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Florentino Rodao

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Florentino Rodao



Previously, the most accepted belief was that the Spanish language in the Philippines gradually disappeared as the educated population during the Spanish period passed away. This generalization, I think must be reevaluated. This process of “withering away” of the Spanish language was not as gradual as was supposed and, in fact, the Spanish language was relatively well maintained during the first four decades after the Philippine Revolution. This article covers the period from the departure of the last Spanish governor in Manila to the first years of the Independence of the Archipelago, when some laws were passed by the Philippine Senate implementing a policy which required the compulsory teaching of the Spanish language in the schools.

The Spanish Departure

In the first few years of the American occupation, it was very obvious that the United States had no clear idea of what to do with the Philippines, partly due to the unexpectedness of the seizure of the Philippines. After the fall of the decrepit Spanish Empire, it was universally accepted that Cuba was to be under the tutelage of Washington, but nobody knew clearly what was going to happen with the Philippine Archipelago. Germany and Japan were two eager candidates then to be the new colonial masters in Manila. This provoked a cautious policy by London to involve Washington in what was then, as Ian Brown pointed out, an “economic colony” of England.

Spain, on the other hand, was totally liberated from its Pacific Empire. Unlike Cuba, the “Jewel of the Empire” and source of plenty of revenue, the Philippines and the rest of Micronesia were a constant drain of resources. Spain’s chances of making the Asian archi-

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pelago a viable territory ended with the political failure of the Indochina Expedition (1848–63), because it prevented Spain from seizing territory from this peninsula. The only territories added afterwards in Micronesia, were not in a direct geographical line to Spain from the Philippines, as it would have been more convenient, but further north. Therefore, when in 1898, Spain lost its War with the United States and realized America's desire to covet the Philippines and Guam, Spain was anxious to give up the rest of its former Pacific Empire. Negotiations then started with the German Empire, which, in principle, only desired to hold some of the remaining Micronesian Islands. Negotiations finished immediately and the rest of Micronesia was sold to Germany, even before the Treaty of Paris was signed with Washington. With the loss of the Philippines and the rest of the Pacific Empire, Spain had to make up for it by embarking on a new colonial enterprise in Morocco.

After that, only some particular groups maintained ties with the Philippines, particularly religious orders and some business firms such as the Tabacalera, which, incidentally was Spanish owned. Most of the transactions made by the Spaniards were with the ruling colonial power, which was the United States.

The Filipino people had a similar ambivalent attitude concerning their relationship with Spain as the rest of the Latin American countries during their independence processes. Spain could be hated and resisted, but in regard to the Spanish language, there was no opposition, because these countries already considered it as their own language.

Therefore, we can see that there arose a situation in which the development of the Spanish language was going to be pushed mainly from the Philippines, and not from Spain.

Spanish Language During the American Period

The policy implemented by the United States instituting the English language as the primary language to be used as a medium of instruction was a long-range policy to bolster the annual increase of the number of English speaking persons in the Philippines.¹ However, in spite of this, the Spanish language maintained its resilient hold on the educational system. This was because many private educational institutions—characteristic of the educational system during the American period—particularly those administered by religious orders, persisted in teaching in Spanish, therefore maintaining a considerable number of young Spanish speaking Filipinos.

After World War I the American authorities started to press more and more for these private schools to teach in English (Alzona 1933, 335). And, as Frederick Fox noted "toward the end of the American Administration, the use of English particularly at the primary grade level, grew increasingly controversial" (Fox 1953, 341). The Catholic Universities, pressed by the gradually changing society or by the colonial authorities, also followed suit, and shifted to the language of the colonial master; first it started with the Ateneo de Manila² and finally even with the supposed stronghold of the Spanish in Manila, the University of Santo Tomas.

The Census of the Philippines clearly showed the gradual decline in the number of Spanish speaking persons in the Philippines, following this policy of using English as a medium of communication in the country. In 1918, it was reported that 757,463 persons, aged ten years old and above, were able to speak Spanish. But in the Census of 1939, the number of Spanish speaking persons was slashed almost in half: 417,375, which includes all ages listed in the population. With the population estimated at approximately 16 million, Spanish-speaking people dwindled to a mere 2.6 percent of the population. This was reflected in the remark made in the Census which clearly states the declining use of Spanish in the Philippines: "In another generation, unless there is a decided increase in the use of Spanish, the persons able to speak it will have dropped to about one percent of the total population" (Census 1939, 330).

But questions still remained unanswered. How accurate was the Census then? Did it give a fair picture of the existing situation? Was there a lot of Spanish-speaking people or only a few? It seems that there was no chance to indicate in the census being able to speak more than one foreign language. In the chart of "Persons able to speak foreign languages," the figures for each language are merely added to point out that 4,831,465 persons, one in every three persons, spoke a language of foreign origin, thereby ignoring those able to speak two or more of those languages. It is rather strange that the number of German or French speaking people in the islands was exactly the same as the number of citizens in these countries (1,129 and 197), when there should be other individuals able to use these languages for themselves, particularly those who needed it, especially doctors, scientists, and for that matter, even the maids. We can only surmise that the reason for these apparent mistakes was that those who filled out the census forms could choose only one foreign language able to speak. Therefore, there was probably no accurate estimate of the

number of Spanish-speaking or German or French-speaking persons in the Philippine. These persons would have been diminished in the total number of the persons who knew the language, but spoke English better. In the same manner, those Spanish, German, French or Chinese speakers surely would be able to speak English also.

Other data, although less reliable, also suggest a bigger proportion of Spanish speaking people in the islands, even pointing out the higher figure as 1 million. This was the number estimated by *The London Times*, just after the Pacific War started,³ although it lowered the qualification to "people who have some knowledge of Spanish."

The number of Spanish-speakers after forty years rates very well if we compare it with the two closer European colonies in Asia. In the former Indochina, the influence of the French language, now also forty years after the pulling out of Paris, has almost totally disappeared, with no young people speaking it—although it could have been continued as a lingua franca among the former states of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. In Indonesia, we can say that Dutch is only used by historians. Today, Spanish is probably used in the Philippines more than Dutch in Indonesia in spite of the fifty years difference.

Going back again to the data shown by the Census, we see also that the base of Spanish-speakers was more solid than that of the English-speakers, which was concentrated almost exclusively between the ages of ten and fifty-four. The sharp decline in their use of Spanish shows that more people born before 1898 use it, but less than 1 percent of children under five years old who spoke English used it. This shows that English was learned in the schools, not at home. And there is another important fact which must be noted here: although English-speakers surpassed Spanish-speakers by more than ten times (4,259,549 to 417,375), the Census shows that the only age group with more Spanish speakers was not among the older people, but that of under five years old (from 10,000 to 14,000). This fact was also clearly pointed out in the Census. It thus affirmed that "Spanish has still a more stable base than English, particularly if the teaching of English at the schools is discontinued...Spanish is still a more widely used language than English at home" (Census 1939, 330).

Bulwarks of the Spanish Language

I would like to recount where Spanish had its strongholds in the Philippines during the Commonwealth period, apart from those

places pointed out in the Census which were Manila and five other provinces—Zamboanga, Rizal, Iloilo, Negros Occidental and Davao.

It is obvious, but necessary to point out that the Spanish Community was, so to say, an "expansive community." Their number in the late thirties was around 3,000 or 4,000 persons, depending upon the source. But the most substantive aspect of this was how the Spanish community had become a part of the Filipino society, as it was really difficult to differentiate a Spaniard from a Filipino Spanish-Mestizo. Even today, it is very hard to distinguish a full-blooded Spanish citizen from a Spanish-Filipino. In some way, any Filipino with Spanish blood (even if it was out of wedlock or from a friar, as President Quezon) was proud because of this, and felt culturally and sentimentally attached to things Spanish. (Probably today one of the most important Spanish-speaking communities in the Philippines is in the City of Bais, the place of a former sugar mill owned by Tabacalera. In this city, there are about one hundred people who still use Spanish as a means of communication, even young people, but only two of them are Spanish citizens.)

This was the general sentiment in the Philippines during the 1930s, particularly at the beginning of the Second Republic (1931) and during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). One clear indication of this attachment was the free mingling of Filipino mestizos with pure Spaniards, particularly in political activities. Also, we must not fail to notice that, the Spanish culture, in one way or another, was seen in these times as somewhat superior to the "new" American culture. The classic appeal of European culture, the historical attachment to Spain and so on, made these people look down on the American colonialists. The number of mestizos, Cuarterones and so on has been quantified just after the War as half a million, although probably it was more than that.

Spanish in foreign communities comes as a surprise, although the reasons for this fact are not difficult to guess. In the case of the Europeans or Americans, they themselves were from the upper classes, where Spanish was widely used. In the case of the Chinese mestizos, the reason is also historical, as they were allowed during the Spanish period to speak Spanish for not being "naturales" or locals. Another reason had to be that Spanish was the language used for business. References of Syrian, Lebanese and other nationalities speaking Spanish have also been found.

The judiciary and the Catholic religion were also two important institutions in the Philippines where Spanish was still more widely

used, at the end of the Commonwealth, than English. In the first case, the inheritance of the Spanish Code made compulsory for every person studying law to learn Spanish. The actions of the Philippine Legislature and the Law Courts were written in Spanish with English translations. Probably it was easier to find a non-English-speaking lawyer during the Commonwealth than a non-Spanish-speaking one. In the Catholic religion, Spanish friars still had a considerable amount of power within the Church and in the education of new friars, as we can see with Cardinal Sin. In the 1930s, the Archbishop of Manila was Michael O'Doherty, an Irishman who, after studying in Salamanca, knew Spanish very well. The case of the Dominicans and the Universidad de Santo Tomas is obvious. But the task of the Spanish nuns was also very important in the teaching of Spanish to the girls belonging to the upper classes.

The language of the Province Capitals was also Spanish. It was a surprise to find references, indicating that the elite in the small towns used Spanish as a way of differentiating themselves from the rest of the Filipinos. The references are not statistical, but it seems that Spanish was as widely used as English in the second rate towns.⁴

In Administration and Business, Spanish was also widely used although English had already surpassed it. In the former, the reason was the predominance of Spanish mestizos in the government, while in the latter, although dominated more by Chinese mestizos, the Spaniards, or related people, had the upper hand in some fields (Sugar, Tabacalera Co.) and therefore still competed with English as *lingua franca*.

There were not only the books written by Rizal or the rest of the revolutionaries. There was as well the literature written in the 1900s, such as Balmori, Recto and others. But also, 80,000 copies of newspapers were sold daily. The two biggest print companies had dailies in the three most important languages of the Islands: English, Spanish and Tagalog. In Manila, the most popular was *The Philippines Herald*, and after that was the Tagalog newspaper, *Mabuhay*, with a circulation of around 23,000 and 21,000 respectively. Vying for second and third were the two Spanish counterparts, *La Vanguardia* and *El Debate*, which jointly sold more than the first two, with 18,000 and 13,000 each (McCoy & Roces 1985, 17).

The important fact about these newspapers in Spanish is not only how many of them were sold, but their editorial point of view, which can be considered as propounding a new kind of moderatism. While newspapers in Tagalog and in the local dialects were considered as

more nationalistic, and the ones in English leaning more to the American perspective, the newspapers in Spanish were in-between, pushing for a kind of moderatism, probably as a result of the emerging needs of the Filipino society as a whole.

Here the last characteristic of Spanish I want to point out is its "Filipinism." Undeniably, Spain had a role in Filipino society as the defender of the Philippine nation, as it was a concept created during the Spanish period. The Spanish identity had to be the main defender against those challenging forces, such as the local or the foreign colonial interests. Vicente Rafael pointed out that the elites of the Philippines had the tendency to occasionally use the vernacular in conversing with the people from their towns or their families, English with the American officials, and Spanish among themselves. Spanish was, therefore, the Filipino elite's *lingua franca* and the *lingua* which fostered their solidarity and their privileges (Rafael 1991, 70).

It goes without saying that with this nationalist role, Spanish also carried a kind of anti-colonial significance. By not adopting English as *lingua franca* in spite of knowing it, it was a kind of resistance towards the present colonial power. Spanish, therefore, acquired a strange role: it was the language of a colonial power, but it was used as an anti-colonial tool, a colonialist language with an anti-colonialist role. Rafael says, "Spanish (as a cultural complex) becomes invested as a site of anti-colonial resistance among the Filipino intelligentsia after the period Spanish colonization" (letter to the author, 6 August 1991).

Referring to the intelligentsia, we include also those people from what we call the "left." It is not strange that the first generation of radical leaders was more influenced by Spanish progressivism than others (Allen, 7). The "Asociación de Hispanistas" gathered a large number of prominent Filipinos in literature and politics backing the Spanish Republic. Among them, for instance, was Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, one of those who "refused to learn English as a matter of principle" (Allen, 16). Another was Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the revolution. Aguinaldo seems to have learned Spanish not before the revolution, but after that. Spanish was not a language exclusively of the upper classes, but prior to the Pacific War was "colourless," so to speak.

Not everything was bright for Spanish in the Philippines, though. English maintained that same attraction that up to 1898 Spanish had: the possibility to change one's own position in the society owing to the ability to master the language of the colonial authority (Rafael 1991, 72). On the other hand, the new colonial power had to criticize

the former master in order to legitimize its political hegemony. The effect of this, in general, was an image more and more associated with decadence and old values, and some people used it for their own purposes (namely, for converting Filipinos to protestantism). Furthermore, if Spanish was used as a sort of "status symbol," it carried a negative aspect. It alienated the language from the under-privileged.

These assertions were not mere impressions but had some sense of truth in some cases. It was argued that for some professions like medicine, chemistry and other science-based careers, it was more convenient to choose French or German at the University, as these countries were technologically more advanced. This fact does not lack some veracity, and the only argument against this used by the "Hispanistas" was the repetitive argument that Filipino culture, its history and the very soul and heart of the Filipino, remained akin to Spain.

I do not contest the importance of this argument, but rather its logic. Referring to the past (the values shared by both countries, the books written in Spanish, and so on) could not gain adherents from the circle beyond the Hispanists. Supporters of Spanish also had to offer a sense of future in the use of the language. The only argument raised by Hispanistas offering an improvement of the future through the use of Spanish language was the importance of its ties with Latin America. Possibly this was not only an argument, but a tool for shaping the future of the Islands: a closer association with the Latin American Republics as an alternative to the dependence on the United States or its Asian neighbors. Little documentation can be found about this and the most explicit one is made by Theodore Friend: "Some critics thought that Mike Elizalde envisioned a kind of Latin American republic dominated by Spanish mestizos" (Friend 1965, 43). It can be said that a chance for the future of Spanish in the Philippines could have been devised by some Commonwealth officials (including President Quezon) by increasing the ties with Latin America or, at least, reaffirming their Spanish identity.

Commonwealth

The Commonwealth, definitely, was a key period when the future had to be defined. In relation to language, the new Constitution provided that the future National Philippine Language should be one from the Islands, and it was in 1937 when President Quezon took the first steps to make Tagalog the base of it.

In spite of this, it seems that there was a renewed optimism in some Hispanist circles during the Commonwealth about the prospects for the language after 1946, the date of the long-foreseen independence. There are some references about a resurgence of Spanish during the Commonwealth period, such as being spoken more than before, about the increase of Spanish students and so on. We have to take these facts with some reluctance, the same as an over-optimistic report to Madrid from the Spanish Consul in Manila: "I believe firmly that if the Philippines obtain their independence in 1946, the Castilian language would prevail over English in very few years."⁵

The ability of the Hispanist Community in the Philippines to put pressure on the government about a particular issue had greatly diminished after 1936. The Spanish Civil War broke out in this year, and since then the quarrels among Philippine Hispanics were almost as bitter as in the peninsula itself, although both of them backed an increase in the use of the language. Although the majority of the Hispanistas sided with Franco's Nationalists (including all of the wealthy people), their ability to act as a pressure group was damaged. Because of this decreased ability, the Spanish community, in general, became somewhat alienated from the mainstream of Filipino society.

As events unfolded which led to World War II, the gap became wider. As the Spanish regime leaned more and more towards the Axis, and with it a part of the Spanish or hispanized community in the Philippines, the Filipino government, on its part, increased their collaboration with the Americans. Reading the *Philippine Free Press* gives us a hint of it. It was the most influential weekly magazine in the Philippines. Its American director, Theo Rogers, during the 1930s still dedicated about ten or twelve pages of its usual seventy-two to the Spanish section. The cartoon and its comments on the first page were always bilingual. It sided vehemently with the Franco's Nationalists during the Civil War. However, when the European War broke out in September 1939, barely six months after the conflict finished in Spain, the Spanish Section dwindled in the number of pages, as well as in its qualitative content. In November of 1940, little more than one year after the outbreak of the European War, it became an English-only publication, after decades of being a bilingual publication.

The *Philippine Free Press* declared that the reason for suppressing the Spanish Section was the declining interest, both of advertisers and readers. The decrease in advertisements could be technical, showing that Spanish was going out of the mainstream, and in effect, suffering its consequences. It was assumed that the advertisements were

read more in the English pages than in the Spanish ones, as most of the public read the first sections than the last ones. But the supposed decrease of readers, I think, has more political meaning, underlined by the fact that it happened in a very short period of time. This had to be in some way connected with the editorial policy of the magazine, which, as I said before, backed strongly the allies against the Axis. A good part of the Spanish (Hispanista) community followed the mainstream pro-allies feeling, and the magazine, on its part, avoided giving Franco a harsh criticism (it mostly opted to not speak about Spain). However, others surely felt uneasy about the mockery of Hitler and Mussolini. The development of the European War, in fact, widened the gap within the Spanish community, not only between leftist republicans and rightist pro-francoists but, also, among the Francoists, between the pro-axis falangistas and the pro-allies conservatives or wealthy families. The infighting among the latter groups accelerated a process of renouncing their Spanish nationality by most of the famous and wealthy Spanish leaders, such as Andres Soriano, the Elizaldes or the Roxas, since they feared the possible entrance of Spain in the war and damage to the properties (Rodao).

War in the Pacific

The Philippines, but not Spain, entered the war in December 1941. The Japanese Occupation was a period in which the Spanish language suffered major damage, not directly intended by the invaders. The executive order issued by the Japanese Army declared that Tagalog and Japanese would be the official languages of the Philippines. However, as it was the only way of communicating until the Filipinos learned "Niponggo," English was allowed. The Spanish language was placed in an uneasy position; it was not exactly banned, partly because of the initial good relations between Madrid and Tokyo, but because the Japanese could not understand it, and could not use it. The ban of Spanish in the Courts was the case of an immediate complaint from Madrid that revoked the measure, but the rest of documentation that before could be written in Spanish, could no longer be done since the new masters could not monitor it.

The general situation influenced also, the *Patronato Escolar Espanol*, an institution to teach Spanish for free that had three times more students before the war. It had to change to a cheaper location, and shifted to a College for Spanish children. Spanish also lost some role in the society to Tagalog, which we can see in the first speech in

Tagalog by such an Hispanist as Claro M. Recto which was made in 1943, during a *Tagalog Speaking Week*.

The War also meant a qualitatively important loss of lives. The battle of Manila was held mainly in the part of the city where the hispanized people lived, and therefore "a good deal of the experiences" are written in Spanish language (Aluit 1994, vi). After the war, also, the poverty conditions provoked a massive exodus to Spain.

On its part, Spanish maintained in some way the "nationalist" role from before the war: the meetings among the members of the oligarchy to decide to collaborate or not with the Japanese were held in Spanish, partly because it was their usual language, and partly to avoid Japanese monitoring. Also, for instance, a group of writers idealized the Spanish period (Agoncillo, 1963).

Post-War Philippines

The most substantive change, however, was within Filipino society. The wave of pro-Americanism destroyed all kinds of balance among the Filipinos between their Spanish, English and local identities. Theodore Friend declared that the period before the war was, "En un sentido familiar, Usa era la madre, padre y el hermano mayor de las Filipinas, un protector en la comunidad internacional" (p. 42). After the war, this role of the United States magnified tremendously; the Filipinos became more patriotic than the Americans themselves. In this context, the role of the Spanish language was put in a corner; the former role of Spanish or Hispanism as the balance for Filipinism had no place any longer in Filipino society. The degree to which Spanish was used as a kind of opposition as before is yet to be known, but it was more isolated than ever; a contemporary account by a HongKong professor suggests that "Anti-Americanism (in the Philippines) was left to the Filipino hispanists" (Whinnom 1954, 167).

The result of this forgotten role of the Spanish language in the Philippines can be seen in the decline of the dailies sold in this language: 10,000 instead of 80,000 before the war. *Voz de Manila* was the only Spanish newspaper in Manila in the first years after the war, with its attendant qualities—bad quality, outdated news and printing constricted around 3,000 copies. This reflected the new generation who succeeded the former in ruling the country. This new generation was educated in English-speaking schools. Manuel Roxas, for example, although being fluent in Spanish, was the first president educated in the University of the Philippines.

The position of the hispanized community also reflected the dramatically changing image of Spain during these years. If before the war, Spanish mestizos looked upon the American culture as something new, nonclassical, and therefore could be proud of the Spanish culture as being European, after the war this notion was no longer the case. Spain, isolated from the world because of Franco's former ties with the Axis, was viewed more and more as a backward country, with a negative influence over the Philippines. Friend, in his book, referred to the problems faced by the Falangistas.

It was in this context that laws were promulgated encouraging the compulsory teaching of Spanish in the schools and the universities. In 1947, the Sotto Law (Republic Act. No. 343) aimed at Spanish being taught in the schools, although the final draft made it only optional. In May 1952 the Magalona Law (Republic Act. No. 709) was approved making Spanish compulsory in all universities and private schools for two consecutive years. In 1957, another legislative bill was passed, which was known as the Cuenco Law (Republic Act No. 1881) requiring twenty-four units of Spanish for courses such as Pedagogy, Law, Trade, Liberal Arts and Foreign Service. A new Law finally reduced it to only twelve units.

These bills were like the Kiss of Death for the Spanish language in the Philippines, provoking student demonstrations. They did not want to study a language they felt was useless for their lives. Political compromises made things worse, because they only aimed to appease the protests and justified the need of learning the language. Therefore, it was decided that from the twenty-four units in two years, half of these should be dedicated to the reading of works written by the revolutionaries. It was not that these works could not inspire a lot of love to Spain, but pedagogically, what was worse was it has made no sense for students starting to learn the language to introduce them to novels or even poems difficult to understand even for a native Spanish speaker. Learning "El Ultimo Adios" in Spanish was hard after having dedicated almost all the first year to conjugation, as was mostly done.

Conclusion

Two roles in the Filipino society were left for the Spanish language. One in society life, delving in "chismis," which was considered as the most popular section in *La Voz de Manila*, the same as had been before the war in *El Debate*, and second, the prestige of being part

of the upper class. This "elitist" sense or meaning could serve one purpose, but at the same time, could serve the opposite. This is what happened. The identification of Spanish with the oligarchy in the Philippines symbolized the identification of all things Spanish with the rising societal problems in Filipino society. Whether this is true or not, is beyond the scope of this article. But the Philippines is continually pointed out as being a country with the worst upper class in the Pacific region.⁶ What is most disturbing is that this oligarchy is being linked immediately to Spain, with Spanish families and so on. The novels of Francisco Sionil Jose bespeak a harsh criticism against Spanish-speaking peoples, which, Jose in his novels, considered as "the biggest enemy of the Philippines." Probably, this notion, although it is not expressed clearly, is in some way assumed by a large part of the society. Of course, this fact has affected would-be Spanish speakers or people able to understand Spanish, but has made them, in some way, not proud of this unique ability. Notably, there were no new Spanish speakers after the war.

This phenomenon, was in fact, the result of identifying Spanish with some doubtful aspects of Spanish colonial inheritance. As Belen Arguelles, former Chief of the Division of Spanish and Culture in the Department of Education, pointed out, "in the Philippines the language is connected to colonialism" (Arguelles 1963, 141). She referred to Spanish as a language connected with slavery and oppression, characteristic of the former Spanish regime. Analyzing this, we can say that, from the postwar years, due to this identification of Spanish with colonialism, the Spanish language forfeited its chance of maintaining its former status as the lingua franca of the Philippines. For events suggest, particularly from the end of the sixties, that Filipinos also associated English with American imperialism. Probably, in the future, English will have the same fate.

Notes

1. Until 1935, the Department of Public Education was the only one directed always by an American.

2. When the Spanish Jesuits were moved en masse to Bombay, India.

3. "Roman Catholics in the Philippines. Religious ties with Spain," *Times* (London), 4 February 1942.

4. "En las ciudades provinciales y en las principales cabeceras de pueblo, el castellano es usado aun tanto como el ingles, y en gran numero de ellas con mas

preferencia que la que se le da en algunos centros gubernamentales y sociales de manila." Vitalicio R. Martínez, ¿Decadencia del español?, in *Philippine Free Press*, 26 August 1939, p. 65. In a Convention by Provincial Governors celebrated in 1938 Spanish still predominated. See also *Democracia Española* (Manila), 28 February 1938, "Tópicos hispanos-filipinos."

5. Maldonado to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Manila, 3 February 1940. Leg. 1737, exp. 30. Archive of the Foreign Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Spain.

6. Ref. to a 1993 World Bank, "Pride and Privilege" in *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hongkong), 12 May 1994, p. 25.

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