.[88] Rafael Palma and Carolina Ocampo had four children[89]: Virginia Palma became the wife of the Governor of Laguna; Alicia Palma, wife of Architect Nicanor Bautista; Hector Palma and Fe Palma.[90] As a family man, as daughter Alicia Palma remembered him, "he was a symbol of power and was our best friend at home." Together with his political obligations, he fulfilled his roles with "love to God and country."[91]

A year after his marriage, Rafael Palma entered a competition held by the International Club of Manila, a group formed by Filipinos after the American occupation. The competition was to write the biography of Jose Rizal, and provided a prize of two-hundred pesos. Palma won the prize and as well the reputation of "prestige as a Rizalist

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[87] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 45.

[88] Ruby R. Paredes, "The Origins of National Politics: Taft and the Partido Federal," in *Philippine Colonial Democracy*, ed. Ruby R. Paredes (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1989), 68.

[89] The Book *Eminent Filipinos*, published in 1965 by the National Historical Commission, presented a short biographical note about Rafael Palma. This source says that Carolina Ocampo bore him eight children. I have found no evidence about this in other sources, or that some of the children died at birth.

[90] "Rafael Palma Ha Muerto" *El Debate*, May 25, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[91] Virginia Palma Bautista, "Pasasalamat: A Response" in *Rafael Palma: A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 36, translated for me by Jonathan Azurin Estrada.

in Manila's literary circles," said Zaide. History became for Palma a sign of his "passionate love for truth."[92] This biography was the basis of the book *The Pride of the Malay Race,* published in 1949, ten years after Palma's death, that was, as well, part of another competition.

Although Palma was born in a humble home, it was not an impediment to his personal development or to his service to his country. Palma in fact may be well remembered as President of the University of the Philippines, but there were more positions that he held through the length of his life. Palma served as a Member of the First Philippine Assembly, representing Cavite (1907); member of the Philippine Commission (1908); and Senator of the Fourth Senatorial District (Manila, Laguna, Rizal and Bataan (1916 – 1922). As well, Palma served as Secretary of Interior (1917).[93] Although Rafael Palma served different roles through his life, he is mostly remembered for his years as President of the University of the Philippines (U.P.). Palma was appointed as Acting President of the University in 1923 by Leonard Wood, who was the Governor-General of the Philippines at the time, and served to 1933.[94]

Palma's extensive and impressive work was done over thirty-five years of service, "principally if not entirely through the force of his undeniable merit," said Salvador

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[92] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 45; Zaide, "Rafael Palma As Scholar and Historian," 2-4.; Danilo Donor, "The Death of Dr. Jose P. Rizal: Eyewitness Accounts," *The Filipino Journal*, Alberta, January, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/ 20120204220348/http://www.filipinojournal.com/alberta/our-columnnist/philippine-history/the-death-of-dr.jose-p.rizal-eyewitness-accounts.html.

[93] Cornejo, ed. "A Brief Biographical Sketch of Rafael Palma," 1996, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives.

[94] Pacifico N. Aprieto et al., *Rafael Palma*: *A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 9.

Lopez.[95] In whatever role, whether as editor of newspapers, educator, lawyer, administrator or family man, said Sergio Osmeña, Palma advocated for right and justice.[96]

Rafael Palma's appointment as President of U.P. took everyone by surprise, even Palma himself. Palma had been serving on the Board of Regents since the foundation of the university in 1908 and, according to Palma, Dr. Guy Porter Benton, who was the President of the Philippines at the time, "begged" Palma to accept such responsibility based on the experience that he had in administration and because he was "familiar with the affairs of the institution." Palma by the time of his appointment was the longest serving member of the board.[97]

Many people described Palma as humble. Palma did not accept the position immediately. Palma felt himself not to be the right person to hold such responsibility. Having a law business, Palma did not want to leave his "duties completely," so, he accepted the position as part time. The compensation was five-hundred pesos for the hours he dedicated to the school. Palma realized that the time that he was giving to the school was too short for its many duties. Palma said, "The visitors and members of the faculty brought countless problems so that I could not take the details of the administration lightly."[98]

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[95] Salvador Lopez, "Rafael Palma," in *New Philippines*, ed. Felixberto G. Bustos (Manila: n.p, n.d.), 349, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archive.

[96] Sergio Osmeña, "Foreword," in Palma *My Autobiography*, ii.

[97] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 124. See also Bernardita Churchill Reyes, "Palma's Momentous Decade," in *University of the Philippines: The First 75 Years (1908-1983)*, ed. Oscar M. Alfonso, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1985), 1.

[98] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 124-125.

The one-year position as interim extended for another year as no permanent president was appointed. It was not until 1925 that Palma accepted the position as President, though alleging to the board that he did not earn his licentiate from Santo Tomas, and claiming not to have "academic qualifications."[99]

According to Teodoro Agoncillo, Palma accepted the position, after rejecting it originally, after Manuel A. Roxas, "knowing Palma's nationalistic pride," pressed him to accept the office. Otherwise, Roxas warned, the board will appoint an American the office. "It was this fear of placing the University under an American that compelled Palma to accept the challenge posed by Roxas." Of that incident, Palma wrote, "Speaker Roxas took a hand and urged me to accept the post for patriotic reasons."[100] Palma did not have anything against Americans, or their presence among the university faculty. Filipino faculty and Americans worked in "harmony." On this Palma also said that a university is "richer when there is contrast in mentalities, of different race and mentalities."[101]

To be educated at U.P. in the time of Rafael Palma, Armando Malay said, was to carry a sense of pride. Agoncillo said that a certain writer, with "pardonable egotism," presented this period as the "Age of Giants." As well, Agoncillo described the university under Palma as the "Golden Ages." Under Palma, U.P. surpassed all of the schools that the Spaniards had established. Palma made U.P. the top university in the islands. Palma

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[99] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 125.

[100] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma: A Profile in Integrity and Courage," in *Rafael Palma: A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 17; Palma, *My Autobiography*, 125.

[101] Rafael Palma, "El Vergel de la Universidad" (1925), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 54, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

provided students, who come from the masses, the best that was available. As president of the University, Palma had the opportunity to improve the whole educational system by creating new laws, policies and ideas.[102]

In order to learn, improve, and apply his knowledge in the university, in 1927 Palma took a nine-month tour to universities in different countries in Europe and America. On that tour, Palma met with Filipinos, speaking to them about independence, service and loyalty.

For one instance, while in Spain, Palma took the time to discuss how much Filipinos can still learn from Spain. Although he had highly criticized Spain, Palma had to see for himself Spain's educational system. Surprised by Spain's progress, Palma praised Spanish education as being on par with other great countries. Palma said that in the Philippines, education in Spain was seen as non-progressive, which he now saw as a "false statement."[103] Indeed this may be a true comment on the educational system, it is important to mention that Palma, unlike Rizal, did not study in the educational system in Spain itself. At this time, Palma saw a different educational approach in Spain than had been practiced by the Church in the Philippines.

Such a tour to different countries and universities was part of his philosophy, since it helped to expand his views on education. Modern educators, according to Palma, are ones who know trends beyond their own country, and learn from others. The

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[102] Armando J. Malay, "Would Rafael Palma Make a Successful U.P. President Today?" in *Rafael Palma: A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 11; Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma" in *Rafael Palma*, 15.

[103] "Banquete al Rector de la Universidad de Manila," *La Vanguardia* de Barcelona, July 3, 1927, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

experience or the exposure to a different terrain would provide a "new sense to education."[104]

The university was under the leadership of Rafael Palma for a decade. Palma's resignation from the presidency of the university was for matters of honor. The love for U.P. that Palma developed over these years was indescribable. Palma's resignation was more a political matter than the capacity of continuing with the position. The President of the Philippines at the time, Manuel L. Quezon, "threatened to cut the university's financial support." The reason involved the institution of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law, which gave precedents to the independence of the Philippines, and which had passed with the "Osmeña – Roxas faction of the American Congress." Rafael Palma agreed with the act, creating conflicts with the nation's President, the "powerful Quezon,"[105] who opposed it.

Palma retired officially from the University on December 31, 1933. To this, Salvador Lopez said that many believed that "his days are over." As well, together with his resignation, in a matter of a "short time" his name will be forgotten as well as his accomplishments, some might think. Lopez denied such statements by saying that "his sun, and we use the word with justified premeditation, has gone into an eclipse." Palma was no longer in the eye of the public as he was during his presidency, but "only that we may the better realize his indispensableness in the scheme of our own little universe."[106]

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[104] Rafael Palma, "Fe en la Humanidad" (1929), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 407, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[105] Aprieto et al., *Rafael Palma,* 10.

[106] Lopez, "Rafael Palma," in *New Philippines*, ed. Felixberto G. Bustos, 348, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archive.

After leaving the presidency of the university, in January 1935 Palma opened a law office and went back to "public affairs" issues, in which, as his own man, he had more freedom. Palma's thinking did not change. He wrote, "nobody was going to seal my lips for daring to oppose those who were in power. I preferred my freedom and my independence of thought to the comforts which my salary in the University afforded me."[107]

In 1936, Palma ran for Senator, but lost. After that, in spite of their previous differences, President Manuel Quezon appointed him Chairman of the National Council of Education.[108]

Rafael Palma received two honorary doctor degrees, one conferred by the University of Manila, and the other by the University of the Philippines, given on December 17, 1938.[109]

The Writings of Rafael Palma

Rafael Palma was a politician and educator, and his opinions and philosophies were well known around the country. Palma's work is extensive. Although many of his early writings in the newspapers *El Renacimiento* and *La Independencia*, are not available, some of his articles were compiled and translated by his daughter Virginia Palma. Rafael Palma's works include: *Voces de Aliento*, 1914; *La Mujer y el Derecho de Votar*, 1919; *Alma Mater*, 1930. The books *Voces de Aliento*, and *Alma Mater* are

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[107] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 141.

[108] "Palma, Ill for One Year Dies" *Manila Daily Bulletin*, May 25, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives.

[109] Cornejo, ed. "A Brief Biographical Sketch of Rafael Palma", 1996, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives.

compilations of different works. The first is a 217-page collection of fifty-five articles written between 1894 to 1905. The second, of 544 pages, contains seventy-six addresses and speeches given by Palma during his time as President of the University of the Philippines.[110] Jaime C. de Vera, a close friend of Palma, said regarding *Voces de Aliento* and *Alma Mater*, "Do you want to know Palma as a litterateur? Read *Voces de Aliento*. Do you want to know him as a thinker and educator? Read *Alma Mater*."[111] Some of the noteworthy articles compiled in *Alma Mater* are "El Hombre Educado y la Iglesia" (The Educated Man and the Church) 1924; "Nuestro Pais" (Our Country) 1926; "La Rebelión de la Juvenud" (The Revolt of Youth) 1928; "El Romance del Pasado" (The Romance of the Past) 1929; "Nuestra Historia," (Our History) 1929. Also included are biographies of "Padre Felipe Buencamino," 1923; "Martin Ocampo," 1927; "Jose Escalera," 1927, and others. Several books by Palma were published after his death. These included: *Biografía de Rizal*, 1949; *My Autobiography*, 1953; and *Historia de Filipinas*, 1968. There are as well different articles, interviews and announcements in different newspapers, especially during his time as President of the University of the Philippines.

The Education of Rafael Palma

Although difficult, Palma praised his education and considered education to be "the greatest favor" given by his father, who covered the expenses. It is not a surprise that Palma became a highly respected educator. He inherited the thoughts of his father, who

[110] Aprieto et al., *Rafael Palma*, 73.

[111] Zaide, "Rafael Palma As Scholar and Historian" in *Great Events in Philippine History*, 5, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives.

"had a high idea of the value of education and always said that it was the only treasure he wanted to leave to his children."[112]

What Palma said about this is very close to a common expression used in Latin America: *la educacion es la mejor herencia* (education is the best heritage). Since this is a phrase repeated in both the Philippines and Latin America (including Peru), one can make the assumption that it comes from Spanish philosophy.

Rafael Palma was a politician and educator, and his opinions and philosophies were well known around the country. Palma's first education took place at his home in Tondo. Early in his life, he recalled a professor coming to teach the alphabet. Entering primary school, his initial formation was based on the religious educational system imparted by the Spaniards. His education gave him skills in Grammar, Arithmetic, and Geography, and with both Sacred and Philippine history. The school where he attended had no fixed program as had other schools. Learning depended on the ability of the student.[113] The classes or program depended on the amount of material covered. Once the material was learned for the program, the student was promoted to secondary level. Palma wrote, "The brighter students completed the primary course in two or three years while the less capable ones remained three, four or five years."[114]

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[112] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 8.

[113] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 4, 15-16.

[114] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 16.

Classes were not adequate under the Spanish, according to Teodoro Agoncillo, students left school with the same ignorance they had when they entered. The desire to improve was just a dream.[115]

As many of his generation, Palma did not enjoy liberty of thoughts in his early education. The reason for this was the method of instruction. Rafael Palma described this by relating about his brother, Manuel, who suffered in school due to his "incapacity of memorizing books," often, hitting his head as if that helped him to "acquire a better memory."[116] Punishment did not come just from the student himself. The instruction was provided with punishment. A common expression that explained how professors imparted education was "letters enter with blood." The instruction was given with a wooden disk called *palmeta*. "What power that instrument had in improving the writing of the pupils is hard to explain,"[117] said Palma.

Memorization and repetition was a classic method of instruction in the Spanish colonies around the world. Although Brazil was not part of the Spanish colonies, it too demonstrated the method described by Rafael Palma. Paulo Freire, educated under that system in Brazil in the 1930s refers to this as the "banking concept." It is this method that considers the student as empty vessels. This is education "detached from reality." In this system, the instructor knows all, while the student knows little or nothing. Usually, the instructor takes information from books, and the student will repeat, learn and memorize

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[115] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: Excel printing Press, 1956), 8.

[116] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 8-9.

[117] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 15.

what is written.[118] Palma affirms that this was the method of his instruction, and it was not only to him, but common. "The ordinary method of study consisted in memorizing the contents of books so that only one page or two was covered in one day."[119] As a result, students made little progress.

Language and education were closed related. The language used during Palma's education was purely Spanish. Most of the students did not understand Spanish well. Since repetition and memorization was the method of instruction, questions during examinations had to be asked the same way as they were written in books. If they were asked questions in different ways, students got confused.[120] Filipinos "encountered great difficulty in substituting one word for another, so that they preferred to memorize the text, word by word."[121] This is one of the problems of memorizing and repeating. Students simply do not understand the content. Knowledge became superficial and ambiguous. Palma pointed out that Filipinos were having tremendous disadvantages in their education in comparison to Spaniards' children. The way Filipinos tried to improve themselves in the language was by "repeating what was written in their books." Besides Spanish, students needed to translate Latin.[122]

Preparatory secondary education was no different than primary education. In 1885, Rafael and Jose, his brother, went to Ateneo, which was a "good catholic and pro-

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[118] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergam (New York: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1984), 57-58.

[119] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 8-9.

[120] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 16.

[121] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 19.

[122] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 19.

Spaniard at heart" school. That Palma describes the school as "good catholic" may imply that education was controlled by priests and made religion the "dominant subject." Such education, which instilled the "fear of God and respect for the friars, under all circumstances, was inculcated into the minds of the people with a severity that left no room for expression of doubt." According to Palma, education was to "produce leaders for the Catholic religion, men who, even if they were no servants, were virtuous and obedient to the government and the Church." In order to enter to a new level the student needed to take "preliminary examinations." Such examinations included areas in literature, writing, Spanish grammar, and arithmetic. Palma explained that the method imparted in secondary schools was "monotechnic," where "students were required to memorize portions of the textbooks from which they recited later." This was done every single day of their education.[123]

Palma took a two year commercial course at Ateneo, finishing his classes in 1894. This program required attendance twice a week. It is to my understanding that Palma took part of this program at the same time as his studies in law at Santo Tomas (U.S.T), where he started in 1892. (The other programs available for Filipinos at the U.S.T. were medicine and pharmacy.)[124]

Spain was defeated in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898 by the American fleet. It was not until August 13, 1898, that Palma's education was interrupted. By that time the

[123] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 18-19, 21. See also Rafael Palma, "Educational Orientation in the Philippines," *Philippine Yearbook*, 1936, vol. 4, in Priscilla Valencia, *Educational Ideas of Rafael Palma* (MA thesis, University of the Philippines, 1957), 68-69; Rafael Palma, "The Revolt of the Youth," in Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 8-9.

[124] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 21-22.

Philippine–American war had begun. Palma's plans for graduation changed, since the university was closed during the time of war.

> The overthrow of Spanish sovereignty produced a tremendous change in my ideas and habits. It seemed to me that with the breaking of the ties with the old [Metropoli], I was released from my old inhibitions. I felt that I had lived in complete error. The principles of the old political, social, and religious system that I had defended no longer seem as solid and [unvulnerable] as before. The propaganda of the revolutionary government which was based on the republican principles gave me ideas of a new order of things unmistakably superior to those we had known. It suggested the principle of liberty and equality of men.[125]

Palma described the "uncertainty" in the people of the Philippines over the intentions of the Americans in the Islands. Were the Americans to provide "the right" to defend in a peaceful way their independence? The intentions of the Americans, according to Palma, were unclear. Even the same Americans did not know what they were going to do once settled.[126]

The revolution or overthrow of Spanish sovereignty created the First Philippine Republic in 1898. This was the time where Palma described the interruption of his studies. In regard to his education, Palma describes directly how the paradigm shift from Spanish to American system: "All the old restrictions of the freedom of reason and human will which constituted the foundation of the catholic system appeared unnatural. I was converted into a genuine revolutionary. The Spanish education which I had absorbed in college changed little by little."[127]

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[125] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 25.

[126] Rafael Palma, *Nuestra Campaña por la Independencia: Desde Taft Hasta Harrison (1901-1921)* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1923), 5, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[127] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 25.

It is during this time that Palma experienced his first personal insights towards education. With the new government, a new system was to be applied. The main purpose of the American system of education in the Philippines was to "liberate the method of instruction," says Priscilla Valencia. Palma witnessed the positive and negative effects of the Spanish and American systems and over time, under the Americans saw the "economic progress of the country."[128]

The American regime, under the eyes of Palma, had a distinctive characteristic, freedom. The Filipinos learned to trust the new system, which does not only imply the educational one, but in all matters. Once that trust was almost lost, but it was regained, and the Filipinos supported the Americans. If that trust had been lost, Palma said,the story would have been different.[129]

Educational aspects in the life of Rafael Palma are very important. His sense of value and sentiment towards education was born while he started to be educated. As well, it was through his education that he saw the things that needed to be changed as well as the things that needed to remain. Palma achieved all the levels of education possible in his time and, in his mind, his purpose was to achieve not only a personal level of development, but the country's.

Philosophies of Education of Rafael Palma

Rafael Palma's philosophies of education came from experience, practice and love for his country. He rarely mentioned other's philosophies of education, yet Palma claimed that after the overthrow of the Spanish rule, he was able to read "forbidden

[128] Valencia, "Educational Ideas of Rafael Palma," 68.

[129] Palma, *Nuestra Campaña por la Independencia*, 37.

books, which allowed him to form his ideas and concepts" with new direction. As a "good Catholic and pro-Spaniard" he rejected theories of French Revolution, but, still, the readings changed his mind. Palma studied the ideas of the Spanish republicans Francesc Pi i Margal[130] and Emilio Castelar, and delved into Spanish translations from French philosophers such Hugues Felicité Robert de Lamennais and Victor Hugo.[131]

Although the ideas he studied from Margal and Castelar are not mentioned in specific, he stated that those readings were important in the formation of his mind towards the issues addressing the occupation of the Philippines by America and the educational system. Francesc Pi i Margal (1824-1901) was born in Barcelona, Spain, during the time of King Ferdinand VII. Margal studied law and earned his doctoral degree at the age of twenty-two. His early publications were about the history of Spanish art and painting. It was not until 1848 that he decided to enter into politics. Margal was in favor of the Labor Party, a side that he took throughout his life. Due to a conspiracy against the monarchy, he was exiled in Paris, where he became an assiduous reader of Karl Marx and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, whom he later translated into Spanish. In 1873, after his exile, Francesc Pi i Margal became president of the First Republic of Spain. But this lasted only four months. His most notable work was *Las Nacionalidades* (The Nationalities), 1877. In this work he defended the "utility of the federation of the people

[130] The translation in *My Autobiography*, of Francis Pi i Margal, is probably taken from the Spanish spelling which is Francesc Pi y Margal, where "y" is wrongly translated into "and." Alicia Palma translated as "Francis Pi and Margal." The Catalan spelling, a language originally from Spain, is Francesc Pi i Margal. Both spellings are correct. However, I will use the Catalan spelling since Margal was a Catalan federalist and for consistency.

[131] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 25.

and the advantages of their unity." In later publications, including *El Nuevo Regimen* (The New Regimen), 1890, he wrote in defense of the people and his ideals.[132]

Another that Palma read, Emilio Castelar (1832-1899), was born in Cadiz, Madrid. He had strong influence from his parents, Manuel and Maria, who were liberals and due to their thoughts lived in exile. From early years, Castelar impressed many people with his bright mind, translating texts from Latin. In 1848, Castelar enrolled in the Faculty of Law in Madrid, obtaining a position teaching philosophy. He earned a doctor degree with a thesis entitled *Lucano: Su Vida, Su Genio, Sus Poemas*, (Lucano: His Life, Genius, and Poetry). Castelar spoke in favor of Spain becoming a republic. He became President of the First Republic of Spain in 1873, immediately after Margal. After the reinstallation of the monarchy, Castellar traveled and continued his writings in favor of democracy, revolution and related issues.[133]

Palma does not mention in particular how these writings influenced him. However, it is important to mention that the writings of Margal and Castellar were important in shaping Jose Rizal's ideals. Raul Bonoan said that Rizal, once exposed to "academic freedom," had Margal's writings in his private library. Like Rizal, Margal was a Freemason. He was also anti-catholic. Rizal published a review in *La Solidaridad* of Margal's *Las Luchas de Nuestros Días*, Margal's compilation of dialogues. Rizal was

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[132] Cróinca, "Francesc Pi i Margall y las Buenas Intenciones," translated by Ernesto Lozano, January 21, 2018, https://cronicaglobal.elespanol.com/pensamiento/historias-cataluna/francesc-pi-margall-buenas-intenciones_115118_102.html.

[133] Among Castelar's writings and speeches are E*l Tribuno del Pueblo*, (1854); *La Soberanía Nacional,* (1855), *Ernesto*, (1855); *Alfonso el Sabio*, (1856); *Leyendas Populares*, (1857); *Lecture: Historia de la Civilización en los Primeros Cinco Siglos del Cristianismo*, (1857); *Leyendas Populares II*, (1862); *Discursos Parlamentarios y Políticos en la Restauración* (1873). Carmen Maria Tejera, "Biografia de Emilio Castelar," Universidad de Cádiz, November 2000, https://www.ensayistas.org/filosofos/spain/castelar/biografia.htm.

highly influenced by Margal's philosophy, which moved him to the "notion of natural revelation or the religion of nature." It is important to mention that Margal and Rizal were close friends, to the point that Margal pleaded with Spain "for the life of the condemned man, upon learning of Rizal's impending execution."[134]

Castelar's writings did not only influence Palma and Rizal, but other eminent Filipinos such Pedro Paterno. One of the most prominent philosophies of Castelar was his anti-monarchy mentality, a mentality that Paterno adopted, which espoused "nonviolent political evolution."[135]

How Palma adopted from those sources is unclear, but surely he was moved to examine them more through his studies of Jose Rizal. Other readings that affected Palma's mind are not mentioned in his writings.

Rafael Palma intended his thoughts not only to be read, or meditated upon; Palma wanted people to put the ideas in practice. "I have always followed the principle of planting the seed even when others were to reap the rich harvest."[136] Palma also said that it is common to copy what others do, but he was an imitator only in doing "something new."[137]

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[134] Raul J. Bonoan, *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence: The Hitherto Unpublished Letters of José Rizal and Portions of Fr. Pablo Pastells's Fourth Letter and Translaion of the Correspondence, together with a Historic Background and Theological Critique* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 15, 16, 17, 23, 76.

[135] Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 14.

[136] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 65.

[137] Rafael Palma, "La Misión de la Nueva Generación" (1923), in *Alma Mater* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 95, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

The power to create was the legacy that Palma wanted to leave to other generations. The role of education was to "introduce innovations, blaze new trails, proclaim new doctrines and try new experiences." The reason for this is because Palma knew that the tendency was just to remain in "primitive ways."[138]

Palma's intentions were to protect his people by improving their quality of living. Comparing back and forth between the old and the new regime, Palma saw the needs of his people. But, how was Palma able to create philosophies and ideas that were applied not only to education, but to all that pertained to his different duties? How can these ideas be considered revolutionary for his time, be applicable to this generation?

There are different approaches towards the creation of philosophies in education. One of them is provided by William F. O'Neil. In *Educational Ideologies: Contemporary Expressions of Educational Philosophies*, O'Neil said that there are two different approaches that are common in the creation of a philosophy of education. The first one, based on the analysis of a problem, consists of creating ideas based on educational issues. The second one is the so called "formal system approach," which is the application of ideals such as "realism and idealism" into the educational field. Part of this last approach includes the interpretation of philosophers from different eras or fields and the application of their insights to the one the author is trying to address. The second one is the most common one. However, Palma clearly reflects the first approach[139]

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[138] Rafael Palma, "Education for Freedom," *The Philippine Journal of Education* 27 (September, 1948), in "Gems of Thought of Rafael Palma," by Antonio Isidro, 19. University of the Philippines Archives.

[139] William F. O'Neil, *Educational Ideologies: Contemporary Expressions of Educational Philosophies* (Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1981), 6-7.

How did Palma fit with other philosophers of education? Mark Cannister, a contemporary educator, said that the context in which one serves helps to develop a certain philosophy of education. For Cannister, there are five basic philosophies: transmissivism, cognitivism, humanism, developmentalism and reconstructionism. The first one, transmissive philosophy, does not create ideas, it carries or "transmits" ideas, from a teacher to student. One the one hand, it has limitations because it only carries concepts; on the other, it is assumed that it carries only truths. The second one, cognitive philosophy, carries the idea of knowledge according to the intellectual age of the student. In this, knowledge is constructed by "experiences and skills they possess." The third one is the humanistic approach. The learner contributes to the elaboration of the learning process that later became "relevant to their lives." The instructor, or the professor, based on mutual interests, elaborates knowledge together with the student. The fourth one is developmentalism. This philosophy emphasizes the idea of the use of the knowledge in "real-life issues." The last philosophy is reconstructionism. This one starts from the idea of a problem in the society that needs to be addressed and says that "education is the major change agent" in the process.[140] Palma fits into three different philosophies presented above: cognitivism, developmentalism and reconstructionism. Palma mentioned that the learners should learn according to their age, which fits the idea of the cognitive philosophy. In line with developmentalism, Palma argued that students should apply their knowledge to the service of the country so that they will put into practice what they learned in the university. And in regard to reconstructionism, Palma advocated for

[140] Mark Cannister, "Recognizing the Importance of Educational Philosophy," in *Teaching the Next Generation: A Comprehensive Guide for Teaching Christian Formation*, ed. Terry Linhart (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), 44-49.

the eradication of oppression and liberation. The educational ideas of "Don" Rafael Palma, as he was called, as I shall describe below, are a combination of these three approaches. Whenever there was a problem in the educational system, Palma focused on new ideas and changed the current situation, encouraging students to apply their knowledge as soon as possible, as, for instance, in the development of agriculture.

In the following part, I will present different approaches in which I believe Palma created, developed or improved philosophies for the sake of education. There are areas that are not related to the field of education, however; Palma always tried to integrate as much as possible from different sources to improve education. This study, together with other sections of the chapter, will be presented with the early approaches or concepts of critical pedagogy, which will be discussed in Chapter IV.

The sections into which I placed Palma's philosophies are: Academic Freedom, Intellectual and Personal Development, Education for Service, Education for National Development, Education towards Nationalism and Independence, Education and Hospitality, Education and Morality, and, finally, Education and Religion.

Philosophy of Academic Freedom

I consider Rafael Palma to be an early advocate of what came to be known as critical pedagogy. For Palma, education was the "habit of thinking, judging facts and circumstances in their proper light, or logically deducing inference from them, and this aim cannot be attained save through the instrumentality of a liberal education."[141] This is a reaction to what he many times called the "old system," which was strongly embedded

[141] Rafael Palma, "Inaugural Address," Inauguration of the Fourth President of the University of the Philippines, Manila, July 8, 1925, 64.

in the mind of the Filipino people. After many years of an oppressive system, it was difficult indeed to change the old systems, under which it was not possible to attain judgment of thoughts, and under which students were to accept what was taught as the ultimate and only truth. "Liberal education," in contrast, "insures a broader outlook on God, man, and events" and "skills the student to react properly to prompting of truth and to the world."[142]

Academic freedom was Palma's passion. The freedom that Palma wanted was not only from material ties, but of the mind. To create freedom, it is necessary to perform a "constant and methodical exercise of the will, in order to control bad instincts and stimulate good ones." Freedom gives the person the capacity to think either good or bad.[143]

The idea to create academic freedom was as well to create "citizens that can serve and live freely" under a new regime. This new regime, the American one, had the characteristic of being "democratic and republican." There was no longer oppression, as there had been in the time of the Spaniards. In order to create freedom, Palma said, there was "effort and money" expended. Academic freedom is a change that went in accordance with modernity, giving importance not only to the resources, but to the value of doing things for change.[144]

Yet Palma also recognized that many educational institutions around the world had entered into decay, their educational purposes subverted because of the interference

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[142] Palma, "Inaugural Address," 64.

[143] Palma, "Education for Freedom," 17, University of the Philippines Archives.

[144] Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales," 89.

of politics or religion in education. For Rafael Palma, the resources of a learning center were to be devoted to research, advancement, and progress, and to accomplish this it needed to remain "free and independent from politics."[145]

In order to separate politics from education, in January 1924 Palma presented Act No. 3191. The purpose of this act was to remove any member of the Board of Regents who had been involved or "in any way connected" with the politics of the government, and to "restore the Board its former powers regarding appointments to the faculty and fixing their salaries."[146]

Palma took the example of a university free of politics not only from American universities, but also from European ones. Those countries separated education and state, which meant that the state could not interfere in the school's internal organization.[147]

In order to provide independence and freedom, Palma favored a resolution signed by nine American universities and accepted by the University of the Philippines Council in 1925. The Resolution described several things that protected professors from political intervention and suppression. For example, there will not be interference in the classroom, or in a way the professor addressees the students. Publications can be done freely, inside and outside the school, as long as these maintained "decency and equanimity in thoughts." As well, when there is freedom professors are free to participate in any topic inside or outside the school, even if the topic is outside their field of expertise. The last gave them the same right as any other citizen of the country. Palma

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[145] Rafael Palma, "The University and Politics," reprinted from *The Philippines Social Science Review* 1933, 143, University of the Philippines Archives.

[146] Churchill, "Palma's Momentous Decade," 160

[147] Palma, "The University and Politics," 144, University of the Philippines Archives.

quoted Charles F. Thwing, the president of Western Reserve University: "Humanity makes progress through liberty, not through repression. Even though one college should suffer for a time through open discussion, the gain of humanity is great."[148]

Palma also talked about his own position, the role of the president, in political affairs. In 1933 Palma said that the president of the school "is not supposed to be a politician." Politics in the eyes of Palma was corrupt. The office of a leader of the school, the presidency, when entering into politics, instead of elevating the person, "degrades the office."[149] The same year, yet, in spite of this, Palma himself resigned as U.P. President over a clash with President Quezon on a political issue.

Philosophy of Intellectual and Personal Development

Another philosophy of Rafael Palma was based on development. That is, as students grow intellectually, they should receive training fitting to them and fitting to the needs of society. Neither the Spaniards nor the Americans prepared the people for matters of practical labor. As a member of the National Council of Education after his terms as U.P. President, Palma used his position to talk about this. The educational system should have different levels and each level should be appropriate and more advanced than the previous. Students, Palma said, should see their education as "preparation of an enlightened citizenry for a democracy." During secondary studies, the student should be prepared for life with some occupational knowledge. Higher education or levels must

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[148] Palma, "The University and Politics," 147, University of the Philippines Archives. See also Richard H. Miller, "The Role of Academic Freedom in Defining the Faculty Employment Contract," *Case Western Reserve Law Review*, vol. 31, issue 3. (Case Western Reserve University, 1981), 616-117, https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2352&context=caselrev. Miller says that at least seven universities "adopted the 1925 statement."

[149] Rafael Palma, "Freedom for Our University," in *The Philippine Herald*, August 17, 1933, 1. University of the Philippines Archives.

"prepare the citizens for leadership in the arts, the sciences and the professions."[150] This is an example of creating developmental ideas for the benefit of education.

This was not elitism. It is common to believe, even in our days that there are superior races over others. According to Palma, there was a mentality of "inferiority complex" among some countries produced by "centuries of civilization." The differences between a higher or a lower civilization is that one had an opportunity for education and the other did not.[151] This meant that if a person, regardless of different obstacles, had the same opportunities, he or she may develop as equal to another, with no fears of inferiority or doubts about himself or herself.

Children are "gifted" creatures, and their gifts or skills should be handled by the schools accordingly. It is the school, when proper handled, where children can be trained in order to be "useful to the community." Children can use what they have in their capacity. Education has to go on par not only with the development of their intelligence, but also their "morality and elevation of the soul." Any educational system that concentrates on only one area of training is "out of place." The school, as well, helps in the development of character. Such a thing is, according to Palma, "possible by seeking to ensure that the cultivation of their intellectual faculties runs parallel to that of their moral faculties." A learner should be trained according to their chronological age. Palma said to be careful here, because "loading their intelligence," may "damage their body."[152] Everything has a time, space, and age for Palma.

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[150] Rafael Palma, "The Organization of the Philippine Educational System," in *Philippine Journal of Education* 1 (1936), quoted in Valencia, "Educational Ideas of Rafael Palma," 72.

[151] Palma, "Education for Freedom," 18, University of the Philippines Archives.

[152] Rafael Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas" (1926), in *Alma Mater* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 217, 220, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

The idea of Palma to develop goes even into college years. It is well known that not many people are sure about the profession they may want to face in the future. This creates uncertainness. In the university, Palma said, "mischoices of vocations" were common. Palma said that in order to avoid such problems in the school, the student will have "a whole year" to consider more chances, and in order to do so, "special attention" was given to "aptitudes and ambitions."[153]

Physical development was as important as intellectual development. The body, as well as the brain, needs to be in constant activity. For Palma, "the body, on par with the mind and the character, need to develop alike through constant education and exercise."[154] What Palma said was relevant to the era, since many people believed that instruction alone was needed to progress. For Palma, the changes that affected physical education "reorganized the system." Palma, together with the Department of Physical Instruction, established hours and programs for college students in which they were able to practice different sports and physical activities. This was extended to the point that no regular classes were going to be attended at a certain level until the hours of physical education were completed. All students must comply, unless they possess physical limitation, in which case the hours were replaced by theory about physical education.[155]

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[153] Rafael Palma, "recommendations" in Fourteenth Annual Report of the President of the University of the Philippines: From June 1, 1924 to May 31, 1925 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 92.

[154] Rafael Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales" (1928), in *Alma Mater*, 103-104, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[155] Rafael Palma, "Palma Decide Reorganizar el Sistema: Acoge las Recomendacions de Sua para Resolver Protesta," August [?], 1928, Box 4, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

Philosophy of Education for Service

Education, as perceived by Palma, should not just be focused on academic issues, but on society. This was a new idea in modern education. Education was to serve not just oneself or to serve the Church, as the Spaniards made people believe, but to serve the community. This required critical thinking. With education, people will be able to create solutions to current issues or "problems."[156]

Education for service was an important thought in Rafael Palma's philosophy. For Palma, education was to "serve and help" and should not be used to "lie to and exploit" the people. There were two options for a person in this world: the first was to behave well, by serving, the other was to behave badly or to take advantage, by exploiting. People should be remembered for the good they have done.[157]

There was always an opportunity to serve others. Throughout our lives, there are "two or more people whom we can influence" and help to improve conditions. Palma wrote that sometimes it is not possible to help a whole country or community, but we can always support a handful of people, and we should do so. When Palma wrote about service to a small group he was referring to a big problem that was on-going in the country, illiteracy. To help others to read is to improve the conditions of the other person. The responsibility falls upon those who have had the privilege of being educated. Such responsibility should be given freely. Cannot "they give away readily a part of their time to provide benefit to the less fortunate?" Serving in such ways does not only help the

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[156] Palma, "Inaugural Address," 80.

[157] Rafael Palma, "Los Graduados de la Universidad" (1924), in *Alma Mater*, 42,43, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

other, but it provides a tremendous "benefit to the country and humanity."[158] Palma also said that the ones who keep their knowledge to themselves, without giving it away by service, are not to be considered "conservators" but, rather, "destroyers."[159]

Educated people had a characteristic, selfishness. According to Palma, such a characteristic was part of the education that youth were receiving. Even though there was a new educational system, under the Americans there was an individualistic approach. There was an emphasis upon the nation, more than the people that lived in it. The objective, Palma said, was one's "own interest and exaltation." There was no consideration for the other.[160] People should not take care of their "personal achievements." Palma said that consideration towards others is important to avoid "selfishness and ambitiousness."[161] There was a reason why Palma emphasized service for the country once students graduated. Palma used his position as president of the University to speak as an advocate for service.

Education for National Development

The development of the country is very important in the eyes of Palma, and thus prominent in his philosophy. As a generation that achieved education, we must be

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[158] Rafael Palma, "El Analfabetismo es un Mal" (1926), in *Alma Mater*, 156-157, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[159] Palma, "Fe en la Humanidad", 408. "Fe en la Humanidad" (Faith in Humanity) was a message given to graduated students if the University of the Philippines in 1929. Here, Palma once more advocated the message that the educated person is educated towards service to humanity, but he adds that each person, should add more knowledge to their own profession. The beneficiary of it will no longer be one person, but the whole world, my translation.

[160] Rafael Palma, "El Fracaso Moral de Nuestra Civilización" (1928), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 348, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[161] Rafael Palma, "Hay que Saber Mirar los Puntos de Vista del Prójimo" (1928), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 348, tranlated by Ernesto Lozano.

"acquainted" with the "needs" of the country he said. To serve the country in such ways, will make the name of a person ever to "be remembered and his memory revered long after his bones have crumbled to dust."[162]

Economy is a sign of growth. If we want the economy to grow, then what the country needs is an "educated generation." In order to grow, we need to remove the old mind and "preach a new gospel to the masses." A new gospel means a new style or a new way of thinking, which includes removing the idea of the "old society," which was simple, and with no aspirations, and which many generations had followed. Through educating people, Palma wrote, people should be able to learn how to live every day thinking to improve their living, not only by seeking self-improvement, but seeking to improve the whole nation.[163]

As individuals, we are able to grow. It does not matter what job we are aiming for, people will always prefer an educated person over an uneducated one. As a country, if we want to be, Palma said, "in accordance" with other cultures that are superior, we should extend education to everyone, "even to those who live in remote areas of the country." The country does not progress if there are no educated people. Development does not come only in spiritual matters, as it was with the Spaniards, but people should grow in "all aspects" of life.[164]

It is the role of the university to educate people towards the progress of the country. The solutions to the different problems that a country may face should be

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[162] Rafael Palma, "Office of the President: To the Members of the Graduating Class of the University of the Philippine," in *The Philippinensian* (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1932), 1.

[163] Rafael Palma, "La Misión de la Nueva Genración," 98.

[164] Rafael Palma, "Idea de la Universidad" (1925), in *Alma Mater*, 42,43, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

presented in the university and, there, find a solution. If there is not an actual solution, the university provides the capacity to apply the theories that can be applied to a specific case or problem in the society.[165]

In order to achieve such progress, no one, according to Palma, should be secluded from the privilege of education. As long as the person deserves it, education should be for "all men and women." With the new regime there were more schools than before, hence there were more high school graduates every year. With more children leaving school, the more need for higher education.[166] Palma, in his 1924-1925 Presidential Report, noted sadly that it was necessary to restrict the enrollment to fewer students, not for academic restrictions, but due to the "space available."[167]

Education should help to solve the problems that were currently affecting the country. The idea of development, indeed, was in the mind of Palma by looking at what was needed in the country, what was lacking, and how the graduates can provide sustainable support. Palma says that problem-solving does not come only from theories but from practice. For example, the Philippines had rich resources to develop in agriculture. Hence, all effort should be done to promote agriculture development, and that was for the development of the country.[168] According to Palma, the success of the country, and the responsibility of the university, through its Department of Agriculture, was to "revolutionize" techniques that will help the soil to produce more with less cost. If

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[165] Rafael Palma, "Edificios Para la Universidad" (1925), in *Alma Mater*, 61, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[166] Palma, "Edificios Para la Universidad," 63, 75.

[167] Palma, "Recommendations," 93.

[168] Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales," 103, 109.

there is progress in the world, and in the country, the things that once worked needed to be changed.[169] The land, which in those days had more areas to produce, was yet "uncultivated." If we, in this case the locals of the country, apply this principle, and do not create "profit," others will take the advantage of the land.[170] Palma emphasized the country's contributions to the world thanks to agriculture. Palma said that resources such as coconuts, bananas and *abacá*, produced in the Philippines, were well-known in different parts of the world.[171]

Palma saw the importance in the development of the country of better training in technical matters. "The best service that we can render to our country, the best means by which we can demonstrate our affection towards it and save its future, is to appropriate our soil through fruitful work, which is the only title that inspires universal respect and will make our original right inviolable about him."[172]

Meanwhile, Military training in the time of Palma became a controversial issue. People in the Philippines believed that military education in schools was a waste of time and resources. Palma had different reasons to be in favor of military education, for the progress of the country, but, as well, for personal and physical development. Training did not block intellectual development. On the contrary, it gave "intellectual development," because it helped one to think differently.

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[169] Rafael Palma, "A Message from the President University of the Philippines," in *The Philippine Agriculturist* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1929), 238.

[170] Palma, "Education for Freedom," 18, University of the Philippines Archives.

[171] Palma, "Fe en la Humanidad," 40.

[172] Rafael Palma, "Las Reglas de Urbanidad" (1926), in *Alma Mater*, 448, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

Military education helped in the development of the country since it contributed not only with the graduates, but with the expenses. When military training was embedded in the curricula of the schools it became "affordable to the students and the nation." That is why Palma advocated that this training in schools should be "mandatory." Palma as well wanted to emphasize the difference between militarism and military education. Military education, Palma said, would "provide soldiers that through education can provide safety, stability and national progress."[173]

The university was not the only place in which the people could be trained to serve the country. Palma also considered the high importance of military instruction as a means of service to the nation. The difference between the military and university training is that a person does not study for the pride of holding a diploma at the end, but it serves the country in a different way. It was through military education that a student learned more than how to hold a weapon; the student learned to be loyal, to rise in patriotism and honor. Palma justified the need of military instruction in schools for the future of the Philippines. There was a time in which the Philippines had the support of the Americans, but this support, including military protection, at one point, when independence was gained, was going to disappear. With little or no support from the United States, "these people [Filipinos trained] will be used."[174]

Any degree was useless without contribution to the nation. To hold a diploma was an indication that the person had the privilege of getting an education, but, unless he or she served the country, such education cannot be proven useful. The more we receive, the

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[173] Palma, "Las Virtudes Militares," 179 181.

[174] Palma, "Las Virtudes Militares" (1927), in *Alma Mater*, 175, 176, 178, 179, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

more we need to provide. Palma also compared the school with a "workshop" where children, when they leave, were "ready to serve the community."[175]

Rafael Palma was known for his thoughts on independence. Palma thought as an educator always was to "teach patriotism and inculcate love towards freedom." For him, it was more than just a practice, it was a "duty." To teach about freedom was just part of it, the other part was to "support Filipino independence." The idea of independence in the eyes of Palma had nothing to do with political aspirations, or at least that was not how he described it. Independence had to do with what was within the aspirations of all humans, something that was "in accordance with the teachings of God and history."[176]

Education and Hospitality

Although buildings and infrastructure do not seem to be important to education, they do relate to so-called hospitality, which is a key aspect in the learning process in critical pedagogy.[177] Hospitality in critical pedagogy refers to both the physical space and emotional sense of wellbeing. Palma does not mention the word hospitality, but the ways he explains education, it does present the characteristics and the importance of space in the process of learning. As U.P. President, Palma was highly criticized for the school investment of the resources in facilities, which seemed unrelated to "making men." There were many "factors," Palma said, that involve the "formation of men." The first one,

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[175] Palma, "La Misión de la Nueva Genración," 100; Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 217.

[176] Rafael Palma, "Día de la Oración" (1926), in *Alma Mater*, 150-151, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[177] Parker J. Palmer, *To Know as We Are Known: Education as Spiritual Journey* (New York: Harper One, 1993), 35.

under his sight, was "the environment in which one teaches." The space in which one works, in this case the professor, and the one who learns, such as students, must "produce contentment and satisfaction." The university, although new, lacked space and proper design, to which Palma said that, "a poor room, dark and suffocating cannot produce ordinarily good students. If the professors cannot find a good space while working in the laboratories or in their research, they feel discouraged and lack enthusiasm in the performance of their duties."[178]

As president of the University of the Philippines, Palma justified the need for more physical structure. In ancient Greek times, Palma wrote, teaching was imparted in gardens, where there was no need for proper space to teach philosophy. However, in the new times, in modern education, with the evolution of education, from priesthood to chemistry, biology and other similar subjects, there was a need for more buildings, and structure. This helps as well in the process of serving students. Palma saw the need for laboratories to help produce the elements that will enable the country to develop.[179] During the school year (1924-1925), According to Churchill, "Palma built a swimming pool (reportedly the largest in the Philippines at that time and a grandstand, the Faculty Hall, the Amphitheater for Surgery in the College of Medicine, the Boiler's building for the college of Engineering, and the General Luna Hall to the house Department of Military Science."[180]

As mentioned above, hospitality is not only physical but also emotional space. In this Palma suggested improvements for professors in order for them to teach better.

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[178] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 127-128.

[179] Rafael Palma, "Edificios Para la Universidad," 57, 62; Palma, *My Autobiography*, 128; Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales," 104

[180] Churchill, "Palma's Momentous Decade," 163.

Palma's idea was creating a "pension system." In doing so, Palma affirmed that professors will not just serve with efficiency, but "they will stay longer." Stability in the person, in this case the professor, created stability in the structure, the school or institution.[181]

Hospitality in the learning center also refers to communication. In critical thinking and pedagogy, communication is key to transfer knowledge. For many years, students learned through books or matters of repetition. Whatever was implanted in the minds of the student was just transferred from a source. For Palma, books are the *littera Scripta,* which contains "truth," or in other words, general principles. However, books do not convey emotions, and lack "expressions." Professors are the "living knowledge," and everything that they carry such as "voice, tone, charisma," help students to assimilate knowledge. Information can be learned in different places, even at home, but it is in communication that the person learned with greatest advantage, because it is there that the answers to the general problems are given. Palma said that in "day to day communication" we are able to find the "colors and smells" of knowledge.[182]

Communication does not only mean to talk with others but with the self. In order to be good educators, a professor must constantly ask himself or herself how to improve, and those questions should be done not after but before "taking charge of a class." Among the self-improving questions by Palma were, "What shall I do for these children? What role am I fulfilling in their education? It is enough that I made them repeat the

[181] Palma, "recommendations," 92.

[182] Palma, "Idea de la Universidad," 48-49.

lessons that I learned through the years, in accordance to their intelligence?"[183] After answering those questions, the teachers will find their right mission.

Palma considered the importance of maintaining communication not only with current students but with the alumni. Palma saw in the alumni the opportunity to grant the university funding from sources different than the government. In 1924 Palma created the Alumni Association, and kept good relations with them by making them part of the President's receptions. Through the association and meetings, Palma attempted to "cultivate the loyalty of the group."[184]

Indeed, Rafael Palma, was a believer in hospitality in the learning center, knowing the implications of it in the learning process.

Education and Morality

Just as knowledge is transferred personally through communication, teachers also model right behavior. Palma emphasized the tremendous moral responsibility of teachers towards their students. Professors, Palma wrote, who "cannot be a model, cannot be in front of their students." If indeed the formation of a person comes from home, the professors are the ones that serve as "models of character." The role of the university is to provide knowledge, but it is important not to forget that the university is more than that. The best students do not only carry knowledge. Education is holistic, and that includes morality.[185]

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[183] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 216.

[184] Churchill, "Palma's Momentous Decade," 166.

[185] Palma, "Idea de la Universidad," 49-50.

People should be able to discern morality in the learning space. Palma praised students that chose institutions that carried good values in times where there was a "decay of religion and morality." In 1924 Palma addressed this message to the graduates of the Young Men's Christian Association, praising high preparation not only in academics but in all that concerns "character, moral conduct and honorable social relations." Morality had suffered in the home, and morality was scattered in the society.[186]

Morality should not be taught in schools per se, but imparted through example. Under the old system of education, morality was part of the curricula. Primarily, to Palma, morality should be imparted at "home and in the temple." The responsibility of teaching morality does not fall any longer under priests or under Protestant pastors. Parents should make the effort to do as much as possible to ensure that children at home "hear and see." There can be no blame on teachers or the schools if parents, priests and ministers do not provide moral instruction and example first in the child's immediate places.[187]

Morality in education was not removed at all. Palma highlighted the importance that private schools emphasized morality and religion. Public schools neglected the practice of imparting morality, and the private schools had overtaken the responsibility. Parents, though the prices were higher in private schools, chose to enroll their kids in such schools, where their children were able to receive "moral education which they

[186] Rafael Palma, "¿Decae la Religión en Filipinas?" (1924), in *Alma Mater*, 201, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[187] Palma, "¿Decae la Religión en Filipinas?," 204.

considered indispensable." It is also important for public schools to be "higher" than the private schools, where teachers dedicate to encourage morality in the children.[188]

Morality does not need a particular textbook, or a particular class. What was needed, according to Palma, were teachers who would be like an "engineer that is able to move and put into action" practices, so others can apply such "good practices," and the learner will not be tempted to "do evil." In other words, what was needed was that teachers take serious responsibilities in their mission. And what is the mission according to Palma? To care for each child, so they grow "according to their Creator."[189]

For Palma there was a relation between religion and morality, but as well a separation. Either of them can work independently or joined. Palma recalled that not everything done in the name of religion was necessarily moral. In the name of God, sacrifices were done, but, as well, injustices. "There are moral principles," said Palma, "that are in accord with all good people from any sect or opinion."[190]

The instructional methods that were used in the Philippines under the new regime were adequate to propagate morality in the classroom without the need of a class or a textbook. Without religion, everyone in front of a group of people, in a classroom, should be able to teach all that concerns morality, such as students' "honesty, cleanliness, courtesy, hospitality, respect to their parents and authorities, obedience to the law and correction of their language." All these come by means of example, and not formal

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[188] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 219.

[189] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 220.

[190] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 221.

curricula. Morality is needed more than ever in these times, Palma said, and the earlier morality is taught the better. The fruits will be shown in the society.[191]

Education and Religion

It is important to highlight Palma's thoughts towards religion, especially because of the controversial last part of his life, when some people claimed that Palma was not a believer (to the point of accusations that will be described later).[192] Indeed, for many people, religion did not seem to be relevant to education. However, for Palma, religion was closely related, and its relation with morality made it crucial to acknowledge. Palma said that religion in schools was needed because where God does not exist, there is no morality. Religion, for Palma, was important at all times for both children and adults. Religion should not be mistaken for restrictions. Many people were confused that religion "does not give away some pleasures and happiness." Religion "shapes destiny." Religion, is needed, said Palm; it is not a luxury.[193] Palma also said that religion is "not strong by itself." It needs the support of the government to survive.[194]

All the philosophies presented here represented the needs of the people and the current situation of the Philippines, Palma knew his context, and the new reality as well. He was not only an observer, but a person for whom contemporary reality became part of

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[191] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 221, 223-224.

[192] Palma wrote several essays that reflect different points of view. Among the essays: "Is the Religion in the Philippines in Decay?" (1924); The Educated Man and the Church (1924); Religious Education and Morality in the Schools" (1926); "Religion, Sister of Education" (1926); "Religious Obligation at Home" (1927); and "What is Religion for Me" (1929), and other articles related to religion, all in *Alma Mater*.

[193] Rafael Palma, "Lo que Significa Religión para Mi," (1929), in *Alma Mater*, 244, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[194] Palma, "¿Decae la Religión en Filipinas?," 202-2.

his everyday life. As well, Palma generated ideas not only thinking about the current generation, but future ones.

Paradigm Shift: Palma's Views on the Old and the New Systems of Education

To talk about paradigm shift is to talk about change. Since Rafael Palma witnessed two educational systems, the Spanish and the American, he was very aware of the visible and non-visible changes that one system brought. As well, by comparing them, Palma noted the positive and the negative of each system. Several of Palma's writings, in Spanish and English, are comparisons between old system and the new systems, the old time and new time, old and new instructional methods. In *My Autobiography*, Palma refers to "The New Era."[195] Doing so, Rafael Palma was able to shape ideals that helped him to create his own philosophy, not based on what others saw or experienced, but what he himself saw and experienced, and reflected upon.

In this part, I will be combining different materials in which Palma compared the old and new systems, focusing upon different aspects of education. These comparisons help us to integrate what was presented in the background, in which the philosophies and practices of both the Spanish and the American systems were presented. Gregorio Zaide wrote that "although Palma, by age, education, and experiences, belonged to the old and vanishing generation, he was at heart evermore young. . .He accepted the new changes brought about by the changing times and inspired the youth to demand reforms in

[195] Rafael Palma, *My Autobiography*, 96.

society."[196] Rafael Palma is among all Filipinos a reflection of events in the early twentieth century history of the Philippines.[197]

In order to study two systems of education in different countries, or in this case, two educational systems, the old and the new one, there are two approaches, Palma said. The first approach emphasizes the "differences and disagreements between one system and another," which includes methods. The other one highlights the commonalities or unities between the two systems.[198]

Before addressing this matter, it is important to mention again that not all the past for Palma has a bad connotation. Palma developed ideas as a free thinker, and he was able to judge freely what was good and what was not. Whenever there was something good to keep, keep it, but if there were things that need to be changed, then, change them. There are "traditions" that help to "guide the paths of the future."[199] However, Palma said, the "old pedagogical style" had failed in one way or another.

Rafael Palma's inaugural address as President of the University of the Philippines presented in 1925 is one of the best examples of his interpretation of moving forward from one system of education to the other. As president of an American-established institution, which advocated freedom, but educated under the old system, Rafael Palma was at great advantage to criticize, improve upon, and consider and adapt new ways of education in the country.

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[196] Zaide, "Rafael Palma As Scholar and Historian," in *Great Events in Philippine History*, 9-10, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archive.

[197] Aprieto et al., *Rafael Palma*, 9.

[198] Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales," 102.

[199] Dapit Hapon [pseud.] Rafael Palma, "El Canto de la Pasión," *La Independencia*, March 29, 1899, in *Voces de Aliento* (Manila: Cultura Filipina, 1914), 4, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

There were many improvements under the new rule, Palma said in his address. For many years, under the Spanish the Filipinos had been secluded. The American intervention provided the Filipino people the "privilege of modern education."[200] There was an "advantage in the plan of taking American universities as the models for our own institutions of higher education."[201] The paradigm shift, the "advantage" of the American educational system, moved from oppressive to liberated education.

Palma spoke with "authority." The authority did not come from being an educator, or president of a university. He himself had lived under both systems. He urged people to leave the practices of the past and to move forward, "to discover new lights." When he referred to new lights he was talking about pedagogical practices. As Palma wrote later: "considering our pedagogical problems, we should bear in mind that we are dealing with an age entirely different from that which we knew in our infancy."[202]

Relying on Palma's perspective, the different comparisons that I will present here are the Positive Spanish Educational Aspects, Ecclesiastical and Secular Education, Perspectives on Morality, Methods of Instruction, which includes Oppressive and Liberated, Punishment and Levels of Instruction, and, finally, Uses of the Past, and Uses of Language.

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[200] Palma, "Inaugural Address," 59.

[201] Palma, "Inaugural Address," 59.

[202] Rafael Palma, "Our Age" (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1929), 6-7.

Positive Spanish Educational Aspects

The educational system under the Spanish is often referred to by Palma as the "old system." The Spanish educational system was "time-honored" and it served it purposes, but it was in need of change. The old system had a "fixed curriculum, theoretical and dogmatic method." This implies that education was tightly controlled by the Church. The old system provided things to value, it was true, and produced great people and intellectuals.[203] "The old system," Palma wrote, "fulfilled its mission for those days. That system provided great litterateurs, physicians, and lawyers, as well as philosophers, of whom the country could just feel proud."[204]

Ecclesiastical and Secular Education

Palma considered the integration of Church and state, which included education, to be one of the biggest problems that the Philippines faced. Pedagogical aspects did not improve, even if it caused "derangements" among the people. Such structure did not check upon the damage that it was creating. Religion and education "built a barricade" that was only able to be destroyed by "sciences, politics, economics," and other means of civilization.[205]

Rafael Palma, through his experience and his position, was able to see things of which other people were not aware, such as behavior, in the old and new systems of education. "The Revolt of Youth," originally written in Spanish under the name *La Rebelión de la Juventud* (The Rebellion of Youth), for a group of students of the Young

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[203] Palma, "Inaugural Address," 61.

[204] Rafael Palma, "Discurso Inaugural" (1925), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 5, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[205] Rafael Palma, "*The New Mentality*," 8-9.

Men's Christian Association in Baguio on December 1928, was not published until 1930, under the book *Alma Mater*.[206]

The old educational system had taken a theological path. Rafael Palma, in *The Revolt of Youth*, observed that the clearest distinction that was visible from one system to another was the philosophy behind education. On one hand, people had to adjust to a "pattern that was believed to have come by heavenly revelation." Hence the people needed just to listen and obey, no arguing and no trying to change it. On the other hand, the new system consisted in preparation for life, which includes the improvement of living conditions. "While the education of yesterday was inspired by a feeling of Divinity, today it is inspired by a feeling of humanity." As well, life in the old times was considered to be just a time of "transition to a better life" that was dedicated to "please God," while under the new system, there is a focus on training them for "life on this earth" and the things that can be done now, to serve others and ourselves.[207]

The old style of education needed to be changed. It was not possible to keep people attached to the doctrines or beliefs given to the ancestors of today's people. Palma explained that "the world of our forefathers is no longer the world of today." Things that were thought necessary at one point are useless later, so change is needed. Palma also emphasized that not everything had to be removed from the root. There was a need to examine what should remain and which things should be removed. To do so is to develop. "To judge things of the present by the measure of ideas and viewpoints of the

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[206] Rafael Palma, "La Rebelión de la Juventud" (1928), in *Alma Mater*, 111, translatod by Ernesto Lozano.

[207] Rafael Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1929), 12-14.

past is a sign of narrow-mindedness." People need to remove the idea that old times were superior, and did not need to change. Changes in education, like the ones experienced in the Philippines, were ways to "repair the worn-out and correct the inconsistent."[208]

During the first twenty-five years of the American era, the Filipinos were able to overcome beliefs that had not allowed the country to become a civilization equal to other progressive countries around the world. "In order to make free people, it was needed to break the dogma that tied conscience, giving a pathway to reason."[209] The only way in which the person could receive freedom was through democracy.

The Church, in fact, helped with the formation of youth. However, the Church's intentions behind obedience and respect were different. The Church wanted a group of people oppressed, with no freedom "to think, to speak, to feel or act" on its own. This idea was brought to the household from the Church by the father, who imparted this to the rest of the family, including his wife. Everything had to be accepted without question.[210] The same mentality was carried to the classroom.

Religion and education are no longer served together under the new system. If there was a chance for them to serve as a pair, they should serve life and "not against it," which meant no longer teaching or providing "preconceived notions," said Palma. Under the old system, it did not matter the time, or the circumstances, war or peace, both, church and pedagogy, did not change the methodology, or its objective, which was educate to serve the Church.[211]

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[208] Palma, "The New Mentality," 3, 4, 14.

[209] Palma, "La Misión de la Nueva Genración," 89, 92.

[210] Palma, "Our Age," 8.

[211] Palma, "Education for Freedom," 19, University of the Philippines Archives.

Rafael Palma, himself educated in such an ecclesiastic classroom setting, saw the obstacle of the Church and was able to provoke change. Under the old regime, "the aims and objects of the whole educational system were evidently to inculcate and force virtue through religious discipline, and to subordinate knowledge and information about the world and Nature, which were considered of temporary and transient character, to the concerns of the eternal life, of the expectations and splendors of the other world."[212] Under the American educational system, God did not disappear from the mind of the people. However, the conception of God changed. The Spaniards with the Church educated the people to serve God, but the Americans educated for society. Religion was needed, Palma said. This is because the "soul is linked to the supernatural, and reason needs religion and faith to satisfy the longings of human beings for immortality." The person, however, is free to choose. A person is no longer forced to obey the religion as it was inherited from the family. A person is capable to choose his or her religion, Palma said: if a person, worships and follows their own belief, this person is "entitled to all rights and privileges" as other citizens.[213]

There were many people who lived with the mentality that moving forward for the best of society was not necessary. Palma says that we do not need to cry out "in a loud voice over changes" from traditions. It was important to remember the consequences of the past education. When people moved forward from habits that were inadequate, they were moving into a new era, one full of modernizations. "We should once and for all admit that the role of education is to introduce innovations, blaze new trails, proclaim

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[212] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 8-9.

[213] Palma, "Our Age," 16, 17.

new doctrines and try new experiences, for if our aim is simply to continue learnt habits, old customs and primitive ways, the force of heredity is more than sufficient to do that."[214]

Perspectives on Morality

Palma agreed that the old system provided great results in morality. However, it secluded the country from what the rest of the world was offering. No one had the audacity to go against the dogmas, hence the moral part of life. The Americanization of the islands provided a radical change in the way youth started to think, which had several positive aspects. But on the other hand, it radically changed their behavior, and morality was lost.[215]

Rafael Palma, educated under the Spanish regime, had a strong sense of morality. Morality was a characteristic, according to Palma, that vanished under the new regime. Palma did not force that moral approach on the new generation, but he let people analyze what was better for them, and for the society. Education, in the old time, was not negative in every aspect, but maybe the way in which the Spanish applied it did not help to emphasize the aspects of morality that were lost with the new system.

Rafael Palma relates morality very closely with education. It was a controversial topic, especially for those who were educated under the old system. These people saw the drastic change in the people, and even questioned if there was anything good in the modern education. In the old educational system, the schools were valued for providing

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[214] Palma, "The New Mentality," 14-15.

[215] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 9-10.

moral education, while in the modern one, intellectual education had more weight. Morality, said Palma, should be given to children on the same level as intellectual knowledge. "Children should know what is true and what is wrong." The lack of instruction in morality in public schools, in a country that once had it in abundance by the Church, had created, as many parents observed, "rough and profane conduct." Children of today showed "an inexcusable lack of respect and obedience, things that were never seen before."[216]

Under the new regime, there was a new way of behavior, especially in the young ones. People challenged the moral rectitude formed by families and mostly teachers or "pedagogues" during the old time. The old time, once criticized for the lack of modernity, did provide respect. Now, respect for parents, elders and teachers was gone. Such discipline once was provided by the Church. In an extreme moment Palma commented that Americanization brought a "laical education" that "prostituted all that was good in the old system."[217] Though Americanization, Palma said, provided "education to the masses," as well as the separation of the Church and state,[218] the morality given under the old system did not need to be changed, but, rather, needed to be revised and applied under the new system.

Like all school administrators, Palma also dealt with moral issues in his years at the University of the Philippines. It seems that Palma wanted to be an advocator of morality by controlling the behavior of the students. In 1926 *The Independent*, a

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[216] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 215, 216, 218.

[217] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 3-4.

[218] Palma, "Discurso Inaugural," 31.

newspaper of the time, published an account of marriages among students and recorded: "The President Rafael Palma, of the University of the Philippines, recommends the strict prohibition of secret marriages among students, and suggests the adoption of a regulation with severe disciplinary actions to those who act in such ways." There had been several secret marriages the previous year in the University.[219]

People educated under the old style of education seemed to be very strict, and Palma himself could be. Years later, however, it seemed as though Palma had adjusted to the new lifestyle. In an interview for a local newspaper, Palma said that "some frivolity is needed," including music, dancing and related, which was brought by the Americans. In the old system, everything was banned. That the new educational system allowed some "frivolity" was not bad, but constituted a minor part of our life and should not absorb too many administration discussions. Dancing, music, and others, are ways in which a person is able to find peace after a "long day's work." Palma himself saw professors enjoying such amusements, and things like that should not be taken too seriously.[220] On the other hand, a professor, Palma noted, should be an example of conduct, in both private and public life because the students "copy or imitate whatever they see frequently."[221]

Frivolity should not be taken as licentiousness, however, at least not under Palma's administration. Rafael Palma confronted two professors of the university about dating students. Both professors were asked to resign from the university. The incident had become a scandal that threatened the morality that Palma tried to build among

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[219] Rafael Palma, "Notice," *The Independent*, Enero 22, 1926, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[220] Rafael Palma, "El Elogio a la Frivolidad," *The Independent*, Enero 12, 1929, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[221] Palma, "Idea de la Universidad," 49.

students and professors. Agoncillo said that the decision, although "arbitrary," was an indication that Palma had not "compromised with evil."[222]

In order to be a President of the premier university of the new republic, there were more than academic credentials to fulfill. A leader with moral integrity was needed as well in the estimation of Armando Malay. The combination of those two were part of the success of Palma's leadership.[223]

To be such a person, with characteristics of morality and integrity, was one thing. The other was to instill such characteristics. Teodoro Agoncillo said that the greatness of the university under Palma was possible not by "paid public relations or press officers," but, rather, by "giving the students the best that was available, a deep sense of justice and an impeccable moral sensibility."[224]

Whether Palma had a voice that changed regarding his positions in education and morality, Palma was remembered for his own integrity. Salvador Lopez, U.P. President in the 1970s, wrote that even though Palma did stand among the "idols of the populace," no one could deny that he was a "man of principles." Such a characteristic, Lopez said, was a "virtue for which posterity may well remember him."[225]

Even though Palma, on different occasions, advocated a close relation between religion and morality, he also said that there was no actual proof of the correlation. Palma compared back and forth morality in the old times, under the Spaniards, and how it

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[222] Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma," in *Rafael Palma*, 20.

[223] Malay, "Would Rafael Palma Make a Successful U.P. President Today?" in *Rafael Palma*, 12.

[224] Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma" in *Rafael Palma*, 15.

[225] Lopez, "Rafael Palma," in *New Philippines*, ed. Felixberto G. Bustos, 349, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archive.

changed under a new rule, under the secularism of the Americans. Palma said, "there are no actual statistics that prove that immorality is higher than before, from our old times in our history," but there is an assumption, which seems to be related to the "freedom toward which the sons and daughters are moving, relaxing the moral and religious principles" once given.[226]

Methods of Instruction

With the Americans came a revolution that Palma considered to be one of "overflow of repressed desires and unsatisfied desire to enjoy the great privileges of modern education.[227] Between the old and the new system of education, Palma also analyzed the methods of instructions. Methodology changed. Some of the aspects of change Palma mentions related to oppressive and liberated education, punishment in the instruction, and the ways in which the levels of instruction were given.

Oppressive and Liberated Education

Three decades after the introduction of the new system many Filipinos remained in "love with the preconceived notions and ideas of the past," living in a world created only in their minds.[228] The inclination of civilization has always been to improve. Hence, Filipinos also looked for tendencies that would help them to move away from oppression

[226] Palma, "¿Decae la Religión en Filipinas?," 201.

[227] Palma, "Discurso Inaugural," 3.

[228] Palma, "The New Mentality," 18-19.

and the excesses of the Church or authority, including from their parents. From these abuses, Filipinos welcomed new systems and approaches.[229]

Teachers arrived on August 23, 1901, from the United States, sent by the government to help the process of civilization. One of the professors wrote that her "biggest pedagogical complaint" was the way students learned. They were used to studying in loud voices, and repeating the lessons in order to memorize them. Mary Fee, a teacher, said that the students made quick progress, however, and in a matter of months, "the habit of studying aloud was overcome."[230]

Education under the old system had a particularity that left a clear image of oppressiveness towards the students. In a speech entitled "Our Age," Palma explained that one characteristic of Spanish education was "quid magister dixit," which meant "the teacher has said it." In this old system, the teachers, who were the higher authority, imposed upon students their own beliefs.[231] This was the "banking concept" as it was termed years later by Paulo Freire.[232] Under the new system, the professor was to "stimulate free discussion of the subject he [or she] teaches." At this time, the student, also, is free to do whatever is best for his or her own welfare.[233]

For whatever reason, however, right after the arrival of the American professors students did not show respect or well-mannered behavior in the classroom. Professor

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[229] Palma, "Our Age," 19.

[230] Elizabeth M. Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos and US Imperial Education, 1879-1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019), 133, 149.

[231] Palma, "Our Age," 18.

[232] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* 57-58.

[233] Palma, "Our Age," 19.

Blaine Moore wrote to his family in 1903, "Unless you have seen a newly organized Filipino school you can have no idea of the lack of discipline. The scholars will get up, run around the room or out doors, laugh, talk, in fact everything contrary to discipline. They are inveterate talkers and this habit is the hardest of all to control. They will talk to their neighbors, study 'out loud' and think the same way."[234] This description of a classroom in the Philippines can have different interpretations. One of them is that the authority in the classroom under the Catholic system was forced, while the Americans expected respect. It took some months for students to practice a better behavior in the classroom. Another possible scenario is the number of the students. Under the Spanish not everyone had the possibility to attend school. Education was reserved for selected people. When the Americans arrived, people who had not had the opportunity to attend school, now had the opportunity. They had not received the instruction that allowed them to behave as desired.[235]

Regarding freedom in education, freedom that was provided by a new educational system, Rafael Palma clarified that: "The best that education can do in our times is to train the individual for freedom in order that he [or she] may make good use of it and not misuse it. Training for freedom requires a constant and methodical exercise of the will, in order to control bad instincts and stimulate good ones."[236] Here is where the judgment of the person enters into action, whether to accept or reject, to do or not to do anything that

[234] Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 149-150.

[235] Floyd T. Cunningham, videoconference with the author, May 13, 2020.

[236] Palma, "Our Age," 21.

is not according to his or her own judgment, giving the space in the classroom to put into practice what is being taught.

Punishment

There was a generation that thought that punishment and education were supposed to be together. Though there was no justification for punishment in the old system of education, in which youth were once formed, Palma saw a relation between this type of instruction, with blood, and morality. The type of instruction was oppressive. The student was not allowed to talk, only to receive information. This practice was extended to the house. Young men and women were not allowed to discuss subjects with their parents. There was a philosophy behind this type of instruction, *La Letra con Sangre Entra* (Learning enters with blood), which justified the practice, at schools and at home.[237]

Instruction, under the old system, consisted in punishment. Palma recalled the times in which instructors used a device made out of wood called a *palmeta*, to hit the palm of the hand. There was no evidence that the device helped students to memorize.[238] Palma said that this particular type of instruction went to his teen years. He recalled teachers whipping the back of students if they did not remember what was assigned to memorize. At other times, a teacher just used whatever object was near. This last, Palma said, when "the teacher was in bad humor."[239]

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[237] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 4-5.

[238] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 15.

[239] Palma, *The Revolt of the* Youth, 5.

Different levels of education also implied different methods of instruction in the old times, as if punishment during early years shaped the personality of the student. During secondary studies, the teacher did not use "instruments of torture," but that did not imply the lack of discipline. Although students were not punished with *palmetas*, or other instruments, misconduct was punished with actions such as kneeling in front of the class, or extending the arms, forming the shape of a cross. In order to achieve good results, rewards were given to students with good conduct, and for good grades.[240]

The community, in old days, appreciated teachers' punishment of students. Teachers were highly appreciated because they were forming a more intelligent generation. Palma did not justify violence. However he wrote that "the system was vindicated by some results."[241]

The new teachers that came to the Philippines to impart education under a different regime proudly accounted that the achievements in behavior were done with "no whipping" at all. Such was the case of Mary Cole, who, in a letter to her family, emphasized the fact that priest, who had had the role of teacher under the old system, whipped students. Such practice was condemned by her and others. Cole also expected that, by that time, the practice was eradicated.[242]

A teacher under the new system should present a different characteristic. A teacher, Palma said, "should be the living embodiment of knowledge." The teacher's words are no longer contradicted by the teacher's actions. These characteristics will help

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[240] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 6-7.

[241] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 6.

[242] Eittreim in *Teaching Empire*, 149.

students to "understand and assimilate" the message. In addition to expressions, the teacher should demonstrate clarity and knowledge of the topic.[243]

Levels of Instruction

Before the arrival of the Americans, education was exclusive under the Spaniards' public school system; elementary school was the level that most Filipinos achieved. Few reached a higher level.[244] Higher education was given under the Catholic Church. Rafael Palma stated that changes in higher education were needed in order to take advantage of the changes done in earlier education. Education under the old system was limited. Few programs, whether the priesthood, law, medicine and/or pharmacy were open to Filipinos. The curriculum was "fixed and dogmatic." The methodology was "outdated" and of little value.[245]

Palma's early education and college were under the Spanish regime. Palma himself recalls the methodology that did not improve even when he had achieved a higher level. "The system of instruction was through discussion and conferences. From time to time the professors asked questions to test the students."[246] Those discussions were not, however, freely flowing, as one might expect, but were based on texts or pre-determined readings.

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[243] Palma, "Idea de la Universidad," 49.

[244] Fox, "Official Spanish Policy Concerning Elementary Education in the Philippines from 1863 to 1898, Compared with Official American Policy from 1900 to 1935," 5-6.

[245] Palma, "Discurso Inaugural," 4-5; Palma, *My Autobiography*, 22.

[246] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 22.

Under the Americans, Filipinos could aim beyond the elementary level to secondary or even university level regardless of their gender or economic status. This system is also called "popular education." The American system was well received by the people, thus giving a feeling or experience "seldom equaled in history," said Palma.[247]

The Philippines needed to have a university that was not only for selected people, but for everyone. In doing so, Palma believed, the country would be in accord with other countries that were growing considerably. If the Filipinos did not get public education they would be delayed in progress. The University of the Philippines was created in order to provide "advanced instruction in literature, philosophy, sciences, and arts." In addition, the school was to provide preparation, both technical and professional. All this, to help the people to be a Nation. Under the new system of education, more programs were open in liberal arts, education, engineering, agriculture, arts and music.[248]

Such new programs had tremendous success in the Philippines. This was demonstrated by the high enrollment of students in three different universities in the country, "upwards of 10,000 native students." "Native Filipinos," Palma said, sought for programs that were no longer related to "general arts." There was improvement in the way of thinking of the people. Filipinos became interested in science programs that were open at U.P.[249]

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[247] Palma, "Inaugural Address," 59-60.

[248] Palma, "Discurso Inaugural," 5-6.

[249] "10,000 in Manila, Colleges, Declares Island Educator," Box 1, Folder 2, University of the Philippines Archives.

Uses of the Past

One aspect in which the old and new systems of education did not improve is how both systems brought historical pedagogy to the Philippines. This is common in many civilizations that were occupied by a different one. Imparting others' ideas, even lying about the history of civilization and imparting wrong information was common.

Rafael Palma relates that there was no improvement from the old to the new system in this respect. When people learn history, Palma said, they are preparing themselves to love their country and their people. In the Spanish era, the teaching of the Filipinos was eradicated. Filipino history was replaced with Spanish history; the history of important Filipino people was replaced with the history of Catholic Kings, and the Filipino traditions were replaced with Spanish traditions. In other words, "The written history of the Philippines was the history of the Spaniards in the Philippines and not of the Filipinos."[250]

In Spanish colonies the Normal school curriculum, designed to last for three years, included History of Spain, Religion, Moral Philosophy, Sacred History and Spanish.[251]

Under the Americans, there was a new system of education, one with less restrictions and more academic freedom. However, the imparting of history did not improve. Although "the textbooks were changed," Palma noted "their substance remained the same." The children changed Spanish history for American, Spanish Kings for United

[250] Rafael Palma, *Our Country* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1929), 4-6.

[251] Fox, "Official Spanish Policy Concerning Elementary Education in the Philippines from 1863 to 1898, Compared with Official American Policy from 1900 to 1935," 85-86.

States presidents, Cid Campeador for American literature.[252] Renato Constantino, a Filipino historian, agreed with Palma in such matters. Constantino said about American history in schools that stories of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln caused the mind of the people to ignore their "own nationalism." As well, education under the Americans changed traditions and constituted a new type of Filipinos. This was according to Constantino the "beginning of their mis-education."[253] It took time for things to change. Only in 1929 did Palma note that Filipino material was introduced in the curricula.[254]

History was so important to Palma that he wanted to leave a legacy to the Filipinos. In *Nuestra Historia*, written originally in Spanish, Palma wrote, "History helps to show to a group of people what they need to do in each period of its history, based on the experience of the past." Hence the importance for children to learn history. By learning history, we know what happened in our country and the people that made it possible. Said Palma, through history "We can guess what [our ancestors] thought and what they did, and we recognize our identity in the universe, like a distinctive town, not like others." He continued, "history is not just the summary of the past, it is also the potentiality of a race, its virtues and defects, but also the light and guide to the future."[255]

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[252] Palma, *Our Country*, 6.

[253] Renato Constantino [1959], "The Miseducation of the Filipino," 4, 5, accessed August 12, 2020, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7735/865e2ea8fd8d9662f3916ffe41cc14376706.pdf.

[254] Palma, *Our Country*, 6.

[255] Rafael Palma, *Nuestra Historia* ,(Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1929), 3, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

The study of history does not only help people to remember things that occurred in the past, but also should create patriotism. Pedagogically, to teach history is "an obligation."[256]

The history that needed attention during Palma's time was the history of education and its aims for acquiring it. This has been, as Palma described, the desire "for the last fifty years" in the Philippines.[257] The desire of the people is the desire to improve. During the old times, under the Spaniards, Filipinos were under bad treatment. Labor was not regulated, it was "under the lash of *encomenderos*, working on fields, constructions of streets and temples." As well, many diseases did not prevent the population growth of Filipinos. Over the three hundred years, different laws and policies were enforced, including the educational ones. The history under the Americans was the same. People were involved in a new government, and adjusted to a new language and new policies and freedom of religion.[258] The Americans too forced Filipinos to be under an educational system that they considered to be superior.

Uses of Language

Throughout the years, Rafael Palma had different opinions about language. His ideas may have been changed due to different circumstances or incidents. In one way or another, depending upon the audience to whom Palma spoke, the message offered different viewpoints.

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[256] Rafael Palma, "Introduction," in *Our Country's Flag and Anthem*, by Emanuel A. Baja (Manila: n.p., 1927), 1, 2.

[257] Palma, "Discurso Inaugural," 3.

[258] Palma, *Our Country*, 10-11.

Spanish became the official language of the Islands under the power of Spain. Although Spanish was the official language, "most of the Filipinos did not understand it." Rather, students "memorized the text, word by word." Palma also related that Filipinos had a hard time learning the language because they did not use it at home. That was not the case of the Spaniards' children, who took great advantage over the locals. In addition to Spanish, students needed to learn Latin, and work on translations from Latin to Spanish.[259]

Under the Spanish rule, not everyone had the privilege to learn Spanish. The Americans, however, introduced English to most people in less than thirty years. The fact that Filipinos for many years were used to one language, Spanish, though, in many cases, with little understanding of it, made their English to be *malo y detestable* (bad and detestable). This was quoted by Palma from a report from the Monroe Commission.[260]

Rafael Palma, himself educated under the Spanish system, had Spanish as his first language. He spoke English, but with difficulties. Teodoro Agoncillo said Palma lacked full English proficiency. During Palma's years as president of the University of the Philippines, when addressing students on different occasions, students listened in "rapt attention" to "Don Rafael's fractured English." Students did not mind such matters. They were "captivated by the innocent baby's sweet smile on his face."[261]

From young age Palma had a reputation as "something of a writer," and so was able to work on *La Independencia* and *El Renacimiento* as editor as well as a writer. Both

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[259] Rafael Palma, *My Autobiography*, 19.

[260] Rafael Palma, "Juicios Sobre la Literatura Inglesa Entre los Filipinos: Mayor Desarrollo Cuantitativo en Menos de Tres Decadas, que la Literatura Castellana en Igual Periodo," 1, 6, Box 1, Folder 2, University of the Philippines Archives, translator Erneso Lozano.

[261] Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma" in *Rafael Palma*, 22.

newspapers were published in the Spanish language.[262] Judging Rafael Palma according to his original writings, he had an almost, if not completely, perfect use of Spanish. Indeed, Palma was a member of the *Academia de la Lengua Española*,[263] the highest association for the use and diffusion of the Spanish language until now. Another source from the time placed Palma as President of the *Academia Filipina*, the equivalent to the Spanish Academy, a position from which he wanted to resign, but his resignation was "declined by the members."[264]

Although English language was not well spoken among the people in the schools, as reported earlier, there were some exceptions. Palma said that there were students at U.P. who impressed Americans with their poetry and oratory. Students were able to read and practice new literature. There was freedom in the use of books and that increased as well as students' interest in the English language.[265]

People needed to learn and accept English not only because that was the language of the people who "rescued" them from the hands of Spain, but because the Constitution, given by the Americans, established the popular system of education upon the "base of a new language."[266]

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[262] Rafael Palma, *My Autobiography*, 13, 40.

[263] "Palma Continúa en Estado de Grave" *La Vanguardia*, May 23, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[264] "Rafael Palma Ha Muerto" *El Debate*, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[265] Palma, "Juicios Sobre la Literatura inglesa Entre los Filipinos: Mayor Desarrollo Cuantitativo en Menos de Tres Decadas, Que la Literatura Castellana en igual Periodo," 2, Box 1, Folder 2, University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[266] Palma, "Nuestra Historia," 301.

English was not only used in academic matters, but also in governmental ones. Palma, before his time as president of the University of the Philippines, practiced as a lawyer. It was a struggle for Palma, because there were "new rules" that were "adopted for both criminal and civil procedures." And besides adjusting to the new political aspects, there were difficulties in language. The judges were Americans, and they did not know Spanish. The "arguing" was done in Spanish, causing distress because the judges were not able to comprehend what was being said. However, Palma also noted that some judges were able to speak Spanish.[267]

Since English was the language in which the new system of education was propagated in the islands, it was essential for people to give real importance to it. English literature, according to Palma, was not only the language of the current instruction, but, as well, had "appealing qualities that were to be recommended, among those, clarity, simplicity, and expression strength." To speak English had tremendous advantages for the future writers of the Philippines. Authors will write in English, hence more and more people will have access to their work. "Authors do not write in order not to be understood, but, on the contrary, to reach the greatest number of people." English was the language of the future for Palma.[268] "The study of modern languages is the product of the new conditions of our modern life," Palma wrote. "It is no longer desired to recite the lesson by memory; the main aim [rather] being to determine whether the substance of the printed page has been assimilated."[269]

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[267] Rafael Palma, *My Autobiography*, 48-49.

[268] Palma, "Juicios Sobre la Literatura Inglesa Entre los Filipinos: Mayor Desarrollo Cuantitativo en Menos de Tres Decadas, Que la Literatura Castellana en igual Periodo," 2, Box 1, Folder 2, University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[269] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 12-11.

As per Palma's views for the future, the Spanish language should not be threatened by the use of English in the Islands. English will not make "Castellano," which is also known for Spanish, or even vernacular languages disappear. Palma said that in "material order, the natural selection leads to the survival of the strongest, in the biological law, it shows in different way, through the coexistence of the elements or ideas, absorbed by the mind that acquires richness from different shades and gradations, as the culture is more extended and diverse."[270] A few decades later, there was no coexistence of both languages, and English overtook Spanish. Palma insisted that a person should know more than his or her own language. To speak one language, "the mother tongue," gives "inhibitions and disadvantages." Palma in this case says not to abandon Spanish, but to keep both languages. The reason to do so? Both of them provided "determinant factors" to cultural development.[271]

For many elite, during the time of Palma, Spanish remained the "mother tongue." One way or another, Palma wanted to emphasize its use and conservation. On this matter, while in Barcelona, Spain, Palma mentioned that the Philippines was taking different steps to preserve the language. For example, every institution had a department of Spanish language. By doing so, the Hispanic culture was preserved, and, as well, the good relationship between Spain and the Philippines.[272]

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[270] Palma, "Juicios Sobre la Literatura Inglesa Entre los Filipinos," 2.

[271] Palma, "Juicios Sobre la Literatura Inglesa Entre los Filipinos,"6.

[272] "El Comité Hispano-Filipino Festeja a Palma: Brillante Banquete dado en su Honor a su Paso por Barcelona," *El Noticiero Universal*, July 2, 1927, Box 4, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano; "La Cuestion de Independencia ha de ser Urgida Constantemente por los Filipinos: El Presidente de la Universidad de Filipinas, Doctor Rafael Palma, Visita a los Estados Unidos," Box 4, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

Palma also advocated for the equality of the people regardless of the language of use. This statement was made during the period in which Palma served as President of both the University of the Philippines and the Spanish-Philippine Academy. In a new era, where English became the popular language, or the language for the islands, the persons who used it should not consider themselves superior to others. A country that uses more than one language, like the Philippines, where Spanish and the native language were in use, created variety and "it does not block the progress of a country." By using English, the Philippines had a great advantage, as there was once by using Spanish.[273] It is not how many languages a person knows, but how a person used other languages. Palma said: "The more languages the person knows, the more useful they will be for him or herself and for others." A person who refuses to use other languages holds a "primitive language." The only thing that this person does is to "isolate from the world." However the person that learns a new language is a person who "holds an empire" to which each day adds new benefits.[274]

Palma knew the benefits of language for the Filipinos. As president of the University of the Philippines, Palma introduced Chinese and Japanese languages. It would not just be for knowledge of the language, or the literature created in a foreign language, but to create a good relationship among fellow Asians. However, Palma was disappointed that students did not "appreciate the advantages" and the board decided to cut the program.[275]

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[273] Rafael Palma, "La Mentalidad de la Raza como Resultado de la Fusión de Culturas e Idiomas," Box 4, Folder 4, University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[274] Rafael Palma, "El Valor Internacional del Lenguaje" (1928), in *Alma Mater*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 393-394, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[275] Palma, "El Valor Internacional del Lenguaje," 394-395.

Palma was ahead of his time in matters of language. Nowadays people talk about an international language, one that can be used in different parts of the world, a type of universal language. Such a language would help to make good relationships worldwide. Palma said that there was no need to create a new one; there should be one that is currently in use. Palma gives an example of the one-time language that failed to propagate worldwide, the Spartan. It failed because no country had it as its own, even though it was "simple and easier to learn" than English.[276]

The Philippines tried to create a language for the whole country. Even though Palma did not mention this directly, some Filipinos were thinking of the creation of a language that included Malayan dialects. Such intention would have taken years to learn and adjust to and here Palma suggested that "tagalo" should be the one to use. It was a dialect in use, but needed improvement.[277]

Education and Women

Education under the early Spanish colonial period had distinct characteristics. One of those characteristics regards women. Women had no rights or power to get into educational fields at any level. It took years and generations for things to change, a change that gives them the same rights as men.

Rafael Palma did not write directly about women and their education during the time of the Spanish colonization. However, he addressed the issue in different ways that

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[276] Palma, "El Valor Internacional del Lenguaje," 396-397.

[277] Palma, "El Valor Internacional del Lenguaje," 397. See Andrew B. Gonzalez, *Language and Nationalism: The Philppine Experience Thus Far* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980), 53-54.

helps to understand the old system of education for women. Palma mostly addresses women's education under the old system by comparing it with the great advantages of the new system.

The most direct description of the old system by Palma is the one that he provided in *My Autobiography*, and is related to his step-mother. Palma wrote that, similar to other women of that era, under the Spanish system of education, his step-mother did not attend school. Her only knowledge was what was provided at home.[278] Instruction at home allowed women to fulfill household chores and to be responsible for the future, which meant preparing themselves for marriage. The idea of education in the household is under Palma seen as an idea of a "backward society," preparing women for a life of "slavery and ignorance," which is appealing to men.[279] It is important to mention that that mentality is the result of traditional education. Such instruction was given by the first people that brought educational system to the islands. Palma said that that particular system was not only present in the Philippines, but in different parts of the world.[280]

In his writing Palma diligently advocated for women and their inclusion in education and politics. Rafael Palma was able to be an influence on this issue as a senator from 1916-1922. His address to the Senate in 1919 was published the same year in both English and Spanish. Education for women in the eyes of Palma was understood as "progress."[281] This progress was not only personal, but of national importance.

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[278] Rafael Palma, *My Autobiography*, 7.

[279] Palma Rafael, *The Woman and the Right to Vote* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1919), 7.

[280] Palma Rafael, "El Sexo un Mero Accidente de la Vida" (1924), in Palma, *Alma Mater,* (Manila: Burau of Printing, 1930), 256, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[281] Palma, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, 5.

The book *The Woman and the Right to Vote* explains the progress that the country would achieve if women were allowed to vote and participate in the political system. Although *The Woman and the Right to Vote* does not address education directly, Palma made a comparison between the arguments made against allowing women to vote and the arguments made under the Spaniards when women were not allowed to receive an education. To think that women can get into fields that were exclusively for males, such as history, philosophy, mathematics, chemistry and others created in the mind of people feelings of "apprehension and fears." For men, when women enter higher education was a "ridiculous" idea. To educate women was to fill their heads with ideas but at the end, those brains were to be empty, providing women a characteristic of a person "without grace or strength."[282]

Palma consistently linked women's education and women's right to vote. Palma's thoughts on rights to vote and what they had achieved are constantly mentioned in *The Woman and the Right to Vote.* It is understood that by 1919 women were allowed to enter all fields. This changed the idea that a woman should be allowed only to serve at home; hence her introduction to public life through voting should not be questioned.[283] It is when people move forward that they find "liberty." Without the right to vote, women were not enjoying modernity, hence not enjoying life at its fullest.[284] Education not only provides freedom but the "greatest respect." This respect would come not only from Filipinos, but from the "white man."[285]

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[282] Palma, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, 5.

[283] Palma, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, 6.

[284] Palma, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, 10.

[285] Palma, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, 15.

One of the main reasons for the formal exclusion of the education of women, Palma noted, was that the old education was in charge of the Church. Since Filipinos were hundreds of years under the Spaniards, they were adapted to an education as an extension of the Church. Everything changed when education was secularized by the Americans. From there it was impossible to stop women from entering professions that would help society in the future. [286]

A similar approach presented in a speech entitled *La Doble Medida de Moralidad* (The Double Measure of Morality) presented in the Centro Escolar de Señoritas (Ladies School Center) in 1924. Palma pled for women to adopt the American system, which, he clarified, did not mean to imitate the American way of living, as the means toward modernity. For women to adopt modernity meant to attain professional careers. Here as well, Palma said that a woman that reached modernity was "ready for flight to the immense horizons of life." To reach modernity was to reach freedom. Palma praised the new spirit, which was never felt before. Palma made a clear statement. If a woman is to continue along the "new path" she will reach "great triumphs and laurels."[287] However this was not a quick process, Palma knew. The mentality in which people grew for centuries had held them back. Filipinos adopted the current system, Palma said, "because it is better than the other one (the Spanish system), more suitable to our interests and to

[286] Palma Rafael, "La Teoría de la División en el Hogar" (1928), in Palma, *Alma Mater,* 284, translated by Ernesto Lozano. See also Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 130.

[287] Rafael Palma, "La Doble Medida de Moralidad" (1924), in Palma, *Alma Mater,* 249-250, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

the ideals of this century." However in order for women to fully achieve a place or take part in politics, there was a gap of almost twenty years after the Americans arrived.[288]

It had been very common to believe that a woman when in contact with the world would be "corrupted," since she was considered to be a brittle object. Educating a woman was a way to expose a woman. An educated woman, it had been thought, would lose what God intended for her to be. A woman, in the eyes of the men, and even women raised in the old time under different perspectives, was to be romantic and devoted to men only, to their husbands and to take care of household chores. That mentality was eradicated, and a woman does not lose anything with education. Women are able to debate as equal with men.[289]

This idea comes from what Palma calls the "principles of the modern world." Improvements like these cannot be just denied. To deny improvements brought by new government systems it is to deny sorrows in the past.[290] As well, to add to the previously mentioned, to have women in a classroom should be considered to be healthy. This adds "animation and interest" and different points of view. [291]

In the past, a woman was to depend on the education of her partner. For her to reach education was to aim for independence and equal opportunities. "The woman, by

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[288] Rafael Palma, *La Mujer y el Derecho de Votar* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1919), 52, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[289] Palma, "Our Age," 14; Palma, "La Doble Medida de Moralidad," 25.

[290] Palma, "The New Mentality" 20.

[291] Palma, "Discurso Inaugural," 35.

educating herself in the same way as the man, can seek and depend on the profession she chooses and carve her future with eternal independence from the idea of marriage."[292]

Under the Spanish, to have only women in a family was considered not only a disgrace, but an economic liability. Families depended on educated members to be "economically protected." This was the time when only men were accepted in schools. Now, with the educational reforms that allowed women into education, families could be less fearful. They would receive the same support as in the case of educated men. Women could work just as men did.[293]

Under the American system of education, a woman was "free to educate herself and feed her spirit not only with knowledge of books and experiences of travel but also with the sensations and tumult of politics."[294]

As mentioned before, women were educated to serve in the house, and one of the reasons is because many people believed that women's intellectual capacity was limited. An educated woman breaks the idea of inferiority to men. Their capacity goes beyond household chores.[295]

Palma pleads for freedom in all matters for women. Palma says, "I am not among those who believe that the change done so far has been harmful. On the contrary, it brought healthy changes to the country. My ideas are too well known that I do not need to repeat them." Palma affirms that the paradigm shift in education from the Spanish to the American system brought tremendous benefits, and, it is something that he advocated

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[292] Palma, "La Doble Medida de Moralidad," 254.

[293] Palma, "La Doble Medida de Moralidad," 254.

[294] Palma, "Our Age," 15

[295] Palma, "El Sexo un Mero Accidente de la Vida," 260.

constantly.[296] Rafael Palma called his generation to the future, to a freedom of choice that will lead women to a better future, just as men enjoy. "The world seems not to be ready to tolerate such freedom, but I imagine it will come to that as the time goes on,"[297] Palma wrote in 1924.

Palma was very proud of the changes that he saw in his time as President of the University of the Philippines as the number of women enrolled in the university increased. Palma refers to it as "something new." "Healthy times" were coming. The reason for this was that "from the moment women start to have active part in the basic industry of a nation, there are reasons to believe that our future is secured."[298]

The fight for women to be allowed to vote in the Philippines started earlier than Palma's writings. In 1906, there began an association created to help the cause, having among the members of the *Asociación Feminista Filipina* the sister of José Rizal, Trinidad Alonzo Mercado Rizal. However, it was not until 1935 that the right to vote was given to women. The 1935 Constitution included the suffrage of women in the final version as long as there were 300,000 women voters, something considered "a rather difficult threshold at the time." The votes exceeded the number: there were 444,725 women voting "yes," which meant they wanted to participate in the elections.[299]

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[296] Palma, "La Teoría de la División en el Hogar," 284.

[297] Palma, "El Sexo un Mero Accidente de la Vida," 262.

[298] Palma, "El Vergel de la Universidad," 55.

[299] Bobby Olarte, "Women's Right to Vote: A Lookback at a Philippine Struggle for Human Rights," https://hapihumanist.org/features/womens-right-vote-lookback-philippine-struggle-human-rights/. Accessed May 20, 2020.

Rafael Palma taught how changes are not always negative. Hold what is positive and use it to the advantage of a society. In this particular case, the advocacy towards women in politics made great progress in the country, with their education and beyond.

Thoughts About God and Secularism

This section, although not dealing directly with education, is important to understand Palma's underlying philosophy. Palma entered into controversy due to his thoughts about the Church, but this did not prevent him from practicing religion. Though people accused Palma of being an atheist, the people closest to Palma described him as a man of faith. In order to understand Palma's own religion, it is important to expand his thoughts towards Christianity and the reality of his life.

There are different sources that contributed to Palma's thought about Church. These included his upbringing in the Roman Catholic Church, his research about the biography of Rizal, and the Masons. The Masons provided the philosophy of liberal thinking. Rizal's life can even be compared to Palma's. All these will be presented here, with the idea that it is important to know a person in all the aspects of his life, so we can see how his mind was shaped.

Palma remained a "staunch Catholic." From the time he was a college student, Palma did not change his dogmas. When he was in college he regularly contributed essays to a weekly religious magazine. Palma "attended regular masses, and, as well, practiced the sacraments."[300]

[300] Vilemay, "Rafael Palma: A Great Man" (Manila: n.p., n.d.), 80, 81, University of the Philippines Archives.

Different writings over the years indicated that Palma was a person who acknowledged God, and that his Catholic influence, in which he grew up, was not removed. As to the execution of Jose Rizal, Palma wrote, regarding the death penalty, that it was "an insult to divinity." In another writing, Palma mentioned that the idea of God in the people had not changed. However, "styles of worshiping" changed as a person matures. As a person grows he or she may think more deeply about God. When Palma wrote about God and the purpose of human beings, God's creation in the earth, Palma said that human beings were placed by God on earth to "constantly improve it and beautify it."[301]

For Palma, there was no need to force a person to believe in God; a person is "naturally religious." In the name of God there were many injustices or crimes committed. The person who accepts religion and preaches with no faith, then, is more guilty than the one who does not claim to be a believer. But Palma also said that religion and morality are closely related. The problem is not religion, but how religion is taught and how children and people in general are instructed in it.[302]

Religious practices were stronger in the inhabitants of the Philippines under the Spaniards than under the Americans. Under the Spanish, the Church supported the state and the state supported the Church, although there were differences related to the level in which students were studying. For example, students under secondary level "were required to hear mass daily; recite prayers at the beginning and end of their classes; confess and take communion." Said practices were reduced in the university, where the

[301] Palma, "El Fusilamiento de Rizal," 3; Palma, "La Rebelión de la Juventud," 116; Palma, "Education for Freedom," 17, 21, University of the Philippines Archives.

[302] Palma, "¿Decae la Religión en Filipinas?," 202-204.

student was "left with more at ease." Practices were reduced such that communion was required "once a year." Such given flexibility did not give room for misconduct, said Palma. Students were expelled when they committed offenses "against the person of the professor."[303]

In matters of the independence of the Philippines from the Americans, Palma claimed that by trusting God, the cause of independence will be achieved. This was presented in a speech in the University of the Philippines entitled "Day of Prayer." Palma dedicated the cause of independence to God, praising the benefits of prayer, as in the old times, and he also said that there were reasons to do so. Any fight, Palma claimed, should not be won by guns, but by faith.[304]

Rafael Palma, in his autobiography, mentions little about the church itself. In one instance, Palma related early memories of his mother attending Church and interceding in prayer for him. Since he called himself "unlucky," he believed that the successfulness of his life was due to those prayers. He recalled the church building, which was "overlooking the sea," and how, from every place the church was seen. And, he realized the important role of the Catholic Church in the education of the Philippines.[305]

Defending Palma from accusations that he was an atheist, Leopoldo Yabes, who was the Dean of the Graduate School of Arts at the University of the Philippines, said that Palma acquired the reputation of being a "liberal thinker" from the Masons, who usually do not make any attachment to a religious order. Yabes presented liberal thinking

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[303] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 7-8.

[304] Palma, "Día de la Oración," 149, 151.

[305] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 2-4.

as a "secular intellectual tradition," which should not be considered either "non-clerical or religious."[306]

The Masons were introduced in the Philippines sometime between 1762 and 1764 during the occupation of the Philippines by Great Britain. Some "members of the occupying forces" were freemasons. After that, masonry is not referred to until 1856. It lived under the shadow of the Catholics, who did not allow its "co-existence." It remained "undergrown until the end of the Spanish rule."[307]

Like Rizal and many members of the *propagandista*, Palma was a member of the Masons. Leopoldo Yabes records that "Palma was initiated in Bagong Buhay Lodge No. 17 in 1907 and was passed and raised in the same Lodge in 1908. Later, he affiliated with Sinukuan Lodge No.16, where in 1914-15, he became the Master." Palma was a "Grand Orator," which meant that he delivered speeches in different meetings among the Masons,[308] and Palma was a thirty-third degree Mason.[309]

Though Palma was a Mason, that did not remove the obligations and respect that he had toward the Church in which he was raised. Even at the centenary of Palma's birth there were statements about his relation with the Church, as well as affirmations regarding his belonging to the Masonic orders. Palma was a "broadminded" person, Agoncillo recalled. Even though a Mason, Palma was seen in the Ateneo Chapel with his

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[306] Leopoldo Y. Yabes, "Rafael Palma as Liberal Thinker and Man of Letters," in *Rafael Palma: A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 25.

[307] Yabes, "Rafael Palma as Liberal Thinker and Man of Letters," in *Rafael Palma*, 25.

[308] The Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Philippines, "MW Rafael Palma," June 13, 2020, http://grandlodge.ph/index.php/about/past-grand-masters/mw-rafael-palma.

[309] "Palma, Ill for One Year Dies," Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

wife. Palma was a person who acknowledged "the beauty of Catholicism." As well, Palma did not compromise his beliefs while presiding over U.P. He allowed an American Catholic priest to use the infrastructure to hold services as long as the priest would "stick to religious matters." That said condition did not last. The priest criticized the university for being "Godless," causing controversies among the people in the university. Palma asked the priest to leave the campus, not for his religious beliefs, but for not obeying and for causing turmoil.[310]

Masonic rites were conducted at Palma's funeral. *El Debate*, a local newspaper, announced that the Masonic honors conferred upon Palma at his at his death were among the biggest and most solemn ever seen.[311] Palma's casket was decorated with masonic symbols and emblems. Palma's "masonic biography" was read. This ceremony was held on May 29, 1939 in the Temple Plaridel, and organized by the Sinukian Lodge No. 16. It included the presence of "high dignitaries of Philippine Masonry."[312]

The casket was originally placed in the Legislative building, to which, after Masonic ceremony, it was returned.[313] The ceremony that took place in the Legislative building included religious ceremonies, such as prayers at the beginning and the end by Teodoro M. Kalaw, the director of the National Library, Jorge Bocobo, a prominent

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[310] Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma" in *Rafael Palma*, 19.

[311] "Rafael Palma Ha Muerto, " *El Debate*, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[312] "Honras Masónicas A Palma Para Mañana," *El Debate*, 1-2, May 28, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[313] "Jones Sends Condolence Message to Palma Family: Burial Posponed Again for Tuesday" *Philippine Herald*, May 27, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

Protestant, as well as Law School Dean, and Jose Zulueta, and the recital of the Rosary by Galia de Arellano.[314] In my opinion, this demonstrated the influence of the Church, which was strong over the beliefs of the people. At the same time what was presented here demonstrates the influence of the Masons in Palma's life and as well the family that did not show anything against it.

The Legacy of Rafael Palma

Palma's health began to decay in 1939. According to Alicia Palma, her father suffered for more than a year from "a tumor caused by an old affliction in the ear." Different newspapers such as the, *Manila Daily Bulletin*, *El Debate* and *La Vanguardia* reported his condition during his last days. The *Manila Daily Bulletin* mentioned the attention he had been receiving at home. Palma was "surrounded by all the members of his family." *El Debate* highlighted the medical assistance that he needed during his last days, such as the use of oxygen. *La Vanguardia* announced on May 23, 1939, that the family thought that Palma was in his last day, with no hope to recover.[315]

Rafael Palma died on May 24, 1939. The following days, the newspapers of the country announced the loss of a great man. President of the Republic Manuel Quezon said, "The death of Rector Palma is an irreparable loss for the country." A national mourning was declared after Palma's death. The newspapers remembered him as a

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[314] "Ceremonia Fúnebre en Memoria del Dr. Rafael Palma," *El Debate*, May 27, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[315] "Palma Still Seriously Ill, Condition is Unchanged," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, May 22, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives; "Palma Sigue Inconciente" *El Debate,* May 23, 1939. Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives; "Palma Continúa en el Mismo Estado de Gravedad," Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

historian, philosopher, pedagogue, and "product of the old generation, who provide to the present the gift of the past, serving under three regimes."[316] Francisco B. Icasiano said about Palma that he was "one of the few living Filipinos who made history during the transition period from the Spanish rule to the American regime."[317] Zaide reflected that Palma should be remembered not only for his lack of scandals, or for his good management in times of new policies or regimes, but for the great contributions he made to today's generation.[318] *La Vanguardia* wrote about Palma's life that he was "man of letters, historian, philosopher, journalist, pedagogue, statesman and nationalistic; product of the *Old Generation*, but highly claimed by the *New One*: to which he gave to the present the inheritance of the past and served the country under three regimes."[319] The paradigm shift personified.

Palma was dead and buried. He would have been forgotten, but the publication of an English translation of Palma's biography of Jose Rizal to be used in schools put Palma back in the center of public attention. Rafael Palma had written in his *The Biography of Jose Rizal*, a chapter so controversial, that it was deleted in the first release of the book. The chapter was "El Dr. Rizal ¡No se ha Retractado!" (Dr. Rizal Did not Retract!). By

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[316] "Rafael Palma Ha Muerto," *El Debate*; "Rafael Palma Ha Muerto," *La Vanguardia*, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[317] Francisco B. Icasiano, "Who's What and How!," Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives.

[318] Zaide, "Rafael Palma As Scholar and Historian," in *Great Events in Philippine History*, 1, Box 1, Folder 1, University of the Philippines Archives.

[319] "Rafael Palma ha Muerto," *La Vanguardia*, May 26, 1939, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

removing this chapter, President Manuel Quezon claimed at the time, the book would be on the level of the other books presented in the competition.[320]

The said chapter related to the controversial events taking place before and after the execution of Jose Rizal. Rizal had sculpted a statue of *Sagrado Corazon de Jesús* (Jesus Sacred Heart), which was brought to him by the Jesuits on the day preceding his execution. Palma said that it was useless, since Rizal "did not believe" in images. Rizal did not convert as was claimed by Roman Catholics. There was a document the Church claimed had been signed by Rizal. Supposedly Rizal confessed on his knees. Palma claimed that these statements were "exaggerations," since Rizal was not a "neophyte," new to doctrine. It was during his time in Europe when Rizal entered into what the Roman Catholics called "abominable sect of the Masons." Rizal's organization *La Liga Filipina* was actually based upon the same standards as the Masons.[321]

Jesuits tried to convince people about the conversion and retraction of Jose Rizal hours before his death. Years later, in 1907, the Jesuits presented an article in Spain entitled *La Muerte Cristiana del Dr. Rizal*, "The Christian Death of Dr. Rizal." However, the said article lacked support. The most reliable evidence that Rizal did not retract, according to Palma, was the way his body was treated after his execution. If a person died as a Christian, under the faith there was no reason to deny the body a proper burial. The Catholics did not prepare for Rizal a proper burial service under the Catholic rites. Rizal was not buried in a Catholic cemetery, but under common grounds with no "cross or stone that marks the place." Rizal did not abandon the Masons, said Palma, because

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[320] Rafael Palma, "El Dr. Rizal ¡No se ha Retractado!," in *Biografía de Jose Rizal*, ed. Alfonso T. Ongpin (Manila: n.p., 1945), ii, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[321] Palma, "El Dr. Rizal ¡No se ha Retractado!," in *Biografía de Jose Rizal*, 2, 5, 6.

going against it was going against his own principles. The signature of Rizal on the document of adjudication to the Masons seemed to be fake. Even if that part were true the document would not suffice to show his return to the Roman Catholic Church.[322] This was but a scheme, according to Palma, by the Jesuits to convince people to return to faith.[323]

Palma's biography of Jose Rizal, published in 1949 as *The Pride of the Malay Race*, remained controversial. The contents of the book had an anti-Catholic message, it seemed, but once translated, became required in the Philippine schools. The controversy increased when the government ordered "10,000 copies for general circulation in public schools libraries."[324] Controversies about Palma himself were reignited with the translation of the biography of Jose Rizal.

In 1952 *The Sentinel*, published by the Roman Catholics, alleged that Palma was an atheist. Although a great educator, who "lived a life of integrity, selflessness and nobility," he was a non-believer. Palma, according to *The Sentinel*, "lived and died an atheist, refusing to believe in the crucified Christ to the end." Palma was even called a "pagan." This claim, coming during the thirteenth anniversary of Palma's death, ended by saying, "It is not without reason that our public schools are often branded 'Pagan' or 'Godless' by those who believe in God."[325]

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[322] Palma, "El Dr. Rizal ¡No se ha Retractado!," in *Biografía de Jose Rizal*, 8, 11-13, 17.

[323] Palma, "El Dr. Rizal ¡No se ha Retractado!," in *Biografía de Jose Rizal*, 18.

[324] Evelyn S. Reyes-Tirol, *Gentle Shepherd, Faithful Sentinel: A Biography of Gabriel M. Reyes, First Filipino Archbishop* (Manila: GIC Enterprises & Co., 1992), 152-153.

[325] "Dr. Rafael Palma Lives in the Bureau of Public Schools," *The Sentinel*, May 31, 1952, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives.

In response to *The Sentinel*, Virginia Palma de Bonifacio, daughter of Rafael Palma, secured an affidavit against Mario Gatbanton, the editor of *The Sentinel*, for "maliciously blackening the memory of a dead man." Palma was not an atheist, and the article had tarnished Palma's honor and reputation. Virginia Palma ended the affidavit by saying that no other thing but patriotism and love for the country and people were characteristics of her father.[326]

Due the affidavit, *The Sentinel*, issued "An Apology," affirming that Palma was an atheist. The statement included that the first issue, did not try to create a bad reputation or "impression" over the personality of Dr. Palma. As well, it highlighted the qualities that Palma had as educator. Palma, should remain as example for "Filipino people in general, and of the youth in particular." As well, after extensive "research," *The Sentinel*, affirmed that Palma was "a firm believer in God," and that it had been mistaken. *The Sentinel* apologized to the readers for the "damage" caused.[327]

Rafael Palma did not know that after his death there was going to be a similar controversy about himself that resembled Rizal's. I believe that the principles planted in the heart of Palma from childhood remained through his life. The principles instilled in him by the Church were strong and he had a mindset toward the morality of the people of the Philippines. Palma, although a Mason, believed in the power of prayer, and God. Palma, although a believer, also had principles which he respected by being part of the Masons. There is no evidence of his supposed atheism.

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[326] Virginia Palma Bonifacio "Affidavit" June 24, 1952, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives.

[327] "An Apology" *The Sentinel*, September 6, 1952, Box 1, Folder 4, "Memorials: Clippings Mounted Separately," University of the Philippines Archives.

Tying this to critical pedagogy, Palma emphasized the freedom of thought necessary for transformational learning. No one should be obliged to accept any belief. This does not mean only on religious matters. No indoctrination should be forced upon the mind of the person. A person should be free to accept or reject ideas and not be judged. Palma did not reject Christians; neither did Palma side with one group. He was a man of integration and modernization of thoughts.

Summary

The writings of Rafael Palma show us the different perspectives and ideas of the shift of education from one system to another, giving high importance to the concepts of oppression and liberation. Palma is a primary source of the paradigm shift, not just as an observer, not just as a participant and spokesperson, but as himself an agent of change.

Palma teaches the importance of not staying under one concept, but of moving forward. By comparing one system of education to another, Palma was able to express the differences between old and new systems under two colonial periods in the Philippines. Some of the practices in the old system of education are still in use in different countries in Latin America. Such is the example of Peru. Educational practices, in many places, in the minds of many people, are considered to be a solid, and unchangeable practice. This is the main reason, people are afraid of change.

The different philosophies presented by Palma are early concepts of transformational learning, especially leaning toward critical pedagogy. Thus, Rafael Palma's thought places him with the philosophies later taught by Paulo Freire in the

seventies, and other contemporary educators around the world. The study of Palma's philosophies allows us to see the process of change through the years.

CHAPTER IV

Rafael Palma and Transformational Learning

This chapter will be a comparison between Rafael Palma and different aspects of transformational learning and critical pedagogy. I will draw on some of the representatives of the educational philosophies, such as Paulo Freire, Jack Mezirow, Parker Palmer, Ira Shor, Joe L. Kincheloe and others in the field, and the philosophies presented by Rafael Palma. The comparison will cover all aspects of Palma's life, and not only his time as educator as President of the University of the Philippines.

Transformational Learning is an educational trend that became popular in the early twenty-first century, developed by Jack Mezirow. What started with an article in a journal, developed the philosophy of transformation.[328] Transformational learning has strong reference to the early seventies' writings and thoughts of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1921-1997).[329]

In Palma are thoughts closely related to transformational learning. Palma talked about pedagogy and what was involved in teaching. Palma mentioned oppression and liberation, methods of instruction, morality, learning from the past and empowerment.

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[328] Jack Mezirow "Transformative Learning Theory" in, *Transformative Learning in Practice*, ed. Jack Mezirow and Edward W. Taylor (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 19.

[329] Paulo Freire's main work on critical pedagogy entitled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was first published in 1968. Other works include: *Education for Critical Consciousness*, 1973; *Education, the Practice of Freedom*, 1976; *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*, 1978; *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage,* 1998; *Politics and Education,* 1998; *Teachers as Cultural Workers: Letters to Those who Dare Teach*, 1998.

Rafael Palma, living and writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was an earlier advocate of critical pedagogy.

Although there are several sources about critical pedagogy, the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is a foundational and revolutionary source in the philosophy of education. Paulo Freire is to the philosophy of education what Gustavo Gutierrez is to theology. Both are voices of liberation from Latin America.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical Pedagogy emerged from a context of oppression. As mentioned before, like the Philippines, Peru is a country that was colonized once by the Spaniards. Colonization brought religion and other contributions to the development of the country. These contributions included education, however, education was oppressive and in many places it remains as that. Critical pedagogy offers a way out of oppressive education.

In order to understand critical pedagogy, its origin and importance, it is important to know about its creator, Paulo Freire, as well as the intentions behind his philosophy. There was a reason to come against an educational system that even until now reigns in many countries around the globe. One of the reasons can be the lack of knowledge of critical pedagogy; the other reason must be comfort. By comfort I mean, those who are in higher places of authority may prefer to prevent the masses from receiving better instruction.[330]

[330] Emilio A. Nuñez, "Paulo Freire: Educacion Bancaria y Educacion Liberadora," *Ebscohost.* http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=2d 90c47e-7396-43af-a4c8-8204b1362735%40sdc-v-sessmgr01.

Paulo Freire was born in Brazil in 1922, and he was raised in a Catholic environment highly influenced by his mother. The economic situation of his family was highly affected by the depression of 1929. He grew up in what some considered middle class, while others call it complete poverty. Freire, trained as a lawyer, taught workers how to read and write. Freire was considered a traitor by the military junta. In 1964, he was forced to leave his country and lived in exile, first in Bolivia and then in Chile. He did not return to his country for fifteen years.[331] Experiences like these created ways of thinking differently, and he desired to create change in society. The best place to start the change was the educational setting, which shapes a person's mind.[332]

Freire became the author and main representative of critical pedagogy. It is not possible to separate one from the other. It is due to his experience under an oppressive system that he was able to overcome oppression and the lack of learning opportunities for people. Freire, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, says that oppression is equal to "dehumanization."[333] To dehumanize is to remove all feelings that a person may have. It is to remove the capacity to think, and to diminish the capacity to create or meditate on one's own. Under oppression, a person is not able to answer with his or her own opinions, for they are surely wrong.

Critical pedagogy is a philosophy that takes into consideration different aspects of common life such as inequality, social class and race. Under oppressive pedagogy

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[331] Raymond A. Morrow and Carlos Torres, *Reading Freire and Habermas: Critical Pedagogy* and Transformative Social Change (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002), 1; Leslie Bentley, "A Brief Biography of Paulo Freire," Pedagogy and Theater of the Oppressed, https://ptoweb.org/aboutpto/a-brief-biography-of-paulo-freire/.

[332] Joe L. Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 12.

[333] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 28.

inequality, social class and race of the learners are not considered. Teaching is separated from the life of a learner. The main target of critical pedagogy is to free the learner from such things in order to "transform the world into a better place."[334]

Different areas are covered under critical pedagogy. Its application is not limited to the classroom or to the teacher; it goes beyond that. In order to produce critical pedagogy effectively, there is a need to embrace what the culture offers, what the learners are interested in, and even media.[335] This aspect is very important because what the learner receives is not just from what one person wants to share, but, rather, the learner receives what is in his or her interest. Joe L. Kincheloe in *Critical Pedagogy: Where Are We Now?* expands upon Freire. Kincheloe says that the use of culture in learning theory creates "cultural pedagogy." This refers to the values surrounding learners and making them aware of their condition. Education does not only "take place in the classroom" but also "takes place in popular culture."[336]

Kincheloe gives an extensive list of related areas that are covered in the philosophy of critical pedagogy. For example, critical pedagogy is "grounded on a social and educational vision of justice and equality." Here the author says that an education based on repetition and with no vision cannot achieve progress. In order to reconceptualize educational standards there is a need, says Kincheloe, for a direct approach not only with the learner but with the community that holds them. How is a teacher going to provide what the learner needs if the teacher does not find interest in the

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[334] Jeremy Koay, "What is Critical Pedagogy?" accessed April 5, 2019, http://www.edumaxi.com/what-is-critical-pedagogy/.

[335] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 5.

[336] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 24.

needs? Is it possible to change minds by not observing the reality in which not all are favored?[337]

As well, Kincheloe notes, critical pedagogy aims to reduce "human suffering" and to prevent the learner "from being hurt." Although it is commonly understood that learning is only achieved through assignments, this is only a small part of the process. There is a need for practicality in activities. The learning process comes from every source, including the "everyday life" of the learner. There are great stories behind the people who are suffering and from those who are discriminated against. Teachers must account for these great stories. Discrimination is a human-made pain. It is in critical pedagogy where discrimination is removed, inside and outside the classroom. Respect is given for the knowledge that the student brings.[338]

What Kincheloe describes as respect is a strong concept in Critical Pedagogy. Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* calls it "respect for what students know." In oppressive education systems we are told to forget what we know, that nothing we learned or did before was the right way.[339] What Freire wants to emphasize is that no one comes empty to learn. There is something already in them, not only through formal learning but through experience. Teachers should be "taking advantage" of what students experience on a daily basis. Respect does not only

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[337] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 6-8.

[338] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 11-15.

[339] I myself come from an oppressive system. I studied in a government high school. There was no interest even to know who we were, what was our background. As simple as it was, we were called by numbers. For five years I was number thirty. Now I think, if there was no interest in our name, was there any interest to know the person behind the number? my background? my needs? Many things have not changed since I left school, and one of them is the connection between learners and instructors. There is a gap that does not allow the student to grow. As Freire says, the process of dehumanization is present, and did not start there, and, as well, it will not finish when this level of education is done.

allow us to have a starting point, but as well helps to establish an "intimate" relationship between learner and instructor.[340] Respect for knowledge is an active part in the philosophy of Transformational Learning. Transformational Learning brings concepts presented in Critical Pedagogy. Mezirow, in *Learning as Transformation: Critical Perspectives on a Theory in Progress*, says that part of the adult learning process is based on the "one's experience," which helps to guide a upcoming action. The said experiences are not necessarily given in an educational setting, but everything that surrounds the person, even culture, is part of the learned things that will be used in the future. In this case, the learned things are not "taken-for-granted," but, on the contrary, the person makes the learned aspects more "inclusive." [341]

In the classic way of education, the instructor is the one who is responsible to provide information for the learners, so they will transfer it to others. But in critical pedagogy the said responsibility falls on both sides, the learner as well as the instructor. In critical pedagogy, the student is allowed to think critically, letting students "take risks" in order to change what they encounter, and be "responsive" to the problems that they encounter.[342]

Transferring information is part of the classic educational system. Freire calls it the "banking concept." Here the learner is considered as an empty vessel. The content that their minds are filled with is "detached from the reality" in which the learner lives.

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[340] Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, 36-3

[341] Mezirow, "Learning to Think as an Adult: Core Concepts of Transformation Theory" in, *Learning as Transformation: Critical Perspective on a Theory in Progress*, ed. Jack Mezirow (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 4-5.

[342] Henry A. Giroux, *On Critical Pedagogy* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), 14.

The key word to understand this process is repetition. In cases like this, the instructor knows all, the learner knows nothing.[343]

Using Freire's critique of the banking concept of education, Robert E. Peterson in "Teaching How to Read the World and Change It: Critical Pedagogy in the Intermediate Grades" says the banking concept is a very front-oriented one, meaning to say that the teacher carries the knowledge of everything. Peterson says that this model is the "most prevalent" model around, and that results of surveys show that only one percent of instruction time is dedicated to the kind of discussion that allows the student to think and to have opinions.[344]

Another important aspect that is mentioned by advocates of critical pedagogy, along with criticism of the banking concept, is a description of what critical thinking is. The *Guide to Critical Thinking*, by Linda Elder and Paul Richard, describes the difference between critical and non-critical thinking. Critical thinkers want to improve and, as they advance, they want others also to improve and grow. On the other hand non-critical thinkers are selfish. They may be good at thinking but tend to discriminate against others, not just their ideas, but the whole person, which includes culture and background.[345]

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[343] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 57-58.

[344] Robert Peterson, "Teaching How to Read the World and Change It," in *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*, ed. Antonia Darder, Marta Baltodano and Rodolfo Torres (New York: Routledge, 2003), 366.

[345] Linda Elder and Richard Paul, *Guide to Critical Thinking* (Tomales, CA: Foundation for Critical Thinking, 2009), 3-4.

Critical pedagogy aims not only to facilitate or to provide tools that help instructors to reach learners, critical pedagogy is a means of freedom as well. Critical pedagogy was born to eradicate oppression.[346]

Systems of Oppression and Liberation

Is it possible to compare Rafael Palma to aspects of transformational learning? Rafael Palma described and lived in two different periods of education. On the one hand, Palma explained the oppressive system under the Spaniards. On the other hand, he experienced a different approach brought by the Americans, which he described as one that brought liberation from oppression. Throughout his life, Palma contrasted systems of oppression and liberation. These aspects reminded me of the concepts of Paulo Freire's, key concepts in critical pedagogy and transformational learning.

It is important to understand that the trigger for the creation of critical pedagogy was oppression. Many countries, for many years, suffered oppressive systems that were brought by colonization. Somehow, oppression was commonly seen as normal or as not affecting the educational field. Both Rafael Palma and Paulo Freire argue that the oppressive system must end. When oppression is over, there is freedom. For Palma, oppression remained in the minds of some people. For Freire, breaking such oppression necessitates critical pedagogy.

The period in which Rafael Palma first wrote about education was a period of oppression. This system was characterized by oppression from the Church, which

[346] Giroux, *On Critical Pedagogy*, 3.

controlled all, from the state to its education. There was no room to go against what the Church taught, either inside or outside the classroom.[347]

The oppressor, Freire says, is the main dehumanizer; the one that by taking advantage of his or her power, abuses others and very seldom finds him or herself with the capacity to liberate either others or themselves. Oppressors cannot move from that reality easily unless they become aware of their own situation and of what they have done to others, which is to say, that they have "deprived [them] of their voice." There are situations in which the oppressors may have the tendency to "soften" their power. But to alleviate such conditions and not to eliminate them creates "false generosity." This becomes a circle of injustices constantly on-going. It never ends.[348] In the case of Palma, the oppressive system comes from the Church. The Church became the dehumanizer. Palma wrote about the different ways in which the Church committed abuses. In education the Church did not equally educate all, and created a hierarchical system where the ones on the top of society learned more than the ones on the bottom.

Oppressive systems of education reach every period of time across every culture. Palma described a period of oppression in a period more than one hundred years ago, but which in many countries remains the same. Oppression in educational systems is more common than one might imagine. As Rosa Perez-Isaiah says, classrooms are filled with different ethnicities, economic statuses and genders. Educators know the reality, but know little about how to confront these situations. This kind of thinking, of knowing that there are things to change but doing nothing to change the reality, is called "passive

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[347] Palma, "Our Age," 8.

[348] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 28-35.

oppression." In passive oppression there is indifference and, equally, lack of action. Although educators care for students' needs they lack resources or the desire to act towards change.[349] Palma was not passive towards the oppressor. Palma was an advocate for change. Palma had the courage to talk in times of oppression, and in times of liberation, when he had the authority to change things that were wrong, he implemented reform.

Oppression is manifested in different ways. Freire, in *Pedagogy of Freedom,* says that one of them is to be prejudicial towards race, gender or economic status. When there is prejudice there is a "refusal to listen" to these groups. "I cannot speak with them, only to or at them," creates a sense of superiority and unreachable-ness.[350]

There are cultures that would rather educate a man in the household than two women. Other cultures still segregate professions by gender. Nursing is for women. Engineering is for men. Similarly to Freire, Palma explained oppression in regards to gender. The oppressive system educated the woman to serve at home. Training for women was extended only as to what will please her husband. Palma referred to this education as preparing a woman to be a slave or an *ignorante*.[351] Education not only frees women from ignorance but, as well, gives women independence. An educated woman no longer needs to depend upon a man to live, but may instead depend upon herself.[352]

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[349] Rosa Perez-Isaiah, "Medium," accessed April 5, 2019, http://www.edumaxi.com/what-is-critical-pedagogy/.

[350] Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, 108.

[351] Palma, *The Woman and the Right to Vote*, 7.

[352] Palma, "La Doble Medida de Moralidad," 254.

Education, in other words, liberates a person from once conceived perspectives or ideals. Hence, it should be available to all.

Freire also refers to the oppression of race discrimination. Palma, in some of his early writings, used a pseudonym. Why? He needed to "hide his race" in order to avoid discrimination. Early in his life, Rafael Palma worked as journalist, and the profession was somehow exclusively for Spaniards or mestizos. There was an idea that "indios" were not capable to "elaborate literature." Palma said that education should be the door that helps to create "friendship among different races of the globe."[353] Besides the race issue, if people knew that he was a "mere student" no one would have paid attention to his writings and he never would have seen them published.[354] In critical pedagogy, as Freire explained, there is no room for discriminations. Race is still important in some schools. There is segregation and discrimination in some countries in Latin America.

Similar to what Palma said, that women were educated for a life of slavery, Freire said that in an oppressive system of education, a person is also reduced to a slave level. There is a slave and a slave owner, there is a teacher and there is a student, two contradictory "poles." In an oppressive classroom setting, where students have learned to be slaves the process goes as follows: "The teacher teaches and the students are taught," mere objects in which to deposit information. Where "the teacher knows everything, and the students know nothing," the student is not respected or even considered to be able to contribute to the learning process. The only ones capable of thinking and talking are the teachers. The students are "thought about and listen." These different patterns are

[353] Palma, "El Fracaso Moral de Nuestra Civilización," 384.

[354] Palma, "Reminiscencias de un Periodista," 413.

constantly repeated, and the only thing that they do is demonstrate the front-classroom authority structure.[355] This is the structure of educational systems in most of the countries around the world. It was the way in which I was educated. There was no opportunity to share, even if we knew that a professor was wrong.

Palma and Freire agreed that repetition as a way of instruction belongs to an old educational system. Freire call this method a "narrative education."[356] Palma said at one point that students would rather memorize texts "word by word" because they were not able to understand Spanish language.[357] This method was "monotechnic," making students "memorize" certain parts of the texts which they have to repeat afterwards, making this style a daily routine.[358] Students are not asked or permitted to think for themselves. A similar approach is the one given by Freire under the narrative educational system. In this system, Freire says that what weigh over this style is the "sonority of words," not what the knowledge can do for the people, or what is the meaning of said words. When this happens, the students are turned into objects or "containers" of information.[359]

Palma also agrees with Freire in criticizing this "banking" concept of education. Palma describes a similar approach in the educational system in the Philippines under the Spaniards. The teacher, in this case, the Church, "imposes" the beliefs upon the people.

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[355] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 58-59.

[356] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 57.

[357] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 19.

[358] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 18-19

[359] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 58.

Palma recalled the instruction as "Quod magister dexit," "the teacher has said it."[360] Although Palma does not refer to it as the banking concept, it relies on the same principle as the one presented by Freire, which was highly criticized or disapproved of by both educators. "The teacher has said it" represents well Freire's concept of the front-classroom authority in which he or she is the only one with the authority. The teacher is the only one with the authority to talk while the learners are mere listeners. Freire says that this attitude produces obstruction. The obstruction is in communication, in which the students are reduced to "things." This is a characteristic of the oppressor.[361] Palma's perspective toward education is similar. Under the old system of education Filipinos had to accept what was given to them, because it was a "revelation" from heaven. In this case, people just listened and obeyed, without the option to discuss.[362] Freire, in *Pedagogy of Freedom*, says that the teacher that uses words related to the context is the one who really teaches, and not the one who uses the words "do as I say," as Palma said. In order to provide freedom in the classroom, there is a need for critical thinking, in which the learner can evaluate the words. For Freire, the leaders, in this case the instructors, are the ones who are responsible for imparting knowledge. In transformational learning leaders no longer threaten the oppressed or treat the learners as a "possession."[363]

Palma's criticism of "Quod magister dexit" is the same criticism of critical pedagogy toward the front-class authority. Kincheloe said that it is important to move to

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[360] Palma, "Our Age," 19.

[361] Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* trans. by Myra Bergam (New York: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1984), 123.

[362] Palma, *The Revolt of the Youth*, 12-14.

[363] Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, 39; Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 120.

a horizontal education and remove the verticality of it. The critical teacher is the one who provides different opinions and perspectives and asks his or her peers or students for their ideas concerning curriculum, and other things related. This particular educator breaks the "discomfort" by bringing comfort to the room. There is a facilitation of the learning process because the learner is no longer in an unknown area or "terrain."[364] What Kincheloe is trying to emphasize in this area of critical pedagogy is the importance of communication. In the classroom, horizontal communication is removed and welcomes verticality. Similarly, this aspect of communication is important in Palma's philosophy of education. Palma relates to this issue when addressing the aspect of transferring information through books. Books are information on paper, information that indeed is true and reliable, but books do not carry feelings, or emotions. Information can be found anyplace, "even at home," Palma believed. It is the relation between student and professor that, according to Palma, gives people the ability to sense emotion and find "colors and smells."[365] The best teaching is when communication is back and forth between learner and instructor, when both poles share information and such information is explained and understood.

Transformational Learning presents the "Quod magister dexit" in a different way. Mezirow calls it habits of the mind. Habits of the mind are points of view that not always are negative; however, they mostly are. Those habits are mostly to judge, to criticize opinions that are against what was taught or imparted.[366] Palma wanted to transform

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[364] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 109-111.

[365] Palma, "Idea de la Universidad," 48-49.

[366] Mezirow, "Learning to Think as an Adult", 17-20.

education by removing habits of the mind that were embedded in the mind of the Filipino people, that were given by oppressors. Mezirow says that learning happens when habits of the mind are transformed, when structures are removed or "reformulated."[367]

An important aspect of critical pedagogy is removing any type of discrimination. Discrimination, Kincheloe said, is a "human-made pain," which should not exist, either inside the classroom or outside it.[368] Similarly, although not mentioning the concept of pain, Palma described the issue of discrimination in relation to language. Palma implied that there was at one point discrimination by those who spoke English towards the ones who remained with the Spanish language. Palma pled for those who speak the first not to feel "superior to the other."[369] There were students at different levels who were adjusting to English as the common language. Some struggled as others were learning fast. Palma himself did not speak English fluently.[370] It is not clear but implied that Palma as well did not write in English, since he wrote in Spanish and meant to be translated.[371]

Another aspect in critical pedagogy is practicality in the learning process. Education should take advantage of "everyday life" activities.[372] Once more Palma fits into this characteristic of critical pedagogy. Palma said that in order to serve the country better, one should not rely only on what is theory, which is given in the university or any

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[367] Mezirow, "Learning to Think as an Adult", 19.

[368] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 11-15.

[369] Palma, "La Mentalidad de la Raza Como Resultado de la Fuisión de Cultura e Idiomas."

[370] Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma" in *Rafael Palma*, 22.

[371] Rafael Palma, "Prefacio" in *Alma Mater* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), iii-iv, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

[372] Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy*, 11-15.

educational setting, but on practice. Like Peter McLaren, in *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education*, Palma states that rather than explaining and putting theory in the mind of the students, an option is to introduce the learners to activities in the community, outside a classic four-wall setting. Here the learners can see rather than hear about reality.[373] For instance, having students looking in sugar factories would lead to developing new techniques in the industry. What Palma said was something new in the educational setting of the Philippines.[374]

Oppression, as negative as it is, was a reality in the Philippines and extended to all settings. This included the educational system, and specifically, the classroom. However, there was hope for the oppressor to change. When the oppressor changed the effects were like a wave that affected the oppressed and the oppressor. Together, they become free. Palma's plea was to liberate the educational system starting from the head, the teacher. By providing freedom in their teaching, Palma said the professors will be able to decide what to teach. That is, the teacher, based on the reality of the student, will be able to discern what to teach rather than imposing others' ideas.[375]

The freedom from the oppressive system, which Freire often speaks of, according to Palma came from a new regime that introduced a new system. The Americans had a system that was completely different from the Spanish. It was "democratic and republican."[376] Liberation required the active participation of the oppressed. There should

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[373] Peter McLaren, *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2015), 118.

[374] Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales," 103, 109.

[375] Palma, "The University and Politics," 147. University of the Philippines Archives.

[376] Palma, "Tendencias Educacionales", 89.

be a desire to move on. "In order for this liberation to be authentic and complete," theologian Gustavo Gutierrez would concur, "it has to be undertaken by the oppressed people themselves and so must stem from the values proper to these people."[377] Palma, breaking university customs, applied freedom to the teachers, giving them freedom in the classroom. The teachers themselves were people who repeated what they were told to repeat. They who were once oppressed became participants in the process of liberation.

Freire mentioned that there is pain when the process of liberation starts. Can colonization bring liberation? The American colonization indeed was not a liberation. The Americans took the islands away from their independence. The liberation that Palma described indeed was a painful one. Palma does not only talk about physical pain, such as physical punishment, but the one people suffered in adjusting to a new language. The English language was a change; it caused difficulties in people to learn. Palma praised the efforts of the Americans to teach English to the whole archipelago. New ways of education created rejection, discomfort, and even negativity. Palma said that in liberation there was freedom to judge what to accept and what to reject, what is good and what is bad, and, based on the judgments, simply to continue with life.[378]

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[377] Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, 91, 108-109.

[378] Palma, "Our Age," 21.

Critical Pedagogy and Practices

Punishment

Although Palma's early education took place over one hundred years ago, the practices that he described in his education are more common in today's educational setting than what people may believe. In a conversation with my father, who was educated in the early nineteen fifties, I asked about his education. What my father brought out raised my attention. He said that the professor held a wooden disk, called "palmeta," just as criticized by Palma. The palmeta was used for everything, from correcting students to providing better memory. Once a student did not memorize the class lesson, or the multiplication table, the student was subject to receive disciplinary action. It was used on the palm of the hand, the tip or back of the fingers, or just anywhere the professor wanted.

There is no need to go back in time so far. I was educated in the early nineties, and professors did not use the palmeta, but the "regleta" instead. It was the same idea, but with different shape. No longer round, but long, still made out of wood. The idea of such instrument? Increase the capacity of learning and memorizing. Forming a line in front of the class in groups of five to six students, sometimes divided by gender, the professor will ask questions to each group. The student needed to be quick to answer, and, if so, he or she could sit and be free of punishment. Poor the student who remained until last. The professor, who asked questions on math, history, or other subjects, walked with the regleta at the back, and only moved his or her hands when it was time to apply punishment, in this case, to the slow to answer, since he or she was considered the one who did not know anything.

That system of education for some people created excellent results in the Latin America context, who even created poems of praise. A very famous Peruvian composer, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, wrote a poem in the 1960s that summarized the educational system of his days, an educational system that remains until today, if not in all Peru or Latin America, but in areas of the countries. As a Peruvian student, I was forced to memorize that poem as part of my learning process. What educators really wanted to emphasize was not just the art behind the poem, that in Spanish it is composed in *rhythm style*, but the message behind it. The message is that "education with blood" is right and should remain in order to provide a generation free of vices. The Poem is called *La Escuelita*, which means, The Little School. [See Appendix I].

This poem, part of Peruvian folklore, vividly represents what the educational system was and is in many places. There is an expression that says something like, "the palmeta was invented for me; once it was broken on my hand." This is what educators call in Peru, *La Letra con Sangre Entra*, which means "The Letter Enters with Blood." In this expression, the "Letter" represents education and the "Blood" represents punishment. I grew up with that system, and many after me did so.

Rafael Palma in *My Autobiography* mentioned both aspects, the wooden rule and the philosophy behind it, just as if he was talking about the Peruvian or other Latin American systems of education.[379]

[379] Rafael Palma in *My* Autobiography, 15.

Hospitality

In chapter three, I explained about the implications of hospitality in the process of transformational learning. I explained that it extends to the physical and emotional senses of comfort. Palma, as educator, was able to express the importance of the instructional facilities, and, as well, the relation between learner and instructor.

Although hospitality is an interfaith educational trend, it has tremendous values in the process of critical pedagogy, because hospitality brings transformation. Palma did not mention anything about hospitality, but the way in which he treated people demonstrated that he extended hospitality. Hospitality is a methodology that offers "constructive social change."[380] Critical pedagogy focuses on transformation as part of the learning process.

Hospitality goes beyond welcoming people that we know. Hospitality means a way of living, so as to be able to know others, and to allow oneself to be known. In the Benedictine heart, hospitality means love, demonstrated through practice. This can mean to open space, and to be vulnerable. "To receive others is to expose myself to all sorts of frightful dangers of attachment and rejection." But to be hospitable is to be complete, and this only happens when we let other people "in."[381] Teodoro Agoncillo described Palma with similar characteristics. The office of Palma as president of U.P. was not an unapproachable one. Palma was not unapproachable between the faculty or students. There was not even an "appointment secretary." The physical office had the same

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[380] Tiffany Puett, "On Transforming Our World: Critical Pedagogy for Interfaith Education," *CrossCurrent*, 55, 2 (2005): http://www.jstor.com/stable/24460809.

[381] Daniel Homan and Pratt Collins, *Radical Hospitality: Bendict's Way of Love* (Brewster, MA: Parclete Press, 2008), 1-14.

characteristics. It was small and without "extravagances." Agoncillo also said that the office did not have a "cordon sanitaire" that separated him from the people.[382]

Hospitality in the classroom, or in the educational setting, has a different connotation than open doors of houses. It implies the open doors of classrooms and the spirit of the educator are different than the classic ones, which represented rejection. Both Palma and Freire would have agreed with Henri J. Nouwen in what he says in *Reaching Out: The Three Movements of the Spiritual Life*. Here, Nouwen says that in order to be hospitable, one has to become a "stranger" to him/herself. This implies understanding what is lacking and being submissive to the answer. Hospitality is to create a space in which the stranger can move free, like a friend rather than "an enemy." Nouwen says that the intention of hospitality is not to change people, or to necessarily side with them, but rather to give them the space "where change can take place." Many people believe that when someone is hospitable, he or she is inviting the guest to be like them. But, in fact, hospitality allows the guest to see what he or she can do by his or her own. The process of being hospitable is not an easy one, and in many cases it requires self-abandonment.[383] What Nouwen says about hospitality can be applied to the classroom, becoming part of the transformational learning process. In Freire's eyes, hospitality fits into the characteristic of a humanistic approach.

Hospitality is as well applied to what Palma presented in some of his writings, not only in the "spirituality" of the teacher, but in the importance of the learning space that is created to facilitate the learning process.

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[382] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, "Rafael Palma," 17.

[383] Henri Nouwen, *Reaching Out: The Three Movements of the Spiritual Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1973) 63-77.

To be hospitable is to live in community, and that community should be a community of forgiveness. Nouwen says that forgiveness is what holds community life together.[384] Some of the communities in which we work and live are communities that are full of problems. Palma talks about reconciliation and community. As President of the University of the Philippines, Rafael Palma had a variety of professors, which included Americans. Both Filipinos and Americans worked in accord, creating a variety of opinions in the learning experience.[385] Different settings present different problems, in regards to hospitality, regardless of the background. Nouwen talks about problems that occur in faith communities, as Palma did in the secular field.

Physical and Emotional Hospitality

Rafael Palma knew about the physicality of a space in the learning process. Palma said that rooms that are not adequate for learning, with little light and air, do not produce good students. The same is extended for faculties. When they do not find a proper place to work, there is "lack of enthusiasm." Hence, the result of their work is poor as well.[386]

In the process of change, according to Freire, the oppressor and the oppressed one require mutual respect. This is because the process of transformation is not an easy one. The key word to understand this is "solidarity." From the oppressor's side, solidarity means being able to be aware of their responsibility. How do they did treat the ones under them? "True solidarity is found only in the plenitude of an act of love," says Freire. From

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[384] Henri Nouwen, *Spiritual Direction: Wisdom for the Long Walk of Faith* (New York: Harper One, 2006), 119-120.

[385] Palma, "El Vergel de la Universidad," 54.

[386] Palma, *My Autobiography*, 127-128.

the side of the oppressed, it requires rejecting the image that they had of the oppressor and replacing it with "autonomy and responsibility." As mentioned above, oppression blocks communication. The process of liberation brings "reconciliation."[387] In the words of Peter Roberts, "liberation is conceived as a process of struggle against oppression."[388]

Palma was building classrooms that were hospitable sixty years before sociologist of education Parker Palmer said that the physicality of the classroom highly affects the learning process. A room where strangers do not have the possibility to interact does not create hospitality but irritation, especially when the classroom is to "be a place where every stranger and every strange utterance is met with welcome." Parker says that pain is present in the process of education. Such pain should be removed. The place is to be part of the healing process.[389]

Parker Palmer, in *The Courage to Teach*, describes different "paradoxical" aspects that work in the teaching process that are in accord with Rafael Palma's philosophy of education. One of them is open space, in which everyone is welcomed to talk, with materials that all can access and that helps them to learn together. A space that does not have limits becomes a complicated one to manage. One example of this is confidentiality. In openness, everyone has the freedom to talk, and, in boundaries, whatever is shared stays among the people in the group. Another paradox is that "the space should be hospitable and charged." As much as we want to create freedom in the

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[387] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 31, 34-35, 59.

[388] Peter Roberts, "Liberation, Oppression and Education: Extending Freirean Ideas," *Journal of Educational Thought* 42, no.1 (2009), 3.

[389] Parker J. Palmer, *To Know as We Are Known: Education as Spiritual Journey* (New York: Harper One, 1993), 40.

mind of the students with a space, the classes need to have essence. Learners come to learn and find that information comes from different sources. A third paradox is that "the space should invite the voice of individual and the group." Education does not only come from books and teachers. People learn from contributions from different sources. The individual voice is important, but the group is as important. When educators make decisions based on one person rather than the group, there is an expectation to fail. The last is that "the space should support solitude and surround it with the resources of community." If learning does not take place using the community that surrounds us, then learning is only an individual act. It is important to know what is happening around us, to see the reality. Learning in community "helps us see both barriers and opening to the truth that lives within us."[390] Palma said that we learn from the process of communication, not only from books. As well, he affirms the variety of the sources, regardless of the content. We learn from all sources.

Care and Personal Relationship

The relationship between teacher and student is as important as the one the students have with their parents. It is in a classroom that students spend considerable time. Many of the professors become "insensitive" to the life of students, basically only caring for grades and papers. Professors tend to believe they can know their students by what they write. It is not surprising that students distance themselves from their superiors, creating a "resistance to learning." Teaching, according to Nouwen, is the perfect space to eliminate such resistance. Teachers have the great advantage to create a space where

[390] Parker J. Palmer, *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2017), 76-80.

"students and teachers can enter into a fearless communication with each other." Care and relationship are presented when teachers allow learners to participate, when the teacher can let the learner know that "they have something to offer." Then they are no longer passive learners. This is an opportunity to develop hospitality. The learner can share what is experienced in his or her life. It is in the classroom where the host helps the guest to find his or her "hidden talents," touching students' reality.[391] Palmer also says that the "personal relation between the knower and the known" invites students "by interacting with the world, not by viewing it from afar."[392]

Palma valued the aspect of relationship presented by Nouwen and Palmer. Although Palma did not mention the word care, he implied that when he mentioned the roles of the real educator, in which he or she should ask questions that will help improve the learning process: questions such as "What shall I do for these children?" and "What role am I fulfilling in their education?"[393]

Summary

Transformational learning was not in the mind of Rafael Palma when he wrote regarding education. However Palma wanted to see change and put it into practice. Change was not for a personal growth, but it was for national and even world development.

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[391] Nouwen, *Reaching* Out, 84.

[392] Palmer, *To Know as We Are* Known, 35.

[393] Palma, "La Enseñanza Religiosa y Moral en las Escuelas," 216.

The comparisons of Rafael Palma with Paulo Freire, Joe L. Kincheloe, Henri Nouwen, Parker Palmer, and others, are just some of the examples that help us to understand his early approaches on critical pedagogy and other educational trends. Indeed the insights are grasped from analysis of concepts like oppression and liberation. In his time, other practices were not called by the same names as discussed in the writings of modern educators, like hospitality, but what Palma explains about them fits with the contemporary educator's thoughts.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusions, with Recommendations for Further Study

Summary and Conclusions

Using primarily Palma's own writings, many of which were written in Spanish, this dissertation investigated Rafael Palma's response to the change from the Spanish to the American systems of education. The following chapter offers a summary of the study and will also present conclusions that were considered after the research. This chapter will end with recommendations for further research.

Rafael Palma is one of the most prominent educators and advocates of Philippine education, independence and freedom. His name, if not for the different buildings and honors named after him, would have been long forgotten by this generation. One of the reasons for his being forgotten is the lack of translations of most of his writings. Palma wrote in Spanish and today's generation no longer learns or uses the language.

Not many people in history had the privilege as it can be seen in the life of Rafael Palma, not only to live in transition, but to contribute to the changes. The life of Palma is an example for this generation, a generation that faces changes, and each change comes with challenges. Palma was not a passive observer, but, rather, he was active towards the things to be done in order to face change positively. The ideas that Palma presented throughout his writings could be applied today. Many of his ideas are now forgotten. His philosophies and thoughts about education did not reach outside the Philippines;

otherwise, the world would talk about Palma as a break-away educator. The ideas were innovative.

For more than three-hundred years, Filipinos were excluded from an education that would prepare them for the future, for independence and development. As well, not all had the privilege of education, even if this was misguided or intended to serve the Church. American education provided freedom from the ties that education had to the Church, becoming free and freeing Filipinos from a series of injustices in education.

The main difference between the Spanish and the American education was that the first one had an oppressive approach while the other a liberating one. Rafael Palma had the same idea, since he many times referred to them exactly with those terms.

Palma, although he considered the Spanish past negatively, also saw the great things that the Spaniards left in the country. On the one hand, they brought a formal educational system, which, though defective, fulfilled its purpose. The way morality was instructed was not right in all senses. Palma said that morality should not be included as a text book but by example. On the other hand, Spanish education, according to Palma, provided a sense of morality higher than the Americans.

For Palma the new colonization had more positive than negative aspects. Both the Spanish and Americans were colonial powers over the Philippines, and both imparted something new to the Filipinos, such as language. The Spaniards taught the language to the elite, and only basic knowledge to the people. Palma observed the well-known Spanish practice of teaching the language to selected people. A new language was imparted by the Americans, but in this case it was to all Filipinos. The Filipinos adopted English as their language and learned it in most of the archipelago in less than thirty years

-- such a difference compared with the Spanish language, which after three-hundred years had made little progress. The teaching of history did not change in the islands. Spaniards used their history while Americans used theirs, Palma knew. He was positive toward the liberation aspect of the new educational system. It presented education for all; it gave the right to educate to all.

In all these aspects Palma became revolutionary, with the ideas of transformational learning, using different terms for what now is known as critical pedagogy. Palma was ahead of his time. Palma generated ideas similar to contemporary philosophies of education such as cognitivism, developmentalism and reconstructionism. Palma is presented in this research not only as an early Freirian, but also an agent of change for future generations.

Palma advocated academic freedom, which benefits both the learner and the instructor. The instructor has the freedom to teach without the interference of the institution, hence the student receives what the instructor sees as necessary in the student. In intellectual and personal development, people should learn according to their age, Palma said. Intellectual and personal development are other ways that the country benefited from education. Educating to serve is another aspect important for Palma, service that will contribute to the development of others using the knowledge that a person already has earned. This last aspect is important in critical pedagogy, where all grow together. Freire said, "The teacher is no longer merely the one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach."[394]

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[394] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 67.

Palma gave significance to the physical and emotional environment in the learning process. Dark rooms created poor students, and, as well, vertical relationship between learners and instructors created barriers. Palma strongly advocated for communication.

Palma was able to develop different ideas in education due to his unique involvement in both educational systems, the Spanish and the American. For Palma the main difference in the educational systems was that the ecclesiastical system gave way to a secular one. The first, ecclesiastical, was an oppressive education under the Church, while the other helped to liberate the people with the purpose of educating them for independence. From the two approaches of oppressive education and education for liberation, Palma developed several comparisons between the old (Spanish) and the new (American) educational systems. From the old system Palma rescued the sense of morality but not the ways this was instructed. There were more positive aspects under the American system such as methods of instruction, which removed punishment as means of learning, introduced a new language for the whole country, and stressed the importance of the education of women as equal to the education received by men.

In order to understand Palma's responses to the changes from the Spanish to the American system of education, this research first looked into the historical setting as background. Regarding late nineteenth century Spanish philosophies and practices in education in the Philippines, the findings of this research confirmed that the educational system was exclusive. The educational system was for selected Filipinos and for the Spaniards. The educational system as well had a distinct characteristic: oppressive. It was oppressive because it was created with curricula that was imparted by the Roman

Catholic Church so that Filipinos were taught only to obey and serve the royalty of Spain and the commands of the Church, and, as well, it provided as little information as possible so that people would remain ignorant and never seek independence.

Although there were improvements in education in Europe, improvements did not reach to the Philippines. Since the Church provided instruction, there were no proper educators. Education was provided by friars or priests. The mentality the friars and priests tried to impose upon their students was to fear God. An oppressive part of the system was the way in which students were instructed. One method of instruction was based on punishment. In order for students to learn, teachers concluded that the best way was through physical abuse. The abuses included whipping, kneeling, and the use of different instruments to cause pain. Palma emphasized that punishment did not improve the education; it did nothing to the mind. Filipinos suffered torture with the excuse that friars or priests had authority from God. A second method of instruction, repetition, did not allow children or adults to learn. Information was transferred to the students in order for them to memorize. Information was not given for students to use in the future. Palma disapproved of such instruction, because students left schools with the same knowledge as when they entered. The oppressive system was also manifested in the way education was imparted. On the one hand, women were excluded from most formal academic instruction and their training was limited to that which was necessary for serving at home.

With the Americans, the educational system experienced a shift from what the Philippines had experienced for over three-hundred years. Regarding the early twentieth century American philosophy of education in the Philippines, this paper agrees that the

purpose of the Americans was to educate the Filipinos towards independence. Education was no longer exclusive. Americanization provided instruction at no cost to "every Filipino child."[395] The biggest difference between one system and the other was that while the Spaniards used religion to colonize and pacify, Americans used education to do the same.

As the Spanish educational system had the characteristic of oppressiveness, the American presented a different approach, liberation. As one example, English language was taught in all the archipelago, achieving in less than thirty years what Spaniards had not in over three-hundred years. Liberation came as well in the methods of instruction, which no longer applied physical or emotional abuse, or at least there is no record of it. The curriculum under the Americans was different than the Spaniards. There was instruction according to the age of the student and instruction opened all the levels, from primary to higher education, for all Filipinos.

Regarding Palma's direct perceptions of the changes of education, Palma goes back and forth comparing one system to another. Through Palma's writings, one can conclude that he saw the different ways of education as described above, oppressive and liberated. Palma realized that the education that he received was totally different from the one brought by the Americans. Rafael Palma understood the main objective of the Spaniards, that it was to keep people obedient to the Church. As well, Palma recognized the Americans' separation of institutions.

Palma perceived that the changes presented in the country were necessary in order to achieve progress. Palma refers to the changes as something beneficial. However he

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[395] Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education*, 49.

also believed that the previous educational system left some positive aspects. One example is morality. Palma was educated under a strict moral system, which created in him a well-respected reputation. For instance, historian Gregorio Zaide, who knew Palma personally, described him as having a "life clean and exemplary, untarnished by even a whisper of scandal," a characteristic that should be replicated, said Zaide, among the "youth of our land."[396] Yet Palma plead to abandon other mentalities that were given by the old system.

Changes were necessary in order for the country to achieve progress. Palma said, "This people would give a poor idea of themselves, if they had to content themselves with looking at life through the prism of the past and judging the behavior of the current generation according to the rules and canons of past generations." As well, he asked, "What would our country be, if we always believed in the same dogmas, if we desired not to change, if we decided to keep the same political and social institutions, if we had cowed in the face of dangers and if, to escape them, we were firmly clinging to the trembling walls of the past?"[397] The answers to these questions were found in the different philosophies created by Palma in which he saw the advantages given by a new educational system.

Rafael Palma is a primary source of the paradigm shift in education. Palma was educated under the Spaniards. Receiving this education allowed him to experience several things that were described under the Spanish philosophy of education. Rafael Palma wrote extensively about his experience of being part of the paradigm shift. When

[396] Zaide, "Rafael Palma as Scholar and Historian," 2.

[397] Palma, "Fe en la Humanidad," 409, Lozano translation.

he was a lawyer, early in the American period, he saw the changes. There were new laws implemented, new rules and new policies. As well, Palma saw the changes in education. The whole country experienced changes, but not many people were as open as he was to accept the good and reject whatever was bad.

What then was Rafael Palma's response to the change from the Spanish to the American systems of education? Palma never forgot the educational system in which he was educated. His response was that the introduction of the American system of education was necessary and helpful for the development of the country.

As President of the University of the Philippines and as a philosopher of education, Palma was ahead of his time: an agent of change for the country. The introduction of a new system of education could work by itself, but it needed a person to help to conceptualize the changes. Palma, exposed to a new culture and new philosophies, came to create ideas with the purpose to help his country. Palma's philosophies of education are a combination of different contemporary approaches. As well, Rafael Palma advocated for freedom, for training not to serve only the Church but the country, and for an education that would lead to the development of the self.

New practices were needed in order to be on par with other developed countries. Those countries developed because they were open to new perspectives and moved from oppressive to liberated systems of education. Palma experienced freedom and was an agent of change towards the freedom of others through education.

Regarding Palma's early practices in the field of transformational learning, he presented different aspects such as hospitality, freedom, independence, and morality. As

well, different aspects in the writings of Rafael Palma dealt with current educational issues such as punishment, oppression, and the education of women.

Educators in different parts of the world, especially in Latin America, face similar problems as the Philippines did more than one-hundred years ago. Many people believe that the issues of oppression in education were first brought to attention by Brazilian Paulo Freire. However, I was able to demonstrate that Palma had clear ideas about transforming the educational system based on his experiences.

Palma's approach was different than the one presented later by Renato Constantino in "The Miseducation of the Filipino." Although Palma was known to be nationalistic, Constantino said that past educators focused on matters of methods of instruction rather than developing "a truly nationalistic education." Constantino said, "Some pedagogical experts have written on some aspects of nationalism in education. However, no comprehensive educational programme has been advanced as a corollary to the programmes of political and economic emancipation."[398] There were some similarities between Palma and Constantino. Just as Palma valued education for national development, Constantino says that education should make students aware of the problems of the country, and produce solutions to the problems.[399]

Unlike Constantino, Palma praised the American educational system in the Philippines, although he knew that there were intentions behind the structure and the

[398] Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," 1.

[399] Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," 1.

introduction of a new colonial system. Constantino criticized Americanization in education as a means of shaping Filipino minds "to conform to American ideas."[400]

For Constantino, Americans, through education, tried to portray the Philippines as a country that should remain as an "agricultural country" with no desire toward industrialization. Industrialization, warned Americans, would bring "social evils" that destroyed the "idyllic" farm life. As well, such portrayal of agricultural life presented life without poverty or health problems.[401] Palma, however, did see farming as something where graduates can help to develop the country. The new system of education opened opportunities to create science programs for Filipinos, creating a program in agriculture, in which the graduates could improve the quality of products that the country cultivates.

In other aspects as well the perspective that Palma had towards Americanization is different than the one presented by Constantino. It seems that for Constantino there is no advantage at all, while for Palma, there are things from the Americans to retain and take advantage of. Palma served in a period in which the Americans supported the Philippines and its education, hence the importance to side with the colonial power, while Constantino lived in a different time. Constantino, born in the colonial era, lived long after the independence of the Philippines, and had no need to please a group, but, rather, presented ideas for the generation in which he was living.

[400] Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," 3.

[401] Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," 6.

Recommendations for Further Study

The author of this study recommends several topics for further research. First, a study of the application of Rafael Palma's philosophies and ideas upon the educational system in the Philippines, and its results. Another study might contrast Renato Constantino's ideas of miseducation from the American colonial power in the Philippines to what was presented by Palma. One might ask, "How does an oppressive primary school education affect college students in their learning process?" Or one might compare the development of selected students educated under transformational learning theories to students in countries that continue to use oppressive systems of education. In relation to the last one, what were the changes in education after colonization in selected countries in Latin America, and the results and/or consequences? For the specific context of Peru, there could be a case study based on critical pedagogy training among selected teachers in public schools, and the development of contextualized curriculum designed for Bible colleges based on transformational learning theories and the application of selected material for learners.

Palma deserves a full length biography. He is a neglected figure in Philippine history. He is not among the list of "national heroes." Yet, Armando Malay wrote, "Palma was a dreamer, an idealist – opinion to the contrary notwithstanding." Palma did not stand alone but belonged to a group of dreamers of his time. Teodoro A. Agoncillo observed Palma's fight towards liberalism, and Leopoldo Y. Yabes described him as a "liberal thinker and man of letters." And Salvador P. Lopez described him as a revolutionary advocating for national independence.[402]

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[402] Pacifico N. Aprieto et al., *Rafael Palma: A Commemorative Brochure on His Birth Centenary* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 13, 17, 23, 32.

Palma was a person of integrity and scandal was never associated with his name, generating an honor to an institution to have him as leader.[403] Juan Cabildo, citing Don Pedro Aunario in *La Vanguardia*, described Palma as the "most incorruptible and healthy Filipino citizen ever to be for the service of the country." Even if he made some mistakes, as is common to do, Palma did it "with no maliciousness," said Cabildo, but always seeking "justice."[404]

Transformational learning in Peru is a long process. People in the country are living in areas of comfort. When talking about change, for example, people react immediately in a negative way, expressing the idea that everything that was done was right, and did not need to change. There are not specific steps. However, there are some recommendations or suggestions. In my opinion, it needs from one to two generations to re-educate and change a mind that was once in oppression. Little by little, the some people have been changing their mind. Most of the schools do not practice punishment, especially in the cities; however, there is a lot to do in the countryside. When talking about hospitality and horizontal education, there has been little change. The teacher or instructor remains as the highest authority in the classroom, impossible to be corrected or even asked about something.

Among the recommendations, is not to start with the instructors, but with the parents. They were the ones instructed under an educational system that is obsolete, and they are the ones that oppose the changes, because they are the ones who believe that

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[403] "Hon. Rafael Palma, Newly Elected President of the University of the Philippines: University Honored," in *The Philippine Republic*, June 1925, 6.

[404] Juan A. Cabildo, "Appraisals," in Sketches of Outstanding Personalities (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1953), 5, University of the Philippines Archives.

there is one system, the one in which they were educated. Once this generation is aware of the education that their children are receiving, they will be the initiators of change in the instructors. The more the oppressed knows about their situation, the more changes they will be willing to accept. Parents need to be aware of the needs of their children. Not every child, not every person, regardless of their age, learns the same way, not every person has the same goals in life, which makes the point that each individual has to be treated differently, which does not mean with privileges, but with understanding.

Once the instructors realize that parents are no longer given full control of the minds and bodies of their children, the instructors will need to look for options that are more hospitable and friendly. Here is where transformational learning enters into action.

Transformational learning has actions that once practiced remain embedded in the mind of the people, actions that generate awareness, and learning experiences. The people who are welcomed and are able to express their ideas freely, without fear, are able to choose and make decisions later in life.

"God has endowed us with the faculty to think in order that we may use it at all times to the best advantage and in order that we may dedicate it to the task of exalting human endeavor."[405]

Rafael Palma

[405] Palma, "Education for Freedom," 17.

APPENDIX A

La Escuelita[406]

A cocachos aprendí
mi labor de colegial
en el Colegio Fiscal
del barrio donde nací.

Tener primaria completa
era raro en mi niñez
(nos sentábamos de a tres
en una sola carpeta).
Yo creo que la palmeta
la inventaron para mí,
de la vez que una rompí
me apodaron mano de fierro,
y por ser tan mataperro
a cocachos aprendí.

Juguetón de nacimiento,
por dedicarme al recreo
sacaba Diez en Aseo
y Once en Aprovechamiento.
De la Conducta ni cuento
pues, para colmo de mal
era mi voz general
¡chócala pa la salida!
dejando a veces perdida
mi labor de colegial.

¡Campeón en lingo y bolero!
¡Rey del trompo con huaraca!
¡Mago haciéndome la vaca
y en bolitas, el primero...!
En Aritmética, Cero.
En Geografía, igual.
Doce en examen oral,
Trece en examen escrito.
Si no me soplan repito
en el Colegio Fiscal.

[406] Nicomedes Santa Cruz, "La Escuelita" (1958), accessed August 2, 2020, https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/18336/0/a-cocachos-aprendi-o-la-escuelita-nicomedes-santa-cruz.

Con esa nota mezquina
terminé mi Quinto al tranco,
tiré el guardapolvo blanco
(de costalitos de harina).
Y hoy, parado en una esquina
lloro el tiempo que perdí:
los otros niños de allí
alcanzaron nombre egregio.
Yo no aproveché el Colegio
del barrio donde nací...

The Little School[407]

With a hard knock on my forehead I learnt
My role as student
In the little school
In the barrio where I was born

To have full primary studies
It was rare when I was a child
We sat three in one desk
The palmeta (wood ruler to hit the hand) was invented for me
Once it was broken on my hand
And I was call "iron hand"
And besides that
With a knock in my forehead I learnt

I was playful since I was born
And since I play during break time
I failed in cleanliness
Almost failed my other grades
But I failed in behavior
All because I fight at the exit
With my fellow allies

I was a champion in spinning tops!
I was great skipping classes!
But for playing I was there!
I failed in arithmetic
I failed in geography
Almost failed my oral exams
And the same in the written ones

[407] Nicomedes Santa Cruz, "La Escuelita" (1958), accessed August 2, 2020, https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/18336/0/a-cocachos-aprendi-o-la-escuelita-nicomedes-santa-cruz, translated by Ernesto Lozano.

If my friend did not whisper the answers
I wouldn't say "almost" at this point
And had to repeat the year

I barely finished my last year
It was a hard journey
I threw away my white shirt
That was made out of flour sacks
I cry over the time I wasted
Now with no future on my hands
Other children are the same
But, with a knock in my forehead I learnt.

APPENDIX B

Timeline History of the Philippines and Rafael Palma

History of the Philippines	Year	Rafael Palma
Arrival of the Spaniards	1565	
	1874	Born in Tondo, Manila
	1985	Education in Ateneo begins
	1892	Education at University of Santo Tomas
Katipunan Movement	1896	
Death of Jose Rizal	1896	
American Occupation begins	1898	
American – Spanish War American – Philippines War begins		
Emilio Aguinaldo Philippine Republic President	1899	
La Independencia Newspapaer	1901	Married with Carolina Ocampo
El Renacimiento Newspaper		
Arrival of the Thomasites		
First Filipino Assembly	1907	Member of the First Assembly
	1908	Member of the Philippine Commission
	1914	Publication of *Voces de Aliento*
The Jones Law was signed	1916	
	1917	Secretary of Interior
	1919	Publication of *La Mujer y el Derecho de Votar*
	1923	Acting President University of the Philippines
	1925	President University of the Philippines
	1930	Publication of *Alma Mater*
Hare-Hawes Cutting Law	1933	End of presidency University of the Philippines
Commonwealth Government begins	1935	
Manuel L. Quezon elected President of Commonwealth		
	1936	Chairman of the National Council of Education
	1938	Honorary Doctor Degree

	1939	Death
Japanese Occupation begins	1941	
Philippine Independence from United States	1946	
	1949	Publication of *The Pride of Malay Race*
	1953	Publication of *My Autobiography*

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  Asia-Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary, Philippines 2015
- Bachelor of Theology
  Seminario Teológico Nazareno – Chiclayo, Peru 2011
- English Language (Non-degree)
  Instituto Cultural Peruano-Norteamericano 2011
- Bachelor in Architecture and Urban Planning Design
  Universidad de Chiclayo, Peru 2007
- High School
  "Colegio Nacional San José," Chiclayo, Peru 2000

Experience

- Research Fellow
  Asbury Theological Seminary – Wilmore, Kentucky,
  Global Partnership 2019
- Translator
  Save the Children Cash Transfer – Vulnerability on the
  Venezuelan Migrants 2019
- Research Fellow
  University of the Philippines – Third World Studies Center 2019
- Asia-Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary, Philippines
  Co-teaching, Foundations of C.E – First Semester 2017
- Book editor for Spanish version, author: Dr. LeBron Fairbanks
  "*¡Liderazgo Decisivo! ¡Liderazgo Fiel! Reflexiones e Indicadores* 2017

- Compassion International:
  Research Team Translator in Piura and Chiclayo, Peru 2015
- Asia – Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary, Philippines
  Student Work Assistance Program Coordinator 2014 – 2018
  Academic Development Officer 2016
  Assistant to the Academic Dean 2013 – 2015, 2017- 2018
  Assistant to the President 2012 – 2013
- APNTS, Christmas 2013 Field Trip, Mon State, Myanmar 2013
- Pastor, Santo Domingo Church of the Nazarene,
  District License, Distrito Peru Norte 2011-2015
- Opus Art (Music School), secretary and substitute teacher Summer 2010
- Designer – Founder *Square Design Architects* 2009 – 2011
- Compassion International (host and translator for sponsors) 2009 – 2011

Guest Lecturer

- Foundations of Christian Education
  Asia–Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary,
  Manila, Philippines October, 2020
- History of Mission
  Xi'an, China September, 2018
- Worship and Music Class
  Asia–Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary, May, 2018
- Theology of Mission
  Wuhan, China December, 2016
- Nazarene History
  Wuhan, China December, 2016
- Missiology Class
  Seminario Teológico Nazareno Del Peru,
  Chiclayo, Peru June, 2015
- Worship and Music Class
  Asia–Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary
  Manila, Philippines September, 2013

Volunteer

- Work and Witness volunteer, Cebu – Philippines 2016
- Mon State, Myanmar – Christmas Mission trip 2013
- Work and Witness volunteer, Perú-Norte District 2007 – 2011

Conference Participant, Speaker and Researcher

- Speaker - II District Conference, Chiclayo – Peru June 2019
- Translator – I District Conference, Chiclayo – Peru
  History and Identity May 24 - 29 2017
- Manila, Philippines – Lausanne National Forum on Children at Risk. 2018
  Participant
  Research team member: "Listening and Learning from Various Entities on the Perceived Dynamics that Help Children Thrive."
- Johannesburg, South Africa – Third Wave Church of the Nazarene 2007

Languages:

- Spanish: Native speaker
- English: Oral and written

Skills:

- Administrative skills and evaluator
- Architectural skills and interior design
- Attention to Detail: Concerned with quality, produce work that is orderly and attractive. Ensure tasks that are completed correctly and on the appointed time.
- Communications: Good written and verbal presentation skills in both English and Spanish
- Construction/ design supervision
- Counseling
- Interpersonal Skills: Able to get along well with co-workers and accept
- Knowledge of AutoCAD (architectural program)
- Mastery of Microsoft Office programs (Word, Excel, PowerPoint)
- Music: Flute player
- Office management
- Research skills: able to do professional academic research in different areas.
- Supervision of staff
  supervision.
- Teaching in the fields of education, history research and related

Projects:

For Department of Higher Education – Philippines

APNTS – Compliance reports compilation for Commission of Higher Education – Doctoral and Masteral programs – 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018

Architectural Projects (available on request):

Architectural Design, Monsefu Church of the Nazarene, Peru
Architectural Design, Santo Domingo Church of the Nazarene, Peru
Architectural Design, La Union, Pomalca Church of the Nazarene, Peru