THE COLEGIO DE SAN JOSE 1601-2001
The Turbulent 400-year History of an Educational Institution*

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In September 1595, the first institution of higher learning was opened in the Philippines. This was the Colegio de Manila of the Jesuit Fathers, whose formal opening was the culmination of a decade and a half of planning and negotiations.

The first group of Jesuits had arrived in 1581, headed by a remarkable man, Father Antonio Sedeño, and including another man even more remarkable, Father Mateo Sanchez. They came in the same ship as the first Bishop of Manila, the Dominican Fray Domingo de Salazar, to whom they became very close advisers and cooperators. Subsequently, more Jesuits arrived as reinforcements, but before that, on 18 June 1583, two years after his own arrival, Bishop Salazar wrote to the King about the Jesuits:

Since my arrival in these Islands I have had no other recourse or consolation than in them in all the matters that have been offered to me and all the afflictions in which I have found myself (which have not been few). Had I been without them, I believe I would not have dared to remain in the land. Leaving out of consideration what pertains to my consolation and the security of my conscience, their establishment in this city and in these Islands is so necessary

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that not only should Your Majesty not permit those who are here to go away, but it is necessary that you order their General and their Provincial of New Spain to send others to keep them company, so that they may enter upon the work of their Order and inaugurate a college where they may have persons to teach the children of the inhabitants of the city and those of the inhabitants of the Islands as well as the *mestizos* and the sons of the chief *Indios*. They should also have persons to teach grammar and cases of conscience which are so necessary in the land. This college cannot be established unless Your Majesty be pleased to order that, until such time that there be in these Islands a founder of the said college according to the custom of the said Fathers, it be attended to from the royal estate...¹

The “custom” of the Jesuits that the Bishop refers to was the fact that, during the first two centuries of the Society’s existence—until the Jesuit Order was suppressed by the Pope in 1773—instruction in Jesuit colleges was given *gratis*, with no tuition fees charged. The professors were supported and the facilities erected and maintained by foundations and donations.

The King received Bishop Salazar’s suggestion favorably and ordered the Governor to discuss with the Bishop as to how such a college could be supported.² In the meantime, at the Bishop’s request, one of the Fathers taught Latin and “cases of conscience” to priests and candidates for the priesthood, a task described as “very necessary.”³

In view of the hostility that in future years would be shown to the Jesuits and their institutions, it helps to recall that the first formal suggestion to the Spanish government that the Jesuits be helped to establish a college in the Philippines came from a Dominican bishop.

Nothing came from these attempts to obtain a government subsidy. When finally the college was opened in 1595, its support came not from the public but from the private sector, from a donation by Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa.⁴

The Colegio de Manila would eventually grow into a university, but its beginnings were modest. It had as yet no building of its own
and the classes were held in the Jesuit house; and there were only two classes, one in “grammar” and another in “cases of conscience.” But though the school itself was modest, its inauguration was elaborate. There was an oration from the professor of grammar and another from the professor of “cases of conscience.” The event was attended by the governor, the high government officials, the members of the cathedral chapter, and many of the residents of the city. The opening of the Colegio de Manila was obviously considered a public event of historic importance, which in fact it was.

We might remark in passing that the term “grammar,” as used in those days, meant the entire language and literary program in Latin which was the core of what we today would call secondary education. The term “cases of conscience” meant moral theology taught in the form of concrete cases, like the modern case-method of teaching business management pioneered by Harvard.

A Residential College

The Colegio de Manila was, of course, a day school. But there was a widespread persuasion that a residence was needed where students would live while attending lectures at the Colegio de Manila. The need was real, for Manila in those days was not a morally healthy city.

The morally unhealthy climate of Manila in those early days is well-described by Father de la Costa:

There was then no lack of opportunity for the young man who had a mind to divert himself, and it was fatally easy for him to fall in with evil companionship. Even if he belonged to a family of relatively modest means, he was waited on hand and foot by compliant servants and even slaves.... But even more dangerous for the young than their slave-filled homes was the fact that Manila had become a dumping ground for the human refuse of Mexico. Mexican prison officials emptied their overcrowded gaols by passing off convicts to Manila, where they were permitted to go where they would and even carry arms like the gentlemen, with nothing in their costume to distinguish them from honest folk.
This was not an ideal place for a growing boy to develop good habits. A residence for students would solve the problem: not just a boarding house or dormitory where people merely eat and sleep, but a genuine college with a regular community life calculated to help the residents develop good character traits.

Such residential colleges exist in Europe today, like those in Rome or in Oxford and Cambridge, or like San Jose Seminary today. In Spain today such a residential house would be called a “Colegio Mayor.”

An official proposal for such a college was made in August of that same year of 1595 by Governor Luis Perez Dasmariñas. He proposed that a subsidy from government funds of one thousand pesos a year be given for the construction of a building and for the board and lodging in it of twelve scholars chosen from among the sons of Spaniards in good standing. As it would be a royal foundation, the college would be authorized to bear the royal coat of arms. And it was to be named in honor of St. Joseph.7

Six years elapsed before the college thus proposed came into existence. The reason for the delay was financial. A building had to be constructed and twelve scholars to be maintained, but where would the money come from? The proposed subsidy of one thousand pesos a year never came. In the rapid turn-over of Spanish officialdom, Dasmariñas was replaced by others who had other priorities.

With no subsidy forthcoming, the Jesuits decided to start the college on their own. They built a modest house of wood and nipa across the street from the Colegio de Manila, and they provided the personnel: one priest as rector and one lay brother. But the residents would have to pay for their board and lodging. The amount was one hundred pesos a year.8 There was of course no tuition fee: the lectures at the Colegio de Manila were free.

It was Father Pedro Chirino, as Rector of the Colegio de Manila, who was given the task by the Vice Provincial of organizing the proposed Colegio de San Jose as a residence for students attending the Colegio de Manila. Chirino’s task included obtaining civil and
ecclesiastical authorization for the new college, and also finding stu-
dents who would be the boarders. In this, he succeeded admirably.
He got an initial batch of thirteen young men, including the governor’s
nephew. The students would have to be chosen from well-to-do fami-
lies as, at that stage before the endowment came, they would have to
pay for their board and lodging. Father Pedro Chirino can thus be
given the honor of being, if not the founder, certainly the first orga-
izer of the Colegio de San Jose.⁹

With that arrangement, the Colegio de San Jose (or as it was then
called, the Colegio de San Josep) was opened on 1 August 1601 and
formally inaugurated on 25 August 1601 with thirteen students. The
number soon increased to twenty and, during the next decade, the
numbers hovered around that figure. The first rector was Father Luis
Gomez.

If the building was modest, the inauguration ceremonies were
not. Indeed, it was much more elaborate than the formal opening of
the Colegio de Manila six years before. The thirteen scholars wore an
academic gown of busi, deep brown in color, and a scarlet hood.
(This would be their dress for all solemn occasions during the first
century and a half of the college’s existence.) There was a mass in
the chapel celebrated by the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the
land in the absence of the archbishop, the Dean of the Cathedral
Chapter. Serving his mass were two of the scholars: one was the
governor’s nephew; the other was the son of Dr. Antonio de Morga,
lieutenant governor and afterwards oidor of the Royal Audiencia,
whose book, Sucesos de Filipinas, published in Mexico in 1609, Rizal
would later annotate and publish in a second edition. Attending the
Mass and the opening ceremonies were the governor, the high gov-
ernment dignitaries, the canons of the cathedral chapter, representa-
tives of religious orders, and many of Manila’s Spanish residents.
After the Mass there were orations and recitations and then an open
house. In the afternoon the scholars marched in procession up the Calle
Real to the governor’s palace to pay a courtesy call on the governor.¹⁰

Rizal has an interesting statement in a note to his annotated edi-
tion of Morga. He says, “According to the historians, at the inaugu-
ration of the Colegio de San Jose, those present showed off (ostentarón) by wearing bonnets studded with diamonds and pearls. 11

An Endowment

That was the status of the Colegio de San Jose during the first decade of its existence: a private institution, owned and maintained by the Jesuits, with the boarders paying for their board and lodging. A different legal status was given to the college in 1610. This was due to an endowment from the estate of the same Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa who had facilitated the opening of the Colegio de Manila six years before.

Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa was a descendant of a noble Portuguese family but born on Spanish territory in Morocco. He went to Mexico as a young man and he was one of the officers who came to the Philippines with Legazpi in 1565. His services were rewarded with two encomiendas, one in Panay at Tigbaun, the other in Camarines. With the income from these and from his holdings in Mexico, he was considered one of the wealthiest persons in the Islands at that time. Authorized by the King of Spain to lead an expedition to Mindanao, and perhaps with a premonition that he might not return alive from that expedition, he did two things before departure. First, he gave the donation previously mentioned for the Colegio de Manila. Second, he wrote a Will naming his wife and daughter as his heirs, but with the proviso that, should they die without direct heirs, their portions should go to the Jesuits for a college. He specified what he meant by such a college. 12

Captain Esteban Rodriguez died in Mindanao in 1595. His daughter died in 1604 and the proviso in the Will became operative. By 1610, all legal formalities had been complied with and enough money had been raised to begin operating a college. 13

Don Esteban in his Will did not specify the Colegio de San Jose. He spoke about a college. But the existing Colegio de San Jose fulfilled the requirements specified in the Will, so the endowment was
applied to it. The institution was thereby converted from a private project owned and maintained by the Jesuits to a college administered by the Jesuits but supported by an endowment. We must therefore distinguish between the Colegio de San Jose as an institution, and the Colegio de San Jose estate which is a foundation, an endowment—in the ecclesiastical terminology at that time, an obra pia.\textsuperscript{14}

The fact would prove of capital importance a century and a half later, when the Jesuits were expelled and all their possessions confiscated. It would prove of even greater importance 300 years later in the litigation regarding the ownership of the Colegio de San Jose endowment, initiated in 1899 and settled by the Supreme Court in 1909.

But in 1610, when the endowment was first received, the money available was sufficient to maintain only three scholars. Later, in more prosperous times, the number would increase. For example, in 1630, there were forty scholars; in 1657, the number dropped to 30, but in 1753, there were 49.\textsuperscript{15}

The San Jose scholars attended lectures at the Colegio de Manila, but they held review sessions (called conferencias) in their own college, thus giving the San Jose residents an advantage over the day scholars who had no such opportunities for better learning.\textsuperscript{16}

**Academic Degrees**

A hint of what the Jesuit compound looked like in the early 1600s is given by Antonio de Morga, whose book (as we have mentioned) was published in Mexico in 1609:

The Jesuit college is established close to the fortress of Our Lady of Guidance. There are twenty religious there with a splendid residence and church made of stone. The students study Latin, the humanities and moral theology. Beside them there is also a college and residence for Spanish students, under a Rector, who wear capes of tawny-coloured serge and red trippets.\textsuperscript{17}
Jose Rizal (as we mentioned earlier) had an interesting comment on this passage of Morga. Rizal had reason to be interested in the history of the Colegio de San Jose as it was in its building, and with the help of its endowment, that he had studied his four years of the medical course at Santo Tomas.\textsuperscript{18}

The course in theology began with only one chair, that of moral theology (then called Cases of Conscience). But by the 1640s, there were four chairs in theology: one in moral, two in dogma, and a fourth chair for both Scripture and canon law. The first occupant of that fourth chair was Father Pedro Chirino himself, who taught Scripture for two years and then canon law for two, a four-year cycle.\textsuperscript{19} In the middle 1700s, Scripture and canon law had separate chairs, and one noted professor of canon law was Father Pedro Murillo Velarde whose book in canon law was followed by his more famous book in Philippine Jesuit history and his even more famous map of the Philippines.\textsuperscript{20}

There was of course a great desire on the part of the students, and of others as well, that their studies might be rewarded with academic degrees, the master of arts for philosophy and the licentiate and doctorate for theology. A petition to this effect had been made to the King soon after the opening of the Colegio de Manila. It had been endorsed and reiterated by the governor, the cathedral chapter and other dignitaries. On the other hand, it had been opposed by a very influential person, a Dominican bishop, Miguel de Benavides, first bishop of Nueva Segovia and second archbishop of Manila, whom the University of Santo Tomas considers as its founder.\textsuperscript{21}

But, although delayed for two decades, the power to grant degrees finally came, and it was received with great rejoicing. In 1623, the Papal Brief arrived in Manila authorizing the archbishop (or in his absence the administrator or the cathedral chapter) to confer academic degrees upon candidates presented by the rector of the Jesuit college. The Brief was issued by Pope Gregory XV on 9 July 1521.\textsuperscript{22} With it arrived the royal \textit{exequatur} contained in a cedula of King Philip IV. The arrival of these documents was celebrated with pomp and ceremony and no little ostentation. There was a parade on horseback. Preceded by trumpets and drums, the day scholars of the
Colegio de Manila rode three abreast. They were followed by the scholars of San Jose. Each was mounted on a horse, but the horse was led by a groom who held the horse's bridle. (Was this because the *josefinos* were not used to riding horses?) Moreover, for greater honor, each *josefino* was flanked by two of the Manila residents acting as patrons. After them came the high dignitaries of government, and then the canons of the cathedral chapter, and finally the Papal Brief and royal cedula, sewn on a banner of white silk and carried by the cathedral precentor. This cavalcade went up Calle Real to the cathedral where everyone dismounted and entered the church. The archbishop seated on his throne listened to the reading of the Papal Brief and the King's cedula, and then declared that he would abide by them.\(^{23}\)

Three years later, in 1626, the Colegio de Manila conferred the doctorate for the first time on a scholar of the Colegio de San Jose. The Annual Letters to Rome do not give his name but they describe the event. Father de la Costa, summarizing the passage in the Annual Letters, gives us the details. The night before the graduation, San Jose was illuminated. (How this was done we are not told. The era of electric lights had not yet come; so they must have used torches and candles.) At noon of the day of graduation, the candidate for the doctorate and those for the other degrees were led by the other scholars to the Jesuit church where their entrance was hailed by the blare of trumpets. A stage had been erected in the church and they were led to that stage and each candidate went through a formal disputation. Then the degrees were conferred by the Jesuit rector, acting as chancellor. In the afternoon there was a parade on horseback through the city streets.\(^{24}\)

**Petty Quarrels**

Besides these triumphal events there were others less pleasant and less edifying. As long as the Colegio de Manila was the only institution of higher learning in Manila, and San Jose the only residential college, there was no problem. When the Dominicans opened
the College of Santo Tomas, which also became a residential college, an unfortunate rivalry arose which lasted for a century and a half until the Jesuits were expelled, the Colegio de Manila went out of existence, the Colegio de San Jose passed to other hands, and Santo Tomas remained alone, unchallenged and triumphant.

That rivalry on several occasions erupted into court cases which had to be settled by the Royal Audiencia, which was the supreme court of the Islands. Unfortunately, some of the cases involved not weighty substantial matters but petty disputes about the color of dress and who was to precede whom in parades and solemn ceremonies.

The first case occurred quite early in the life of the new college of Santo Tomas, in 1619. The resident scholars of Santo Tomas wore an academic gown with a scarlet hood. San Jose protested that the scarlet hood was their distinctive color. Santo Tomas disregarded the protest. San Jose lodged a complaint with the governor, who ruled in favor of San Jose, since the San Jose scholars had worn the scarlet hood even before Santo Tomas existed. Santo Tomas appealed the case to the highest court, the Royal Audiencia, which upheld the governor's decision.25

Twenty-seven years later, the highest court had again to settle a dispute. This time it was about precedence. In any parade, the persons or group of least account go first, and those of greater dignity come last. There were now two residential colleges, Santo Tomas and San Jose; which was the one with lesser dignity and therefore must march ahead, and which of higher dignity? In leaving the cathedral, the one with greater dignity leaves first, and the one with lesser dignity leaves last. Which of the two colleges had the greater dignity and should leave ahead of the other?

That question of precedence came up in 1646 when Santo Tomas claimed precedence by reason of greater dignity. The claim was challenged by San Jose on the ground of longer seniority. The noisy quarrel was brought to the Audiencia which ruled in favor of San Jose.26
Financial Problems

There were problems facing the college more serious than merely dealing with a rival college. These problems were financial.

The original grant consisted of a ranch in Panay and some houses for rent in Manila. Earthquakes demolished those houses, and there was no more rent. The ranch in Panay proved unsatisfactory, so it was sold and small parcels of land were bought from their owners in Laguna and consolidated into the hacienda of San Pedro Tunasan. Other farms were later acquired. But these farms did not always bring in a large revenue. The Jesuit Fathers often had to support the college with their own funds.27

A big financial crisis was suffered as a result of a cruel injustice. In 1640, the city council petitioned Governor Hurtado de Corcuera to create twenty scholarships, of which eighteen were to go to Spaniards (descendants of the conquistadores) and two to natives. The scholars were to be placed either in Santo Tomas or in San Jose. The Dominicans petitioned that all twenty scholars should go to Santo Tomas, even without a government grant for their maintenance. This angered Governor Hurtado, and instead he created a third college, the College of San Felipe Neri, and assigned all twenty scholarships to it. Unfortunately, he specified that the new college should be under the direction of the Jesuits. Moreover, until the new college had its own building, its scholars should be lodged in the Colegio de San Jose.

The Dominicans took this as an insult to Santo Tomas and through their procurator in Madrid petitioned the King to have the new college abolished. Their petition was granted, Governor Hurtado’s decree creating the College of San Felipe Neri was declared null and void, and the amount of money that had been allocated to it was to be restored to the government treasury. By this time Governor Hurtado de Corcuera had been replaced by a new governor, Fajardo, who imprisoned his predecessor in Fort Santiago and demanded that the Jesuits refund the money given to them for the maintenance of Hurtado de Corcuera’s scholars. The Jesuits pro-
tested that whatever funds had been given to them had already been spent for the purpose given, namely the board and lodging of those twenty scholars. The Governor insisted, and demanded that the Jesuits repay the amount within three days or suffer the consequences. The Jesuits had to borrow money in order to meet the deadline. They then lodged a protest with the Madrid government. Eventually, justice was done. The Madrid government ordered that the Jesuits be reimbursed. But justice, as usual, had been slow, and in the meantime, there had been severe financial straits.  

A Serious Threat

Those court cases about the color of the hood and about precedence in public questions were petty quarrels over trivialities. But an extremely serious case arose in 1648 when the Rector of Santo Tomas petitioned the Audiencia to forbid the Jesuit College from granting academic degrees. The Audiencia gave credence to the reasons alleged in the petition and issued an order prohibiting the Jesuit College from conferring any academic degrees. The Jesuit Rector, Father Francisco Colin, complied with the order but asked for reconsideration with supporting arguments. The Audiencia rejected the Jesuit petition but modified its previous order. The Jesuit college may confer degrees on members of the Jesuit Order but not on outsiders. Both the Dominicans and the Jesuits found this compromise unsatisfactory and the matter was elevated to the Council of the Indies in Spain. That body ruled that both the Dominican and the Jesuit colleges may continue to grant academic degrees. The Dominicans found this unacceptable and asked for a reconsideration, which prompted the Council to reiterate its decision that both institutions might continue to grant academic degrees.  

That controversy concerned directly only the Jesuit Colegio de Manila (by then renamed Universidad de San Ignacio). But indirectly it affected the Colegio de San Jose, as its resident students were attending lectures at the Colegio de Manila and were obtaining their academic degrees from it.
Not a “Seminary”

It should be noted that the Colegio de San Jose was not, strictly speaking, a “seminary” in the sense used by the Council of Trent. That is to say, not the kind of “seminary” that San Jose Seminary is today. It was a residential college in which many of the residents were aspirants to the priesthood, but it was not exclusively for them. The residents were *colegiales* not *seminaristas*. The two young men who served the archdeacon’s mass in the inaugural ceremonies—one, the governor’s nephew, the other the son of a high government dignitary—were not aspirants for the priesthood.\(^{30}\)

It is true that Chirino described the Colegio de San Jose as a “seminario,” but he also uses the word to describe the two mission schools for native Filipinos that the Jesuits had opened, one for Tagalogs in Antipolo, another for Visayans at Dulag, Leyte.\(^{31}\) They were boarding schools for boys, most of whom would not become priests. The precise meaning of “seminary” among Catholics that would stem from the decrees of the Council of Trent had not yet become universal. (The Protestants use the word “seminary” to designate a boarding school for girls.)

Nevertheless, although not specifically a seminary for the training of priests, it was hoped that the Colegio de San Jose would foster vocations to the priesthood. This is explicitly mentioned in some of the documents. And the college *did* come up to expectations. In the 167 years of its first existence under the Jesuits, from its opening in 1601 to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, the Colegio de San Jose was attended by a total of 992 *colegiales*. Of that number, one became an archbishop, eight became bishops or bishops-elect, one became a provincial of the Augustinians, many became secular priests and many became Jesuits or entered the various orders of friars. There were also some who became distinguished laymen.\(^{32}\)

In 1722, the King of Spain conferred upon the Colegio de San Jose the title “royal” (*real* in Spanish); it now prided itself with the title “El Real Colegio de San Jose.” This was a purely honorary title and carried no financial benefits.\(^{33}\)
Perhaps there was too much of pride and ostentation in the tiny walled city of Manila. I pointed this out long ago in a book that angered the Spanish friars and which caused them to publish a long article attacking not my book but the author. The book was The Christianization of the Philippines: Problems and Perspectives, of which the fourth part was about the City of Manila and its atmosphere of pride and ostentation that blinded the eyes of churchmen, causing them to focus attention on trivial points of honor and preventing them from seeing the real problems of the people and of the Church.

Which raises a question. What were the values most emphasized in the training of priests and laymen in the institutions of learning during the Spanish colonial era? Undoubtedly, there must have been great emphasis on academic excellence. Doubtless, also, habits of piety were instilled in the young. Such virtues as obedience and respect for authority and in particular the virtue of chastity, must also have been emphasized. Was there, perhaps, the same emphasis given to the virtue of humility?

I am told that in the great procession that closed the 33rd International Eucharistic Congress held in Manila in 1937, before the procession started, there was a discussion between two Spanish friars, one a Dominican, the other a Franciscan, as to which of them would have the honor to be one of the bearers of the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament. The Dominican said in Spanish, “You should yield to me because you Franciscans are known for your humility.” The Franciscan replied “Humildes, si, pero no humillados!” Humble, yes, but not humbled.

The Expulsion

In 1768, the royal orders arrived in Manila, issued the previous year by King Carlos III of Spain, ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish territory and the confiscation of all their possessions. The order was implemented with great rigor. The Jesuits were arrested wherever they were and brought prisoners to Manila where
they were all concentrated and held incommunicado in the Colegio de Manila. There were 154 of them. (There should have been 155 but Father Juan Esendi had just been killed by the Moros in a raid on a small island off the coast of Leyte.) With the scarcity of ships, it took three years before all of them could be put on board for exile to Sardinia and later to the papal states in Italy. Although their treatment was more than ordinarily rigorous, the governor was later accused of having shown leniency towards the Jesuits and of not having treated them with the severity that was expected.

The Jesuit missions in Mindanao and in the Visayas (in Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Marinduque and Negros) were taken over by the friar orders. The Jesuit missions in Luzon—in Antipolo and neighboring areas and in Cavite and Batangas—were given to the secular clergy. These were among the parishes that a hundred years later would be taken away from the secular clergy and given to the Spanish friars, provoking a protest from the secular priests. This eventually led to the execution of three priests—Burgos, Gomez and Zamora—and was an important factor in the Philippine Revolution.

In Cebu, the College of San Ildefonso, founded by Father Sedeño in 1595, was taken over by the Bishop. Like all the Jesuit colleges in Spain and in Latin America, it was renamed Colegio de San Carlos in honor of the King. In Manila, the church, the building, library and other equipment of the Colegio de Manila were taken over by the archbishop, Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina. The Jesuit printing press he took over and used to print his sermons. All these were Jesuit possessions and became the possessions of the Crown.

The problem was the Colegio de San Jose. The estate was a separate corporate entity entrusted to the Jesuits but not owned by them. It had therefore to be preserved intact. But how was it going to be used?

At first the archbishop had the intention of converting it into an archdiocesan seminary. A new rector was appointed, Father Martin de San Antonio of the congregation of Pious Schools. In 1771, the governor and the archbishop received letters from the King reprimanding them for having converted the college to other purposes
and ordering that the Colegio de San Jose be reverted to its original purpose, namely a "general seminary" for Spanish students.\textsuperscript{36} (The term "seminary" seems to have been used in its original meaning, namely a boarding school).

The college then seems to have become a secondary school, and not just for Spaniards. One of its students was Rizal's older brother, Paciano, who later enrolled at Santo Tomas in the faculty of law. Thus, instead of being merely a residence, San Jose had become a teaching institution.\textsuperscript{37}

**The Medical Faculty**

In March 1872, a few weeks after the execution of Fathers Burgos, Gomez and Zamora, the Dominican Procurator in Madrid presented a memorial to the King's Council asking that the building and endowment of the Colegio de San Jose be applied to the University of Santo Tomas to be used by and to support the faculty of medicine and pharmacy. The King granted that petition in a decree issued three years later, on 9 October 1875.

Meanwhile, the college had been relocated. From its original site, where the Jesuits had built it near the Puerta Real facing Bagumbayan Field and where it had remained for over two centuries, the college moved in 1817, to the corner of Magallanes and Real Streets, and in 1877, to the corner of Anda and Cabildo where it remained until 1915. It was in this latter building that the academic classes in medicine were held that Rizal attended. (The clinical classes were held in the Hospital de San Juan de Dios, which at that time was also in Intramuros.)\textsuperscript{38}

**The San Jose Case**

By the Treaty of Paris of December 1898, the United States inherited from the Spanish Crown all government assets in the Islands. Shortly afterwards, in 1899, it was claimed that those assets included
the administration of the Colegio de San Jose estate. It came about this way: the Philippine Medical Association presented a petition to the U.S. Military Governor, Olwell Otis, to transfer to the P.M.A. the administration of the medical and pharmaceutical school currently being run by the Dominican friars, on the ground that that school was held in the building and supported by the endowment of the Colegio de San Jose which (they claimed) was a public trust under the Spanish Crown and therefore now under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Insular Government. Acting on that petition, General Otis (described by one American historian as a good soldier with the mentality of a corporal who by mistake had become a general) ordered the suspension of classes in the medical and pharmaceutical school until the matter could be settled. His successor, Gen. Arthur MacArthur, hesitated to rescind his predecessor’s unjust order but referred the matter to the Philippine Commission. The Commission took up the question of the legal status of the Colegio de San Jose endowment and began hearing testimonies in 1901. The plaintiffs were headed by the noted scholar, Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, and represented as counsel by Don Felipe Calderon, the drafter of the Malolos Constitution. The defendant, originally the University of Santo Tomas represented by the rector, was superseded by the Archbishop of Manila, Jeremias Harty, and the Apostolic Delegate, Louis La Chapelle (both American citizens) who asked the Commission to accept them as the official representatives of the Roman Catholic Church which (they maintained) had jurisdiction over the Colegio de San Jose endowment as an obra pia. Their petition was granted.39

The Philippine Commission ended its investigation by issuing a splendid analysis of the legal questions involved in ownership of the San Jose estate, but did not decide the case since it was not a court but a legislative body. Instead, it enacted a law granting original jurisdiction of the case to the Philippine Supreme Court and appointing a board of trustees to represent the San Jose estate. The trustees consisted of Dr. Pardo de Tavera and four others (one Filipino and three Americans), all doctors of medicine. The Commission also appropriated funds for conducting the trial, and directed the Attorney General to represent the plaintiffs (together with Felipe Calderon)
as, in effect, the U.S. Insular Government was the chief plaintiff. For the Church, Archbishop Harty retained the services of a noted law firm, that of Hartigan and company.⁴⁰

The Taft-Harty Agreement

A twist in the case occurred in 1907. William Howard Taft, first civil governor who had also headed the Philippine Commission, had become the U.S. Secretary of War who had ultimate jurisdiction over the Philippines. On a visit to Manila he entered into an “informal” agreement with Archbishop Harty. Although the Colegio de San Jose was the only one under litigation between the government and the Church, there were other institutions supported by obras pías whose legal status could also be questioned. Among them were two hospitals, San Lazaro for leprosy and other contagious diseases, and San Juan de Dios. The Taft-Harty Agreement stipulated that the Church yielded to the government unquestioned control over the San Lazaro Hospital, the government in turn yielded to the Church unquestioned control over the Hospital San Juan de Dios, the Colegio de San Jose and other public trusts.⁴¹

The Taft-Harty Agreement thus cut the ground from under the plaintiffs in the San Jose case. As a result, all parties concerned signed an agreement that the Colegio de San Jose should be recognized as falling entirely under church jurisdiction with no claims from the government. This agreement was presented to the Supreme Court for approval. The court waited two years before acting on the petition. Finally, on 8 December 1909, the Supreme Court issued its verdict. It did not decide the San Jose case. It merely approved and gave mandatory force to the unanimous agreement previously reached by all parties to the litigation. The Supreme Court decision, issued per curiam, was in Spanish, but the following English translation appears in Philippine Reports of Supreme Court decisions:

The parties filed a joint petition and a written agreement signed by all of them asking the Court for a decree adjudging to the Roman Catholic Church the ownership and right of possession, free of all
claim by the Government of the Philippine Islands, of the building and all other real and personal property pertaining to the San Jose College, to be administered for the special purposes for which the institution was founded. The agreement being in agreement with Sect. 2 of Act. no. 1724, judgment is thus rendered in favor of the Roman Catholic Church represented by the Archbishop of Manila. Percuriam.42

The Holy See’s Decision

With the extraordinary speed of only four months, the Holy See gave the ultimate decision as to the administration of the San Jose estate. The Supreme Court decision had been issued on 8 December 1909; in April 1910, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, wrote to the Apostolic Delegate in Manila giving the Holy See’s directives. These directives were formally made mandatory by the Brief of Pope Pius X dated 3 May 1910. The Pope ordered that, in accordance with the explicit instructions of the original donor, the San Jose estate was to be restored to the Jesuits who were to administer it for the purposes specified by the donor, namely the training of priests.43

Five-Year Turmoil

The announcement in May 1910 that the Pope had ordered the restoration of the San Jose estate to the Jesuits caused an immediate violent reaction at Santo Tomas. The students of medicine and pharmacy went on strike and paraded the streets, passing in front of the Ateneo with loud shouts. During the Spanish regime the streets had resounded on certain occasions to antifriar cries: "Fuera los frailes!" Now the shouts were "Vivan los Dominicos! Viva la universidad!" And also, "Abajo los Jesuitas! Fuera los Jesuitas!" The students tried to persuade the leaders of a powerful labor union to have two thousand workers join in the manifestations.44

The Apostolic Delegate, by this time Ambrose Agius, tried to pacify the students by offering a guarantee: their medical or pharma-
ceutical studies would not be interrupted. They would be able to pursue them until graduation. That guarantee was rejected. Finally a cable from Rome persuaded the Dominican Fathers to put an end to the demonstrations, and a more sober dialogue became possible.

The Apostolic Delegate created a commission to oversee the transfer of property from the Dominicans to the Jesuits, with Father Jose Clos, S.J. as chairman. One of the first tasks of the commission was to obtain from the Dominicans an inventory of properties belonging to the San Jose Estate. This inventory was submitted to the Apostolic Delegate. The Dominicans asked that they be allowed to retain the use of the building together with all its equipment at least for the school year 1910-1911. This was granted at first for a year, later in perpetuum.  

The Jesuits, upon seeing the inventory, now began to hesitate about accepting the responsibility of administering the Colegio de San Jose. The retention by the Dominicans of the building and its equipment (although readily conceded) represented a substantial diminution of the estate. Moreover, the estate was encumbered with very heavy debts, the servicing of which would wipe out much of the usable income. The Apostolic Delegate had to persuade the Jesuits to accept the task, since it was a papal mandate.

It was not until five years later, in 1915, that the Colegio de San Jose was able to reopen under Jesuit administration. Since its own building was not available, it had to be housed in borrowed quarters, in a large building owned by the Jesuits in Ermita, on a street by then named after the late Director of the Manila Observatory, Father Federico Faura.

A word about that building might be in order.

The Building on Padre Faura Street

That building was built in 1883 to house three entities: the Jesuit community residence, the Manila Observatory, and the Escuela
Normal de Maestros. This last was a government-subsidized teacher-training institution conducted by the Jesuits and opened in 1865 and housed first in Intramuros and later in Santa Ana. In 1883, the school moved to the more spacious quarters at Padre Faura, a large many-winged building of stone and tile built on a six-hectare quadrangular campus.

With American sovereignty established over the Islands in 1899, the government subsidy to the normal school was abolished. The Jesuits continued the school as a privately financed teacher-training institution named Colegio de San Francisco Javier. It existed in that fashion from 1901 to 1904. In 1904, the archbishop of Manila, Jeremias Harty, began to send his seminarians to San Javier. The college, in effect, became the archdiocesan seminary for the training of priests. The diocese of Lipa and other episcopal jurisdictions soon followed Manila’s example and sent their seminarians there. San Javier thus became a *colegio-seminario* with seminarians attending classes together with secular students. In 1914, Archbishop Harty found that arrangement unsatisfactory and he withdrew his seminarians from San Javier and created a new seminary administered by the Vincentian Fathers. This withdrawal of Manila seminarians lessened the number of students of San Javier considerably and it was feared that the seminarians from other dioceses might also be withdrawn. It was decided to phase the college out and close it after the last class graduated in 1918.

Meantime, the Jesuits had acquired the administration of the Colegio de San Jose minus its building. It was decided to house San Jose in the Padre Faura compound.

**At Padre Faura**

The Colegio de San Jose under the Jesuits reopened on 15 June 1915. It started as an Apostolic School, *Escuela Apostolica*. That is to say, a minor seminary intended to prepare students for a major seminary. The curriculum was that of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*: Latin,
Greek, Spanish, English, Mathematics, History, graded as in the Ratio: infima, media, suprema, humanidades, rhetorica. It was the same curriculum as at the Ateneo, minus philosophy and natural sciences.

There were fourteen students in the initial infima class, a number raised to twenty-three by September. Of those 23 boys who entered San Jose in 1915, five became priests, three diocesan and two Jesuits. The diocesans were Fathers Felix David, Emilio Gutierrez and Eulogio San Juan. The Jesuits were Fathers Pedro Dimaano and Juan Gaerlan. A sixth became a Jesuit lay brother, Brother Julio Dio.

It is often said that the Colegio de San Javier became the Colegio de San Jose—a mere change of name. That is not accurate. The two colleges coexisted on the same premises until 1918, when the last students of San Javier graduated.

In 1920, the Jesuit Philippine superiors wrote the Jesuit General in Rome asking permission to open also a major seminary of philosophy and theology. The General agreed, on condition that a written permission be obtained from the Apostolic Delegate and from the Archbishop of Manila. Accordingly, the Jesuit Mission Superior, Father Francisco Tena, and the Jesuit Visitor, Father Jose Guim, went to the Apostolic Delegate, Ambrose Agius. Agius refused to grant the permission—not because he disapproved of a major seminary, but because he insisted that the Jesuits could open such a seminary by virtue of Pope Pius X’s decree of 1910, without the need of any further permissions.

Thus, in 1921, the Colegio de San Jose became both a major and a minor seminary, with separate dormitories and study halls.

The Colegio de San Jose remained at Padre Faura for seventeen years, from 1915 to 1932. During the first twelve years or so, it was under the Spanish Jesuits and, though the language of instruction was Latin in theology and philosophy, Spanish was the language in everything else. Gradually, a change was made to American administration and, while Latin remained for philosophy and theology, English replaced Spanish as the official language of the school.
Four Locations

In August 1932, the Ateneo in Intramuros burned down. Father James T.G. Hayes, the Mission Superior, called an emergency consultation, and it was decided to make drastic relocations. The building and grounds at Padre Faura were assigned to the Ateneo de Manila where, with hurried remodelings and additions, the Ateneo was able to reopen one month after the fire.

The Jesuit novitiate, juniorate and philosophate were relocated to the La Ignaciana retreat house in Santa Ana, awaiting completion of the new novitiate building at Novaliches.

The Manila Observatory remained in its wing and grounds, untouched and undisturbed.

San Jose Seminary was temporarily housed in the Mission House at Intramuros, attached to San Ignacio Church. There it remained for four years until its new building was erected.

It was at this time that the name Colegio de San Jose was dropped, and the institution became known as San Jose Seminary.

In 1936, the Seminary moved to its new building, a fine, large and well-equipped structure, built on a parcel of land bought in a newly opened housing subdivision at Balintawak. The seminary remained there for five years, until the outbreak of war in 1941, when the entire seminary community moved into the Ateneo compound on Padre Faura Street, where classes in theology were resumed. In 1943, the Japanese took over the Ateneo building, and the seminarians were sent home.

During the Liberation period from 1945 to about 1950, the seminary reopened at Santa Ana, in several rented houses beside the grounds of La Ignaciana.

In 1951, the seminary moved to its new location on what was then officially called MacArthur Boulevard but popularly known as Highway 54, now renamed EDSA. It was a much larger building but
poorly constructed. It was there that in 1957, the first Filipino rector was appointed, Father Antonio Leetai, succeeding the last American rector, Father Gaston Duchesneau. In 1964, Father Leetai was succeeded by Father Jesus Diaz who, the following year, presided over the transfer to Loyola Heights.47

With the creation of Loyola House of Studies and School of Theology and Philosophy in 1965, San Jose Seminary was divided into two separate colleges, each with its own rector. The minor seminary remained at Highway 54 and later moved to Novaliches and was finally dissolved. The major seminary moved to Loyola Heights, occupying at first one wing of the Loyola House of Studies building, until the present seminary building was completed.

With this relocation to Loyola Heights, San Jose Seminary has reverted to the original status of the Colegio de San Jose in Intramuros under the Jesuits. It has once again become a residential college where the seminarians live a community life and undergo spiritual and pastoral formation, but they attend classes at the Ateneo de Manila or at the Loyola School of Theology.

The Endowment

A word about the endowment. When the Jesuits accepted the administration of the Colegio de San Jose in 1911, its endowment consisted of income from four farms, namely those at Lian, Calatagan, Sucat and San Pedro Tunasan. None of these were among the so-called "friar lands," that is to say, they were not land grants from the government. The San Pedro Tunasan hacienda was acquired by purchase of small parcels from small landowners. Calatagan was bought in 1687 from the corporation of the Manila Cathedral. Sucat was obtained by purchase in 1697 from its owner. Lian was a donation in 1666, bequeathed in the will of Bishop-elect Jose Cabral of Naga. These were the properties entrusted to the Jesuits in 1911.

Because of land troubles, it was necessary to dispose of these large land holdings. Lian was sold to the tenants in 1928. Calatagan
and Sucat were sold to private corporations. The proceeds were converted to stocks and bonds.

The war wiped out much of the assets of the Colegio de San Jose, just as it had wiped out the assets of everyone else except some of the wealthier Chinese and Spanish families. San Pedro Tunasan remained, and was also sold to tenants after the war.

When you sell land to tenants, you don’t sell for profit. You sell at the lowest price possible so that the tenants can afford it. That means a greatly reduced capital, and greatly diminished income.

Earlier in this paper we called attention to the distinction between the Colegio de San Jose as an institution and the Colegio de San Jose estate, which is an endowment, an obra pía.

The endowment exists, carefully administered by the Jesuits, but its income is able to give only partial support to students. That is why additional burses and donations are sought, and seminarians are asked to pay part of the cost of their board and lodging.

As for the Colegio de San Jose as an institution, established in 1601 four hundred years ago, it exists today as San Jose Seminary, celebrating the four hundredth anniversary since its foundation.

That, in brief, is the history of the Colegio de San Jose.
References

A. ARCHIVAL

Archivum Societatis Iesu Provinciae Philippinae V, 19.

B. PUBLISHED WORKS


Notes

1Bishop Salazar to King Philip II, 18 June 1583. Spanish text in Francisco Colin, Labor evangelica... de la Compañía de Jesús... de Filipinas (Madrid, 1663), ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona, 1900-1902) I:351, note 1; English trans. in William C. Repetti, The Beginnings of Jesuit Education in the Philippines: The College of Manila (Manila Observatory, 1940) 5-6; also in The Philippine Islands, ed. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, 1905-1909) 34:368.

2Royal cedula from Barcelona, 3 June 1585. Spanish text in Colin-Pastells, I:351; English trans. in Repetti, Manila, 11-12.

3The phrase is Bishop Salazar’s. In his letter of 18 June 1583, he explains the need: “For seven or eight students, whom I ordained with the hope that there would be someone to teach them, remain in the same condition as when they were ordained, because there is no one to teach them. They are disconsolate, and I am troubled because I ordained them.” (See note 1 above.)

4A brief biographical summary on Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa and his gift is in Pedro Chirino, Primera parte de la historia de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesus (The Chirino Manuscript recently published under the title Historia de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús, 1581-1606), transcripción de Jaume Gorriz (Barcelona: Portic, 2000) 209. Subsequent writers follow Chirino.
The Annual Letters to Rome for 1595-96 (dated 27 June 1597) describe the opening ceremonies of the College of Manila in a way that seems to imply there were two separate occasions: "Father Montoya, the Latin teacher, opened his course with an oration at which the governor, the ecclesiastical and civil councils, and a large number of citizens were present. Being something new, it was well received. The same gathering graced the opening of the course in Cases which are treated with erudition and gravity." Apud Repetti, Manila, 19. See also Colin-Pastells, II:11.


William C. Repetti in Jesuit Education in the Philippines: The College of San Jose in Manila, established 25 August 1601, 6-9, gives an English translation of the full text of the decree of 5 September 1595 issued by Governor Luis Perez Dasmariñas.

Ibid., 19.

Chirino does not mention his own name but merely says that the Vice Provincial, Diego García, gave the Rector (Chirino) two tasks, one, to organize a Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Congregación de la Anunciada) among the students of the Colegio de Manila, and the other, to organize a college for resident students: the Vice Provincial "tenía encargado al Rector que procurase fundar dos que se prometió sería al gran bien público y aliento de nuestras Escuelas. Lo primero la Congregación del Anunciada, y lo segundo un seminario de Estudiantes donde se criasen recogidos, quitados de las ocasiones que en las casas de sus padres los podrían divertir de su aprovechamiento en virtud y letras." Chirino, 388, col. 1.

Ibid., 388, col. 2. The ecclesiastical approval was issued on 25 August 1601 by "The Cantor, Santiago de Castro, Provisor, Judge and Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Manila, for the Dean and Chapter sede vacante." (Text in Repetti, San Jose, 15-16). The civil authorization was issued on the same date by Governor Francisco Tello. Ibid., 17-19.

Antonio de Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, obra publicada en Mejico en el año 1609 nuevamente sacada a luz y anotada por Jose Rizal (Paris 1890), Edicion del Centenario (Manila, 1961) 321, note.

Chirino, 209. The text of Don Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa’s Will is in Colin-Pastells, II:284, English trans. in Repetti, San Jose, 24-26.

The Will was filed on 26 March 1596 (some months after Don Esteban’s death in Mindanao) and the provision concerning the college became opera-
tive in 1604 but it was not until 1610 that enough funds were available to the college.

14 Repetti in San Jose, 20-21, quotes Archbishop Nozaleda’s testimony given during the litigation (1899-1909) explaining how and when the Colegio de San Jose estate became an obra pia.

15 The largest numbers of San Jose residents were those for 1630 (41), 1643 (44), 1737 (40), 1740 (40), 1753 (49). In 1768, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, there were 41 at San Jose. The lowest number was that for 1665, when there were only 16. Otherwise the numbers usually varied between 30 and 40. (See the Table in de la Costa, 571).

16 On the conferencias and on the daily time order for San Jose students, see ibid., 197, 358-60, 503-5.

17 Antonio de Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, trans. and ed. J.S. Cummins, Hakluyt Society edition (Cambridge University Press, 1972) 284. The translator, J.S. Cummins, has inserted the words “San Jose” in brackets after the first three words (“The Jesuit College”). That is a mistake. From the Spanish text it is clear that Morga is speaking of two colleges. One (the Jesuit college) where the students study grammar, arts and moral theology, and “beside them” (i.e., beside that college and the Jesuit church) a college with a rector where the students wear “tawny capes with red trippets.” This last was San Jose.

18 It is interesting to note Rizal’s comment on this passage of Morga: “Fundóse este Colegio de San José en 1601, aunque la Real Cédula existía ya desde 1585, siendo el número de los primeros colegiales 13, contándose entre ellos el sobrino de D. Francisco Tello y el hijo del Dr. Morga. Desde un principio se enseñó latinidad en sus aulas, y en un pleito con el Colegio de Santo Tomas obtuvo sentencia favorable, reconociéndose en él mas antiguedad y la prelación y preferencia en los actos públicos. Cuentan los historiadores que en la inauguración los colegiales ostentaron bonetes cubiertos de diamantes y perlas. Ahora este colegio, después de vagar de casa en casa, vino a pasar a ser Colegio de Farmacia, sujeto a Santo Tomas, y dirigido por el Rector Dominico.” Morga-Rizal, 321, note. The statement “Desde un principio se enseñó latinidad en sus aulas” indicates that Rizal thought that the Colegio de San Jose was a teaching institution, instead of a residential college for students attending the Colegio de Manila.

19 On Chirino’s 4-year cycle (2 years of canon law and 2 years of Scripture), see de la Costa, 353.

20 Father Pedro Murillo Velarde was born near Granada in 1696, entered
the Jesuit novitiate in 1718 and arrived in the Philippines in 1723. He taught
 canon law at the Universidad de San Ignacio (Colegio de Manila), returned to
 Spain where he died in 1753. Besides being a canonist he was also a historian
 and cartographer. In 1734, the printing press of the Jesuit college printed his
 famous map of the Philippine Islands. Of his other publications, those printed
 in Manila were two: his Historia de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús
 (1749) and his booklet on making wills, Practica de testamentos (1745), which
 was reprinted many times in Mexico (1761, 1790, 1852, etc.) and in Paris
 (1869). Those works of his printed in Madrid were: his two folio volumes on
 canon law, Cursus juris canonici hispani et indici (1743) and his Catecismo de instrucción
 cristiana (435 pages, 1752). Data culled from de la Costa's appendices, 614-15, 
 626-27.

21 On the petitions sent to the King to grant the Colegio de Manila the power
 to confer degrees, see William C. Repetti, Jesuit Education in the Philippines: The
 University of San Ignacio (Manila Observatory, 1940) 5-16. On the opposition
 of Benavides, see de la Costa, 199-200.

22 To be precise, the Brief does not mention the Colegio de Manila nomina-
tim. The grant is to Jesuit colleges in mission countries: the archbishop or
 other ecclesiastical authority is empowered to confer degrees upon students
 presented by the rector of the Jesuit college. In practice, this power was de-
egated to the rector himself. Pope Gregory XV's Brief, dated 9 July 1621, is
 given in Latin text in Repetti, San Ignacio, 17-18. That Brief was one of the
 significant acts of the very brief pontificate of Pope Gregory XV (Alessandro
 Ludovisi) who reigned for only two years (1621-23). The German historian
 Pastor says that no other pontificate of that brevity has left such profound
 effects on church history. Among other things, the Pope created the Congre-
gation de propaganda fide (a move suggested to him by the Jesuit missionary,
 apostle of what is now Vietnam, Alexandre de Rhodes). The Pope reformed
 the process of papal elections by making the use of secret ballots mandatory.
 He presided at the solemn canonization of Sts. Ignatius Loyola and Francis
 Xavier (together with Philip Neri, Teresa of Avila, Juan de la Cruz, and Isidro
 the farmer). His nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, built the magnificent
 church of San Ignazio in Rome, as the university church for the Jesuit Roman
 College (Gregorian University) and it is in that church that both the Pope and
 the Cardinal are buried in a splendid tomb. Cf. Josef Gelmi, Los Papas, retratos
 y semblanzas (Barcelona, Herder, 1986) translated from the German Die Papste
 in Lebensbildern.

23 Colin-Pastells, 255, 261; de la Costa, 352-53.

24 Ibid., 353-54, citing the Annual Letters of 1626.
25 Ibid., 360.
26 Ibid., 407-9.
27 Ibid., 409-10.
28 Cf. the Table on debts from 1618 to 1657 in ibid., 274. The largest amount (45,690 pesos) was for the year 1643. In the uninflated currency of that period, the amounts were very large.
29 Ibid., 400-1.

30 On this point, Father de la Costa’s statement is interesting: “It should be noted that San Jose was not a clerical seminary, as it is now. Many, and in fact the majority of its residents were not thinking of an ecclesiastical career. Sons of oidores and other professional people, like those who were in the college in 1624, intended to follow in their fathers’ footsteps; others, to acquire the mental and moral discipline which the society of the time expected gentlemen to possess; while a few were doubtless dragged in by distracted parents in order that the Jesuits might ‘knock some sense into them’ as parents do today.” Ibid., 353, 359.

31 On the “seminario” at Antipolo, see Chirino, 285-86; on that in Dulag, Leyte, see ibid., 333-34.
32 Repetti, San Jose, 33.
33 Colin-Pastells, II:49; Repetti, San Jose, 30.


36 Repetti, San Jose, 31-33.

37 On the history of San Jose from the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768 to the end of Spanish rule in 1899, see William C. Repetti, The College of San Jose (unpublished monograph in the Philippine Province Archives, Quezon City, Metro Manila) Ch. 7.

38 On the Santo Tomas medical faculty since the acquisition of the San Jose estate by the Dominicans in 1875, see Luis Villaroel, Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas (Manila, 1984).
A detailed account of the San Jose Case forms a special chapter in Repetti, monograph.

The full text of the Commission’s Report is in Repetti, monograph.

A copy of the text of the Taft-Harty Agreement is in Archivum Societatis Jesu Provinciae Philippinæ V, 19.

 Philippine Reports: Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands for 18 August 1909 to 14 January 1910, David Louis Cobb, reporter, XIV, 370. The case is entitled: No. 496. T.M. Pardo de Tavera et al., trustees of the San Jose College, plaintiffs, vs. The Roman Catholic Church represented by the Archbishop of Manila et al., defendants.

The Brief of Pius X of 3 May 1910, addressed to Ambrose Agius, Apostolic Delegate, is in Acta Apostolicae Sedis II (15 May 1910) 326-27.

The adverse reaction to the Papal Brief is described in several letters written from Manila by Father Jose Clos and others, addressed to the Spanish Assistant at the Jesuit General Curia in Rome. ASIPP V, 19.

A copy of the terms proposed by the Vice-Rector of Santo Tomas to the Apostolic Delegate, dated “9/5/1910,” is in ASIPP V, 19.

What happened between 1911 when the Apostolic Delegate formally entrusted the Colegio de San Jose estate to the Jesuits, and 1920 when the major seminary opened, is well described by Leo A. Cullum in the article “What Happened in 1915,” Insta, XXXVI, 2 (October-November 1976) 2-4.

Repetti, monograph, 344a, lists the Jesuit Rectors between 1915 and the outbreak of War in 1941: Jose Alfonso (1915); Jose Algue (1917, superior); Jose Valbona (1918) Pedro Lisbona (1920, last Spanish rector); James P. Mahoney (1930, first American rector; died November 1933); Martin L. Zillig (1933, acting rector); Anthony L. Gampp (1933); Leo A. Cullum (1940).