Politics, Economy, and Society in Bourbon Central America, 1759–1821 examines how the Spanish policies known broadly as the Bourbon Reforms affected Central American social, economic, and political institutions. Although historians have devoted significant attention to the purpose and impact of these reforms in Spain and some of Spain’s other New World colonies, this book is the first to explore their impact on Central America.

These reforms profoundly changed aspects of Central America’s politics and society; however, these essays reveal that changes in the region were shaped both internally and externally and that they weakened the region’s ties to metropolitan Spain as often as they reinforced them. Contributors focus on specific policy changes and their consequences as well as transformations throughout the region for which no direct Bourbon inspiration appears to be responsible. Together they demonstrate that whether or not the Crown achieved its primary goals of centralization and control, its policies nevertheless provided opportunities for evident, often subtle, and occasionally unintentional shifts in the colonial government’s relationship to its constituent populations.
POLITICS, ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY IN BOURBON CENTRAL AMERICA, 1759–1821

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ONE

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BOURBON
SAN SALVADOR AND SONSONATE, 1750–1808

SAJID ALFREDO HERRERA

By the mid-eighteenth century, many enlightened thinkers and reformers in Bourbon Spain became convinced that the happiness of the people (pueblos) derived from their education, the common measure of prosperity that made men virtuous and useful to society. They conceived of reforming education as including revising teaching methods, increasing the number of schools, and reforming universities. For some, the goal was a uniform and patriotic education controlled by the Crown. All believed that through school reform, it was possible to transform the Spanish monarchy from its evident decadence to a situation of opulence.¹

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Those who devised these initiatives also sought to implant them in America. Across the Atlantic, Bourbon reformers thought that by strengthening the education system and introducing new strategies, they could eradicate inhabitants’ misery, hispanize Indians, improve all vassals' customs by teaching them religious and moral precepts, and even foster progress in the arts, agriculture, trade, and industry. Within reformist proposals, university education received special attention, with new plans of study designed to supply able men to serve the state in the future. Still, elementary education, or “primary letters,” held an important place among reformers’ interests, as they considered literacy the base of the educational structure and the additional study of arithmetic or mathematics (cuentas) a solid basis to prepare for trades useful to society.

To what point were the provinces of San Salvador and Sonsonate in the Kingdom of Guatemala affected by this Bourbon educational policy? Certain studies have shown that in these two districts, which would form the country of El Salvador in the nineteenth century, some creoles benefited from a modern, Enlightenment-derived university education in philosophy, law, or medicine available in the colony’s only institution of higher education, the Universidad de San Carlos, located in the capital, Guatemala City. Little was known regarding elementary education until a 1998 study surveyed Salvadoran schools from the colonial period to the mid-twentieth century. However, this broad analysis failed to highlight the Bourbon era as one of any innovation and change, so the question of how eighteenth-century thinkers and royal agents changed the system remains an open one.

While Bourbon reforms to university education have been the subject of numerous studies in Mexico, Peru, and Guatemala, little attention has been paid to new programs in eighteenth-century primary education in any part of Spanish America. In fact, the best-known studies of primary education tend to begin with the independence period. This chapter, using a case study of two Central American districts, shows that to understand the basis of nineteenth-century primary education, it is important to understand the legacy of Bourbon changes to the education system rather than assume that a single “colonial” education system was inherited by the region’s new nation-states. Specifically, this study takes a panoramic look at primary education in San Salvador and Sonsonate from the 1750s, when the educational reforms began, and continues to the monarchy’s crisis in 1808, which suspended development of new educational policies. Drawing from reports of royal officials, petitions by representatives of towns and villages, and teachers’ complaints, the chapter argues that in these years, the Crown gradually assumed a proac-

tive role in determining the shape of primary education for Spanish, Indian, and mixed-race (ladino) children. The process slowly eroded the monopoly that regular and secular clerics wielded in this area through specific legislation and proposals regarding the subjects and method of instruction, teaching materials, and ways to increase the number of schools and raise the salaries and quality of teachers. Crown pressure achieved some results, especially in increased primary education, including a greater number of schools. However, documentary evidence demonstrates that in practice, substantial local obstacles existed to developing a uniform and inclusive primary education system, ranging from a community’s inability to pay teachers to teachers’ failure to do their job.

THE PROVINCES OF SAN SALVADOR AND SONSONATE

In the mid-eighteenth century, the provinces of San Salvador and Sonsonate formed two separate districts (alcaldías mayores) with autonomous interior governments subject to the respective political, religious, and judicial authorities of the captain general, archbishop, and territorial court (audiencia) in Guatemala City. The governors (alcaldes mayores) lived in district capitals, the Spanish city of San Salvador and the town of Sonsonate, respectively, with lieutenants who helped administer justice. San Salvador had the greater territory, extending 80 leagues east to west and 40 leagues north to south, while Sonsonate ran 20 leagues east to west and 18 north to south. In addition to sharing a common border, both provinces faced the Pacific Ocean and met at a corner with the Guatemalan district (corregimiento) of Chiquimula. On its northern border, San Salvador also touched the province of Honduras and, to the south, Tegucigalpa. Each province was divided internally into municipal districts. San Salvador had three, each of whose capitals—the Spanish cities San Salvador and San Miguel and the town San Vicente—boasted a city council. Under these institutions a multitude of Indian municipal councils with more limited judicial authority kept order in indigenous villages. Around 1765, in addition to Spanish municipalities, the province had 119 Indian and 4 ladino villages. In 1768, reports show that in Sonsonate, the single Spanish town—also called Sonsonate—governed its entire district, which included 21 Indian pueblos and 1 ladino village. Although Spanish law precluded cohabitation of different ethnic groups, indigenous and ladino families resided in both the cities and Indian villages of both provinces.

San Salvador’s principal agricultural product was indigo, considered the motor of the kingdom’s late colonial economy. Emphasis on indigo production
meant that large and small producers relied on Guatemalan merchants and neighboring provinces for foodstuffs and other products. Sonsonate, on the other hand, had diversified from its initial export crop, cacao, to produce indigo, cotton, sugar, tobacco, salt, and sesame by the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1786, as part of the political-administrative reforms introduced by the Bourbons, San Salvador became an intendancy whose new governor, the intendant, had greater administrative responsibilities over a more fragmented province. However, the municipal structure changed little in either province, except for a jump in the number of ladino villages in San Salvador from four to twenty-six by the early nineteenth century. In 1807, intendant Antonio Gutiérrez y Ulloa calculated the province’s population at 4,729 Spanish-born and American-born Spaniards, 89,371 ladinos, and 71,175 Indians. Sonsonate’s population was much smaller, calculated by alcade mayor José de Nájera at 16,495 Indians and 8,189 Spaniards and ladinos in 1796. At least until independence in 1821, populations in these provinces were second only to that in Guatemala’s much larger district.

**FIRST STEPS**

In the 1750s the Spanish Crown initiated an aggressive program to teach its Indian vassals Spanish, beginning with what is called the “secularization” of Indian parishes administered by friars (doctrinas). Why did the Crown take this step? Since the late sixteenth century, education had largely been in the hands of Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Dominican religious orders, which taught Christian doctrine, reading, and writing in native languages. The Crown permitted this policy, directing the natives to learn Spanish on their own. For over two centuries, archbishops, the Council of the Indies, and other officials had argued that the natives’ languages were an obstacle to their understanding the mysteries of Christian faith and called for them to learn Spanish. So in a royal decree (cédula) of February 1, 1753, King Ferdinand VI ordered first that the doctrinas be secularized and administered by the secular clergy (priests) rather than the religious orders (friars) and, second, that all Indians should learn Spanish. The following year a new order (June 5, 1754) reiterated that the secular clergy would be the new teachers and added that they were to use moderate and polite methods to teach Spanish, reading, writing, and Christian doctrine. Perhaps in response to Indian objections to these new methods in some parts of America, a third decree on June 23, 1757, stated that priests would take over teaching only when there were vacancies and that they would be required to speak the language of the Indians they were to teach.
The process of secularizing primary education responded in part to Enlightenment ideas that inspired the Crown to seek to transform the Indians into civilized individuals during this era. The Indians’ newly acquired “civilization” would strip them of their rustic customs, languages, and superstitions, which, in the reformers’ view, could not continue while religious orders persisted in protecting the native tongues. So with the hispanization of the Indian, the reformers sought full integration into a monarchy that administratively wished to become more centralized and less like a Tower of Babel. The secularization process was slow in El Salvador between 1754 and 1760, but by the 1768–1769 pastoral visit of Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz to Sonsonate and San Salvador, all parishes were in secular hands.21

If secularization was an important first step in the Crown’s education project, a second was to truly secularize teaching by replacing the Church as primary educator of the empire’s youth. So several years later Charles III promulgated additional laws. In October 1767 he declared that education was of benefit and social utility and that the Crown would use all means in its power to develop better public instruction. In August 1768 another decree asserted that teaching could no longer continue to “belong” to the family and the Church as a patrimony divorced from the state, for “[p]ublic education should be under the prince’s protection,” and “the care and oversight of the education of young people” were the prince’s responsibility.22 With these new ground rules, the Crown initiated a process in which it arrogated from the Church to itself the power to set the rules for establishing primary schools, determine the purpose and methods of instruction, select teachers, and decide who would pay their monthly salaries.

The Crown’s interest in elementary education, both before and after this legislation, was not aimed exclusively at teaching Indian children, as the emphasis on hispanization might suggest. The Crown trusted Spanish city councils (ayuntamientos) to use their rental income (fondos de propios) and tax income (arbitrios) to establish schools in cities and towns so children of town residents could learn the same skills as indigenous children: reading, writing, and Christian doctrine. This, at least, was the principle, for in 1768, Cortés y Larraz’s visit to San Salvador revealed that this Spanish city and provincial capital lacked a school.23 Ladinos as well had access to elementary education. In some Indian pueblos, resident ladino children attended classes given by curates and teachers, according to some priests’ reports.24

How swiftly did the Bourbon program’s theories become reality? The reports by Archbishop Cortés y Larraz revealed that all of San Salvador and Sonsonate’s parishes were in the hands of secular priests. However, only months after the decrees suggesting that priests would lose their role as the principal primary teachers, they remained proudly in charge of the province’s primary education. As priest José Díaz del Castillo of San Jacinto (San Salvador) reported, in “a cédula of His Majesty (God protect him), it is ordered and charged that the priests name a teacher to watch over and care with vigilance that the Indians learn to read and write.”25 Still, this panorama began to change, as described later.

PURPOSES OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Spanish interest in reforming education had many purposes, and sometimes they depended on the student’s ethnicity. As discussed earlier, one purpose of Bourbon Reforms to primary education was “moderate and polite” hispanization of the Indians. This process was already well underway in late-eighteenth-century San Salvador and Sonsonate, as revealed in reports provided to Cortés y Larraz. In the villages under the curates’ care, according to the reports, Spanish was generally spoken or at least well-known by the natives, while “the languages of their ancestors” were the province of some women, spoken “by accident,” “forgotten,” “spoken by caprice,” or “used little and by custom.”26 Still, several years later King Charles III developed a more aggressive policy, on April 16, 1770, calling for Castilian to be the “sole and universal” language of the American dominions so the Indians would learn “love for the conquering nation, banish idolatry, and civilize themselves for business and trade.”27 Fifteen years later the policy was reiterated in the Ordenanzas de intendentes para la Nueva España (1786), the regulations establishing intendancies in both Mexico and the Kingdom of Guatemala. The Ordenanzas’ Article 14 ordered the intendants’ lieutenants to induce the Indians to speak Spanish and to only confirm elections of Spanish-speaking Indian municipal council (cabildo) members.28

Some Kingdom of Guatemala intellectuals, like Father Matías de Córdova, agreed that the indigenous needed to speak Spanish as royal orders commanded. In a prize-winning essay submitted in 1797 to the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, entitled Utilidades de que todos los indios y ladinos se vistan y canten a la espaola, Córdova stressed that “a Mulatto holds himself better than an Indian, and even the Indians agree” since they do not speak Spanish. “The diversity of languages,” he continued, “is a strong wall between them and us, so pernicious that it unites the bonds of society. It prevents them from entering into contracts, from receiving our instructions, and even that they instruct themselves perfectly in Religion.”29 Córdova’s proposal,
to make the Indians Spanish speakers without coercion, reflected existing and future royal policy. In 1806 King Charles IV issued a provision to establish schools in all villages of the Americas, ordering that parish priests, bureaucrats, and teachers convince the Indians by gentle means of “the need and utility to learn to speak, read, and write the Castilian tongue.”

If hispanization was a policy aimed largely at the Indian children of Spain’s empire, other policies had broader audiences in mind. For Indians and Spaniards alike, the Crown continued to view the inculcation of morals in children through teaching Christian doctrine and norms of good conduct (principios políticos) as an important goal of primary education. In eighteenth-century Bourbon Spain, some thought religious education would help Spain achieve prosperity and worldwide hegemony, arguing that a man convinced of his duty to God would be easily persuaded to support royal policies. Some royal officials and alcaldes in San Salvador and Sonsonate (and other provinces in the Kingdom of Guatemala) continued to implement this royal policy, which, as we know, was not new. They, like royal authorities, saw this policy as a brake on Indian “idolatries” and public disorder and believed religious and moral teaching would temper the passions of both Spanish and ladino children and youths.

That said, what officials considered good religious teaching might not always coincide with local views. In 1791, when the cabildo of the Indian pueblo Cacaopera (San Salvador) asked the fiscal who represented Indian affairs to intercede with the audiencia to procure a music teacher for their school, the fiscal, who was also a judge in the audiencia, was unsympathetic, arguing that music had little educational value “but not as much as teaching Christian doctrine and knowing the Supreme being that they acquire in primary school.”

The Kingdom of Guatemala finally received its own regulation on establishing primary schools on February 19, 1799, after an earlier meeting of the Real Acuerdo. In the act the judges emphasized the fundamental purpose of these educational centers. “The first impressions that children receive at a tender age,” they argued, “generally last for their whole life, and most of them acquire no other Christian instruction in good conduct than that received in the Schools.” For this reason, they instructed intendents, corregidores, and alcaldes mayores to seek teachers “who inspire in the little Indians (indígenas), through their instruction and example, good maxims, morals and proper conduct.” They also charged the kingdom’s bishops to send each diocese’s curates to persuade Indians of how “useful and convenient” it would be for their children to learn to read and write.

This edict reveals that the regional government shared the Crown’s interest in transmitting moral precepts and Spanish values through primary education. If the judges did not hide their concern for Indian literacy—in Spanish, although the edict did not specify—their emphasis was on the moral purpose of primary education. Morality was the fundamental reason that San Salvador’s interim intendant, Ventura Calera, named Don Antonio Pajares to teach in the Indian pueblos Soyapango and Ilopango on September 30, 1801. According to Calera, these pueblos were villainous (particularly Ilopango) and engaged in cattle rustling, letting outsiders gamble, drinking, and abandoning public cleanliness. Thanks to Pajares, the intendant reported, “the indicated disorders have largely been exterminated, and only four months after receiving the said schools” there were already “fourteen indígenas writing in good form,” when for many years no more than two children had attended classes. Primary education first and foremost created good subjects.

This agenda was shared by some Spanish and ladino authorities as well, including municipal justices (alcaldes ordinarios) José Merino and José Mendoza and parish priest José Orellana of Ahuachapán (Sonsonate). In late September 1808 they argued that primary education served “to restrain the perverse inclination of the young; and . . . in general we are warned of the greatest ruin and perdition in men without cultivation; these are those who, free of the principles of teaching and religion, loose the reins of their vices and passions, and all the rigor of justice is not enough to mend their ways.”

These observations were part of an argument to obtain a primary schoolteacher for the town’s ladino and Spanish children. Clearly, local and Spanish authorities shared substantial interest in taking advantage of the Crown’s new policy to bring new agents, teachers, into the countryside to teach San Salvador’s and Sonsonate’s residents not just how to read and write but also how to conduct themselves in such a way as to reduce crime, increase work, and contribute to the prosperity of this small part of the Spanish empire.

SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS

How available was primary education in these two provinces before the Bourbons accelerated demands for greater schooling in the last quarter of the eighteenth century? The answer seems to be, not very. According to several reports generated by Sonsonate and San Salvador priests for Cortés y Larraz in 1768, many villages lacked primary schools. The archbishop was shocked to find that the so-called Spanish city of San Salvador, a provincial capital, had no primary school to teach grammar, reading, writing, or Christian
doctrine to its children—an attitude toward education that he thought contributed to the inclination of the province’s residents toward gaming and away from work. In the entire province of San Salvador, the priests counted 348 students (probably a low number, since some did not offer specific information under this heading). Of a total of 125 cities, towns, and villages, in 1768, only 21 had a primary school (17.6%). Of the identified students, 114 (32.7%) were ladinos and 234 (67.2%) Indian. In Sonsonate there were only 10 schools with a total of 299 students in 22 pueblos. Presumably most were Indians, since the towns indicated as having schools had largely indigenous populations.

Why was there so little primary education? A frequent vague explanation was that the Indians “detested” schools and used poverty as a pretext to claim they could not support them. The parishes with schools were also vague—rarely specifying information such as the number of schools and students or the students’ ages. The lacunae were not all a result of the priests’ negligence, since many commented that the schools they mentioned had ephemeral existences because of a village’s scarcity of resources and inability to pay teachers’ salaries or because students were often absent since their help was essential to their parents’ agricultural tasks.

It took quite a while for the new policies’ theories to become practice in the Kingdom of Guatemala, especially those regarding the Crown’s interest in reducing Church meddling in education. If the first cédulas on the subject appeared in the 1760s, it was not until 1789 that the audiencia auto discussed earlier ordered royal officials to install schools anywhere that had 100 or more tributaries and to ensure that school sessions took place outside of city halls, since the constant activity in these buildings might distract the children. In addition to stating that Indian residents should contribute personal labor to build schools, the audiencia asked royal officials to report on construction costs and provided for ladino children to attend these schools, as long as their parents contributed to the teacher’s salary.

Once the order had been issued, positive change could be detected, although there is no report on exactly when all the new schools became established. On June 19, 1802, the alcaldé of Sonsonate, Jacinto Villavicencio, informed the audiencia that schools were separate from town halls in all the province’s villages. Each one had “its long banks on which the boys (muchachos) sit, [with] their little tables or boards on which to write.” By this date, Villavicencio said, of the twenty-four populations in the province, only four lacked schools because of small populations, and the children of those villages regularly received education in Sonsonate’s schools. If we accept Villavicencio’s report, this province had ten more schools than it had in 1768. Unfortunately, there is no record of the number of students for comparison.

If San Salvador’s authorities submitted a similar report of the state of primary education in that province in 1802, it does not seem to exist in the archives. However, in the intendancy capital San Salvador, six schools operated in 1802 when there had been none almost forty years earlier. The Escuela Mayor de la República had 164 students (56 Spaniards, 91 ladinos, and 17 students from the Calvario school). In addition, each barrio had its own school: San José (15 students), Concepción (20), San Esteban (12), Remedios (15), and Candelaria (30). These 92 additional students came from largely ladino barrios whose total population (10,860) was the largest within a city that had only 614 Spaniards and 585 Indians. While the records do not specify, it seems likely that Indian children attended classes in the five barrio elementary schools.

If the educational picture seemed substantially brighter in the early nineteenth century than in the mid-eighteenth century, this impression might be modified when taking into account the crisis caused by a locust plague that destroyed much of the indigo crop in the first years of the new century. When Archbishop Luis Peñalver y Cárdenas conducted his 1803 pastoral visit, he found that San Salvador’s subject pueblos, “because of the locusts, have suspended . . . the schools at the order of the Royal Judges since last year, although in each one Christian Doctrine continues to be taught to boys and girls.” So it seems that Christian doctrine taught by priests substituted for primary education, probably in large part because the crisis meant many villages had insufficient funds in their community fondos to pay a teacher’s salary. In other words, unstable and unfortunate economic conditions could severely restrict the schools’ permanence.

The Crown was also concerned that girls receive primary education. A royal provision ordered establishing separate schools for girls in 1806, even in ladino villages. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to suggest how many schools were created in this period or where. Still, by 1807 intendant Antonio Gutiérrez y Ulloa reported that San Salvador province had eighty-nine primary schools, with 1,793 students of both sexes. Table 1.1 breaks down the establishments by district, showing how many schools and students each district had, the ethnic composition of the towns, and the number of towns in each district without schools.

The table shows that slightly more than half the towns of the province (55.4%) had primary education, as 89 of 146 populations had schools. Since 1768, 68 new schools had been created, although only 21 new villages (reducciones) for ladino residents had formed. In 1768 there was one school for every
six settlements; by 1807 there was a school in every other village. This shift tells us that despite a growth in the number of populations and even despite effects of the locust infestation, the increase in the number of schools in this forty-year period was significant. In Sensuntepeque and Texutla there were more schools than towns, probably reflecting schools for girls, schools in unincorporated areas with a substantial ladino population, or perhaps more than one school in a single village, where ladinos might study separately from Indian children.  

Yet this significance differed throughout the province. While access to primary education clearly increased for all segments of the province's population during this period, almost half the students came from parishes in the Spanish municipalities San Salvador, San Vicente, and San Miguel. And just over 1 percent of the population (1,800 of 166,000) was in school in any given year, suggesting that if most towns and villages could probably count on having a few literate or semiliterate residents as a result of the Bourbon push to increase primary education, the policy was far from achieving majority, let alone universal, literacy in the last decades of the colonial era.

### TEACHING AND THE TOOLS OF LEARNING

The teaching of Christian doctrine, reading, and writing was the essence of primary education for Indian, ladino, and Spanish children according to the curates who answered Archbishop Cortés y Larraz’s 1768 questionnaire. In a few villages arithmetic was also taught, and in the villages of Cojutepeque and Yayantique (San Salvador) students even learned to sing. Variations depended on teachers’ talents; the economic resources of the priest, village, or parents; and local needs. Most villages reported that as well as studying with a secular teacher, children of both sexes learned “doctrine” from priests or priests’ aides (fiscales indios) on Sundays after Mass or during weekdays, when boys’ and girls’ classes alternated, with morning and afternoon sessions.

Children attended school between ages five and six to around twelve or thirteen. In general, teachers used booklets with letters of the alphabet (cartillas), booklets with moral maxims (catones), and papers and pens, in addition to Padre Ripalda’s catechism. The only parish priest who specified the materials he used to teach doctrine was Juan Felix de Paredes in Nahuizalco (Sonsonate), whose students used Ripalda’s catechism—a text with many Christian precepts—to learn to read and memorize. Secular teachers probably used this catechism in primary schools as well, as they did in other areas of Spanish America such as New Spain. Paredes was also the only priest who specifically noted that arithmetic and speaking Spanish were part of the curriculum in his parish’s primary schools. While such subjects likely were taught in other primary schools, without additional information it is impossible to know how frequently or with what success.

It was not until the turn of the century that teaching methods and materials began to change. In 1799, to increase pressure to respect its directives on education, the Crown had the Guatemala audiencia request reports from royal officials throughout the kingdom on the money their jurisdictions spent on learning tools. The audiencia received several responses, although only one from the region under study. In 1802 Sonsonate alcalde Villavicencio reported that parents or parish priests paid for school supplies, not the governor’s office.

Additional documents show that thirty years into the educational reforms, reading and writing in Spanish continued to be taught with cartillas and catones and that children still studied Christian doctrine. Arithmetic
still appeared irregularly in school curricula. This information also shows that curricula could vary depending on a child's ethnicity, even if the same schoolteacher taught all the village children in one school. Juan Vásquez of Ahuachapán reported in 1806 that while Indian and ladino children learned only to read and write, he also taught Spanish children arithmetic. 29 Probably after receiving the results of such reports from throughout the empire, the Crown took the initiative to make sure all parents had access to curricular materials and issued a royal provision on May 22, 1806, ordering the sale at cost of cartillas and catones printed by the Escrituría de Cámaras to royal officials who were to buy and then resell them at cost to parents. 30 This policy suggests that the Crown—concerned that poor children's access to education in the new primary schools was limited by their parents' economic difficulties—saw a general royal policy that would remedy the problem to some extent as the best means to overcome those limitations rather than demanding redistribution of resources at a local level.

While Ripaldí's catechism and the cartillas and catones remained the principal materials used in classrooms to the early 1800s, other methods and materials also appear in the records. In a rich case prepared in 1802 to justify a raise for Buenaventura Cáceres, San Salvador's municipally funded schoolteacher, not just lists of materials but actual lessons copied by Spanish and ladino students to demonstrate the teacher's capabilities survive. This professor clearly used brief maxims in Spanish and Latin, selected from the Bible or popular knowledge, to teach writing along with moral values. Their content provides unusual insight into the values beyond religious faith that teachers wished their students to learn. For example, student Manuel José Zúñiga copied out "The son raised by his caprice will fill his mother with confusion and will turn out insolent. Proverbs, Chapter 29," and "Don't let your son be master of his actions during his childhood; take care not only in what he does, but what he thinks. Eccles 30." Obedience, satisfaction with one's status or wealth, and discretion were values that coincided well with Catholic doctrine and obedience of loyal subjects.

Cáceres also combined grammar lessons with writing exercises. Student José María Oliva's writing sample cautioned students "not to invent abbreviations for unusual words because these writings are almost in their entirety little known, and once abbreviated, will be difficult to understand." Other writing samples show that students learned to write from certain rules on proper use of the pen, different types of small letters, and the need to sit and use pen and paper to write. 31 A certain similarity exists between the writing samples of Cáceres's students and the rules of writing and a publication on rules of writing prepared by Guatemalan schoolteachers Nicolás and Antonio Cervantes in 1800. The brothers' text claimed in its title that their "new method to teach reading and writing well and quickly"—which included si-labaco, illustrations, and group reading out loud—was both invented by the Cervanteses and "useful for teaching Indians." 32 Cáceres likely knew and used this new text in preparing his lessons, and even if he did not, the overlap in method suggests that the Crown's push to emphasize literacy as well as morality in the schooling of all American children had resonated with educators in the Kingdom of Guatemala.

Thus if the official curriculum experienced modifications under the Bourbons, the Crown's interest in schooling as providing both useful skills and moral training remained constant. This was true as late as August 1807, when Charles IV promulgated a decree ordering all Spanish American schools to use a book by Fray Manuel de San José, a barefoot Carmelite monk, entitled El niño instruido por la divina palabra (The child instructed by the divine word), to provide "the most perfect instruction of youth in the principal dogmas of religion." Months later, San Salvador intendant Gutiérrez y Ulloa notified the audiencia that he had received the order, but no subsequent correspondence suggests that the books ever arrived in the province. 33 With the crisis that hit the monarchy in 1808, it would not be surprising if this last reform of primary education failed to reach the region's schools or possibly arrived after 1814, when Bourbon Ferdinand VII returned to the throne he had abdicated when Napoleon's forces were routed. Whether the new book was used in Central America or not, its adoption by Charles IV confirms that while the Crown might have promoted new teaching methods and an expansion of the school curriculum, at heart its educational goals remained stable through the reign of three kings: developing good, obedient, hardworking subjects whose knowledge allowed them to improve in their jobs in agriculture, trade, and business.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

Teachers' salaries were another aspect of primary education the Spanish monarchy began to regulate in the last third of the eighteenth century. This regulation corrected inequalities such as those found when Archbishop Cortés y Larraz visited San Salvador and Sonsonate in 1768–1769. In their reports, parish priests revealed the diverse sources of funds for paying teachers' salaries, which ranged from community funds to parents to parish priests supplementing what a community could afford. Father José Díaz del Castillo of San
Jacinto (San Salvador), for example, turned to San Salvador’s governor for help in establishing schools in his parish’s small villages, including Panchimalco y Huizúcar. The latter was “somewhat isolated, unpleasant and hot; no schoolteacher would wish to enslave or banish himself for the 6 peso salary offered by the Pueblo, so I added two pesos from my income each month,” he wrote. Priests Ambrosio Andino and Manuel Navarro in Nonauleo and Usulután (San Salvador) also contributed to teachers’ salaries. Difficulties in providing attractive salaries for teachers in rural schools were not uncommon.

Probably aware of the difficulties the lack of a standard source of salaries presented for establishing schools, the Crown issued a cédula in February 1778 specifying that community funds (cajas de comunidad) should pay the village schoolteacher’s salary. An incomplete but important series of community fund accounts from 1784 to 1788 in Sonsonate’s villages confirms the implementation of this decree’s provisions and reveals that the salary paid to a teacher varied depending on available resources, the number of students, and subjects taught (discussed later). The variations in salary could be important. From 1786 to 1788, Dolores Izalco paid its teacher 10 pesos a month for twelve months, and Nahuizaleo’s teacher received 9 pesos. In Apaneca the salary was only 6 pesos, and San Pedro Puxtla’s schoolmaster earned only 4 pesos and 4 reales each month.

Another way the Crown regulated salaries was by using local and regional agents who supervised and approved the teachers’ (escueleros) salaries. In Sonsonate the alcalde mayor chose the teachers, sometimes following parish priests’ advice or recommendations. Indian and ladino alcaldes proposed a salary for the schoolmaster, which the audiencia in Guatemala approved. Once the salary was approved, the alcaldes were responsible for paying the teacher. After San Salvador was reorganized as an intendancy in 1786, the community funds of Indian and ladino villages and the municipal funds of Spanish towns and cities continued to pay teachers’ monthly salaries, which varied as much as the pay scale in Sonsonate. There was, however, an important difference in the process of establishing salaries and making payments in the new political administration.

Let us examine how salaries were set in Indian, ladino, and Spanish communities at the close of the nineteenth century. In Indian villages under an intendancy, as in the case of Cacaopera discussed earlier, the municipal council, subdelegados, intendant, and audiencia all made salary recommendations after a careful review of the economic situation of the village’s residents, the community fund’s income, and the purpose of the primary school education. This many-layered process reveals much about the kinds of issues that com-

plicated the establishment of schools in small towns. As discussed earlier, in 1791 the community’s leaders, in the name of the rest of the pueblo, wrote to the Crown attorney charged with protecting Indian rights to express their opinion on education in their village, which to this point had lacked a teacher. While demanding a schoolteacher as “indispensable” for “the instruction of the children which would provide such a benefit result for the residents of our Pueblo,” the village leaders also claimed they were too poor to support one from either the community as a whole or from individual parents’ contributions. The cabildo proposed using the community fund to pay the teacher’s salary and asked permission to use 200 pesos from the fund to pay two primary schoolteachers.

The province’s governors supported Cacaopera’s request, although with slightly different emphases. Subdelegado Jacinto del Cid Pizarro of Gotera, Cacaopera’s district capital, under orders from the audiencia to follow the case closely, supported the request, stating that the school had always used the community fund to pay teachers’ salaries, which varied from four to six pesos a month, depending on the number of students, and included foodstuffs offered by the community. If the community fund ran low on resources, he recommended asking students’ parents to pay the salaries, for he believed their occupations provided sufficient income for this extra expense. In this village the Indians were not just day laborers but also “makers of tackle, tanners of soles, fabric- and carpet-makers, and makers of pack saddles, armor, chairs and other such,” and they raised individual crops as well as those on the community land. In fact, Pizarro’s report revealed that the reason Cacaopera had experienced difficulty establishing a school was not its ability to pay a teacher but the parents’ insistence on finding someone who would teach music as well as literacy and Christian doctrine. The subdelegado recommended that if the town could not find two teachers to work for six pesos each, it should hire one professor of reading, writing, and music at twelve pesos.

Intendant Antonio María Aguilar also focused on the economics of supporting a schoolteacher, emphasizing the need to protect Indian communities from bearing the cost as individuals. He, too, recommended paying the teacher’s salary from community funds, in part to convince the village that those funds were for their own benefit, not just the king’s, and raising the salary so that individual contributions for the teacher’s living expenses were no longer necessary.

In the capital, audiencia judge and fiscal Antonio Talavera shared almost the same values as the two provincial governors. He agreed with Pizarro’s recommendation to pay two teachers monthly salaries of six pesos each, a
customary amount in many other villages. However, Talavera did not agree that the communal fund should pay for a music teacher, arguing that the fund was meant to support "necessary expenses," which music instruction was not. Talavera recommended that the audiencia approve use of community funds to pay teachers’ salaries throughout the intendancy, thus saving Indian residents from an onerous expense. Music teachers’ salaries, however, would have to come from their own resources.  

This case illustrates the many steps required under the intendancy system to pay primary schoolteachers’ salaries in Indian villages. Clearly, the Crown applied to education its general belief that greater supervision and management of communities’ resources, rather than more autonomy for those communities, would help local governments achieve a common good. Indian village councils, such as Cacapora’s, sometimes shared Crown officials’ belief that education was important. They might, however, differ in their beliefs about the purpose of education, leading royal officials to limit approval of some petitions. If, for Cacapora’s Indians, music lessons—perhaps rooted in ancient traditions—were a necessity, for the audiencia judge they were superfluous and not a bona fide expense for community funds. In his view, although music supported religious activities, it also encouraged the Indians to neglect work, and work was higher on a Bourbon bureaucrat’s list of values than religious devotion.

As noted earlier, by the late eighteenth century even Indian villages had many non-Indian residents. How were teachers’ salaries paid in such places? In Indian villages where ladino children attended primary schools, legislation ordered community funds to pay for Indian students, but the parents of ladino scholars had to make separate contributions. The legislation mandating these payments dates to the 1799 audiencia auto that called for the establishment of primary schools in villages without them; the edict suggested that parish priests or other royal agents might supplement teachers’ salaries in towns with limited community funds. In addition, recognizing the mixed population of many settlements, the audiencia specified that in Indian villages with ladino children in school, parents might pay anywhere from half a real to three reales each month toward the teacher’s salary, depending on the curriculum offered.

The same regulations applied in Spanish cities and towns. Primary schoolteachers’ salaries were to come from city council funds, and ladino parents would contribute a monthly fee. In ladino barrios within a Spanish city, any ladino community funds would support the teacher. This is how salaries were structured in San Salvador in 1802. The teacher of the school run by the city council, Buenaventura Cáceres, sought a raise from his monthly salary of fifteen pesos, since the number of his students had grown to 137. Cáceres thought the city’s funds could support the raise. The Council’s syndic and the intendant thought another source should pay for the salary increase, since the additional students came from the city’s ladino barrios (which had their own schools) because parents had seen the progress Spanish children had made under Cáceres’s new program, as discussed earlier. These two officials recommended using community funds from the barrios sending additional alumni to increase Cáceres’s salary from fifteen to thirty pesos. The additional funds would come as two pesos from each of six ladino barrios (each already supporting its own school) and three pesos from city council coffers. Ladino families spread throughout the city who had the right to send their children to Cáceres’s school would also be asked annually to contribute a half fanega of corn (if laborers) or four reales (if artisans) to the teacher.

Despite the regulation and correspondence indicating residents’ and governors’ interest in establishing schools and paying teachers, schoolmasters did not always receive their salaries. In times of crisis, such as the locust infestation of 1802, intendant Rossi approved suspending payment of teachers’ salaries in towns where students had been withdrawn from classes to help their parents protect their crops. The poverty such crises provoked also led royal officials to approve school closings, as happened in the parishes of Soyapango, Ilopango, San Antonio Ateos, Guaymoco, and Texistepeque in 1803.

Lack of payment could upset a family’s economy, as happened in 1803 with Chilanga (San Salvador) schoolmaster José Santiago Vásquez, who taught the town’s thirty schoolchildren for eight pesos a month and served double duty as the town clerk. When Gotera subdelegado José Pérez Mantía withheld his salary for two months, Vásquez wrote to the audiencia that he was a “poor indio who supports myself by my industry; that I have complied with exactness the demands of my job without committing a single fault” and should be paid. Neither Vásquez’s letter nor any other document reveals why Pérez Mantía garnished his wages. However, the case does show that teachers were at the mercy of those assigned to pay their salaries.

In other cases, economic crises reduced a village’s ability to pay its teacher from community funds. Juan Vásquez, primary schoolteacher in Ahuachapán since 1803, reported in 1806 that he had not been paid a full salary in sixteen months but had received only forty-six pesos, six reales the alcalde had collected from renting out community land. Vásquez, a Guatemala native, had been appointed by alcalde mayor Martín Albores at a salary of eleven pesos a
month from the village’s community funds plus two reales a month from each ladino child he taught to read, three from those he taught to write, and four reales from Spanish students who learned to read, with an additional peso for those who learned to write. The original cause of the reduced payments, according to the village’s priest, was an infestation of locusts (chapulines) that was so disruptive the Indians did not even have enough to eat. However, afterward he could find no excuse for the delinquency.35

Sometimes it was not a town’s ability to pay that affected a teacher’s ability to collect his salary but a town’s interest in finding new, less individually costly funds. By 1808 Vásquez apparently had left Ahuachapán, as in September of that year a new teacher, Luis Pinto, arrived to teach primary school to the village’s more than 200 five- to twelve-year-olds. Pinto was supposed to receive a fifteen-peso monthly salary, but the alcaldes and priest argued that the village lacked the resources to pay it and sought the audiencia’s permission to use the two reales charged to each villager for each head of cattle killed when brought to supply Sonsonate, a fee that had always gone into Sonsonate’s town funds. They argued that since the same heads of household who paid the tax were sending children to school, the new use of this fee was appropriate and would not unduly harm Sonsonate’s finances. If the amount collected was insufficient to pay the salary, they proposed finding other means, as long as the burden on parents was not too great. Not surprisingly, alcalde mayor Lorenzo Jiménez Rubio, resident in Sonsonate, disagreed with and rejected the Ahuachapán proposal. He argued that Ahuachapán’s residents were “powerful laborers,” able to pay a monthly fee to support a teacher. Sonsonate’s funds were already insufficient to pay for public works such as repairing the city jail. What would happen if they were further reduced? Manuel Solórzano, Guatemala’s accountant for municipal funds (contador de propios y arbitrios), saw both sides: Sonsonate needed to pay for public works, and Ahuachapán had a right to a teacher. He proposed taking part of the slaughter tax to pay Ahuachapán’s teacher, with any extra going to Sonsonate, a solution approved by the audiencia.36 In the four months it took to reach a viable solution, it is not clear that Pinto, as had happened with his predecessor, received his salary. Making a living as a schoolteacher in late colonial San Salvador and Sonsonate was possible, but it was not easy.

PROFILE OF TEACHERS
Who would take the position of a village schoolteacher in these two districts, and what qualities did a schoolteacher need to have to get hired? The 1768–1769 questionnaire from Cortés y Larraz’s visit revealed that parish priests hired schoolteachers, who were Indian, ladino, and Spanish in origin. Although most reports did not mention a teacher’s ethnicity, the few that did indicate that San Salvador province had at least six Indian schoolteachers, one Spanish schoolteacher, and one ladino schoolteacher. The latter taught in Santa Ana, a supposedly Indian village with residents from all three ethnic groups that was elevated to the status of a Spanish town a few decades later.37 In the 1760s, priests were to ensure teachers’ Christianity and “good customs,” and most asserted that the teachers lived exemplary and Christian lives. Some reported that their teachers were too old or too often absent, but only Esteban Robles, curate of Mejicanos (San Salvador), focused on ethnicity as a reason to doubt a teacher’s ability to read, write, or teach Christian doctrine. Robles argued that the literacy of the children in the village of Aculhuaca was “poor” since the teacher was Indian.38 Yet the ethnic standard was not an official one; good behavior was. Even after the Crown named royal officials rather than parish priests to select teachers, the general profile continued: recruiters looked for evidence of religious faith, good conduct, dedication, and an exemplary life. The 1799 audiencia auto asked hiring officials to “do their investigations scrupulously” and to remove individuals who were not “persons of good life and customs” and replace them with those who were.39 For a teacher to transfer between schools, he had to provide certification of good conduct and exemplary labor.40

The criteria for hiring a teacher focused more on behavior than on subject matter, in part because there was no school that trained teachers. Those who came to the profession had held a variety of jobs before taking up the educator’s mantle. For example, Antonio Pajares of San Salvador, who taught in late-eighteenth-century Soyapango and Ilopango (San Salvador), had been an “inspector of weights and measures” and a “warehouse guard” at the indigo fairs, as well as a scribe for San Salvador’s royal treasury office and administrator of the tax on indulgences (Bulas de la Santa cruzada) for San Salvador’s parishes.41

Behavior was not just a concern of state officials; village authorities were also attentive to a teacher’s abilities and actions. In 1811 (only slightly outside the time period discussed here), Cirriaco Illescas, who had been the primary schoolteacher of Metapán (San Salvador), complained to the audiencia that the village alcaldes had fired him and still owed him his last three months’ salary. Illescas had first sought redress from San Salvador intend- dant Gutiérrez y Ulloa, but the official’s proposal that the alcaldes take him back had gone unheeded. Upon investigating, the intendant’s legal councilor,
Pedro Barriere, found that the ladino alcaldes in a village of “pardos and ladinos” claimed to have fired Illescas because the village said he was not doing his job, that he taught no students, and that their money was being wasted with very little educational benefit. The alcaldes also claimed Illescas wanted the job so he could run a little store out of the schoolhouse and that they had ousted the instructor only after Spanish, Indian, and ladino parents had voted with their feet by removing their children from school. Illescas asked the official to interview his students to disprove the claim, but there is no evidence that this was done.³ Illescas did have one ally, Metapán’s priest, Francisco José Escobar, who argued that he had been a good teacher. There is no evidence from the village’s Indian residents either for or against the instructor, but the alcaldes, who said complaints dated to before their term in office, were inflexible and had already sought a replacement, Guatemalan Manuel Arévalo, with a “better disposition and qualities” than Illescas. The public scribe administering this case reminded the alcaldes that according to the November 1782 cédula, royal officials had to choose a town’s teachers, preferably a local resident and in consultation with the parish priest.⁴ Since no resolution to the case is indicated in the file, it is not clear whether Illescas or Arévalo subsequently took the teacher’s position.

CONCLUSION

In the 1750s the Spanish Crown, under the Bourbon dynasty, initiated a process that culminated in greater royal protagonism regarding primary education throughout the Spanish empire. Within the Kingdom of Guatemala, in San Salvador and Sonsonate provinces, this gradual process succeeded in unseating the Church and its agents (both regular and secular) from a monopolistic control of education. The Crown continued to seek Church support, as when soliciting recommendations on nominating teachers. However, authority clearly lay in the legislation that set out new goals for education—on provision of materials for study, creation of new salaried teachers’ posts, and creation of new schools—and with the governors and the audiencias who in practice provided the support to implement regal innovations.

Among the goals implemented by the Crown between 1750 and 1808, some represented a radical break from past policy, particularly the mandate to bring Indian populations into not just Christian but also Spanish society through a policy of “gentle” but firm instruction in the Spanish language. Other areas experienced less innovation. Among the unchanged policies was a primary emphasis on the civilizing benefits of teaching moral precepts.

Literacy was an important secondary goal, but one less helpful in reducing crime or increasing obedience. Beyond the traditional triumvirate of reading, writing, and Christian doctrine, schools might add numeracy or music to the curriculum, but these subjects reflected local interests rather than Crown concerns.

If the Crown succeeded in setting the agenda for primary education, this does not mean Madrid maintained full control. As we have seen, local events and developments created substantial obstacles to the process of providing universal education, despite significant growth in the number of existing primary schools between 1768 and 1807 and reports of student progress in learning in some places. In some cases, towns stopped paying their teachers during the locust crises, which considerably reduced community funds. The infestations also caused substantial student absences, as children stayed home to help their parents protect the crops.

Nor does it mean that education reached as many children as the Crown desired. In cases such as Metapán, teachers failed to teach (as some parents claimed), which hindered children’s learning. In this same case, local officials did not always implement royal policy, since local alcaldes refused to reinstate the teacher Illescas despite legislation that authorized only royal functionaries to appoint or fire instructors. In other instances, no qualified teacher was available or communities lacked sufficient funds to keep a school open. As a result, in the two provinces studied, San Salvador and Sonsonate, hundreds of students received some primary schooling, but these hundreds were a small percentage of a population that approached 200,000 by 1800. Thus the chances that an individual town or village could produce a few individuals who could read and write, or at least sign their names on official documents, increased under the new Bourbon policy, but attaining general literacy was still a distant goal.

Regardless of the practical consequences, by assuming a more secular policy of primary school education, the Crown took the initiative from the Church and parents to establish schools, contract teachers, and set curricula. Although not always consistent in its policies, the Crown assumed a self-imposed obligation to maintain a consistent educational policy so as to create an institutional basis on which to provide the monarchy with more “useful” vassals in accordance with new demands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This shift from religious to secular responsibility for primary education was an enduring Bourbon legacy to El Salvador. From the early federal period of the 1820s, numerous government initiatives modeled directly or indirectly on the Bourbon method and on innovations of the
constitutional monarchy of 1812–1814 and 1820–1821 mandated expansion of primary schooling throughout Central America’s cities and villages. As in the earlier period, republican officials, like their royal predecessors, continued to rely on the extensive Church network of priests for help with teaching and for information regarding the existence and effectiveness of established schools, and they continued to expect communities to fund their own educational institutions.*

NOTES


3. John Tate Lanning, La Ilustración en la Universidad de San Carlos (Guatemala 1976), 252–261.


5. Francisco Espinosa, Panorama de la escuela salvadoreña y otros escritos (San Salvador 1998), 7–8, 27.

6. See, for example, Pilar Gonzalbo, Las mujeres en Nueva España: educación y vida cotidiana (México 1987); Historia de la educación en la época colonial, 2 vols.: El mundo indígena y La educación de los criollos y la vida urbana (México 1990); Sergei Gruzinski, “La segunda aculturación: el Estado ilustrado y la religiosidad indígena en Nueva España (1775–1800),” Ensayos de historia novohispana 8 (1985): 175–201.

7. “Ladino” here is used to mean individuals of diverse ethnic extraction (mestizos, mulattos, poor Spaniards, free blacks, and Indians outside their original towns). Juan Solórzano, “Las comunidades indígenas de Guatemala, El Salvador y Chiapas durante el siglo XVIII: los mecanismos de la explotación económica,” Anuario de estudios centroamericanos 11 (1985): 95.

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8. It is probable that the 1804 decree known as the consolidación de veales reales affected community funds and towns’ ability to pay schoolteachers, but I have not yet found confirmatory evidence.


10. One league equals 5,572.7 meters. Gisela von Wobeser, La formación de la hacienda en la época colonial: el uso de la tierra y el agua (México 1989), 90.


16. AGCA A1.11 Legajo 5897, Expediente 49930, Estado de Curatos del arzobispado de Guatemala, 1806, ff. 3–4; A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22938, Sobre cumplimiento de la Real provisión relativa al establecimiento de escuelas en la Provincia de Sonsonate, 1802, f. 1. In 1807 the intendancy boasted 15 districts, with the same 3 Spanish municipalities, 120 Indian villages, and 25 ladino settlements. Sonsonate, in 1802, had the single villa, 22 Indian villages, and 1 ladino village.


20. on the secularization of doctrinas, see Dorothy Tanck, Pueblos de indios y educación en el México colonial, 1750–1821 (México 1999), 165–167.

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23. Cortés, Descripción geográfico-moral, 101. When the ruined city of Santiago (Guatemala) reincorporated as Antigua in 1799, its regulations ordered the alcaldes ordinarios and syndic to establish schools. See AGCA, A1 Legajo 2775, Expediente 24194, Instrucción para el manejo de alcaldes ordinarios y procurador sindico personero del común de la Antigua Guatemala, 30 March 1796, f. 39.


27. Cited in Tanck, Pueblos de indios y educación, 178.


29. Matías de Córdova, Utilidades de que todos los indios y ladinos se vistan y calcen a la española, y medir de conseguirlo sin violencia, coacción, ni mandato (Guatemala 1798), 17.

30. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22039, Real provisión, 22 May 1806.


34. AGCA, A1(3).31 Legajo 671, Expediente 6152, ff. 1–1v, 9v–10v.

35. AGN Fondo colonial, Expediente 39a, Real provisión en que se manda al Alcalde interino de la Provincia de Sonsonate remita a la Real Audiencia el estado . . . relativo al establecimiento de escuelas de yndios y metodo para enseñar, 1799, ff. 2v, 4v.

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37. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22039, no pagination.


40. Ibid., 61–88, 107–134. See the padrónes in Archbishop Cortés y Larraz’s report on Sonsonate’s Indian and ladino populations.

41. In San Salvador province the parishes of Ateos, San Salvador, Olocuitla, Santiago Nonualco, Ereguayquí, Oiscala, San Vicente, Texatal, Tomacatepeque, Texistepeque, and Metapán and Guaymocó lacked schools. Most priests blamed the Indians’ poverty. In Sonsonate province there were no schools in the district capital Ahuachapán; or in Caluco, Nahuilingo, or Jujutla; or in the sujetos of Sonsonate, Santo Domingo, and Apaneca. Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, 107–210.

42. AGN, Fondo colonial, Expediente 39a, ff. 3–3v: Real provisión en la que se manda al Alcalde interino.

43. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22038, Sobre . . . establecimiento de escuelas en . . . Sonsonate, 1802, f. 2.

44. AHAG, Tomo 38, Tramo 5, Caja 64, Visita pastoral del arzobispo Peñalver y Cárdenas, 1803, “Estado que manifiesta todas las Escuelas que hay en esta Ciudad, tanto en la Republica de ella como en sus barrios,” f. 53; Domingo Juarros, Compendio de la historia del Reino de Guatemala, 1500–1800 (Guatemala 1841), 22.

45. AHAG, Tomo 38, Tramo 5, Caja 5, Visita pastoral del arzobispo Peñalver y Cárdenas, 1803, f. 8.

46. AGCA, A1(3).1 Legajo 3, Expediente 31. The 1802 locust plague led many Indian cabildos to askintoshendt Rossi for permission to use common goods to pay for “subsistence and seeds for replanting.”

47. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22039, Real provisión . . . 22 May 1806.

48. Table derived from information in Gutiérrez, Estado general, Annex.

49. Ibid. This was probably because both villages had large ladino and small Indian populations and likely supported schools for each.

50. The Council of Trent recommended starting religious instruction when children had the use of reason. Julio Ruiz, Política escolar de España, 38–39.

51. Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, 120.

52. Tanck, Pueblos de indios y educación, 407–408.

53. Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, 120.

54. AGN, Fondo colonial, Expediente 39a, Real provisión en la que se manda al Alcalde interino, f. 3–3v; AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22038, Sobre . . . establecimiento de escuelas . . . en Sonsonate, f. 2.

55. AGCA, A1(3).31 Legajo 353, Expediente 4038, Consulta del alcalde mayor de Sonsonate sobre el nombramiento de maestro interino en Don Juan Vásquez, 1807, f. 5v.

56. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2642, Expediente 22039, Real provisión, 22 May 1806.
57. AGCA, A1(3).31 Legajo 355, Expediente 4037, Sobre el aumento de salario al maestro de San Salvador, Buena Ventura Cáceres, 1802, ff. 8-16.
58. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 260, Expediente 5736, Nuevo método para enseñar á leer, y escribir bien y breve, el primero por el excellente arbitrio del silabo: Ylustrado en gran manera, en unos quadernos nuevamente puestos. Yventado donde leen muchos a una voz. Y unas instrucciones de pergaminio donde escriben todos con lo que sacan una letra uniforme, suelta, y liversal. Yventado por Cervantes: util para la enseñanza de los indios. Nueva Guatemala 30 de mayo de 1801, ff. 25-30.
59. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 26, Expediente 746, Real cédula, 7 de agosto de 1807, ff. 1-6.
62. AGCA, A1(3).73 Legajo 670, Expediente 6148, ff. 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, 16; Expediente 6144, ff. 8, 10, 12, 14. Cuentas de los fondos de comunidad de los pueblos de la Alcaldía mayor de Sonsonate, 1786 y 1788.
64. Ibid., ff. 6-7v.
65. Ibid., f. 11-11v.
66. For Indian village fund management under the Ordenanzas de intendentes, see Gutiérrez, “El nuevo régimen institucional,” 112. For Spanish cities’ management of municipal funds, see Horst Pietschmann, Las reformas borbónicas y el sistema de intendencias en Nueva España: un estudio político administrativo (México 1996), 184.
68. Many royal officials viewed Indian traditions as superstitions incurring outrageous expenses. See the instructions San Salvador’s first intendant, José Ortiz, issued to the governors of Indian villages. Biblioteca Florentino Idaote (San Salvador), Special Collections, Manuscript 360, Instrucciones a que deberán arreglarse los gobernadores de los Pueblos de Indios del distrito de esta Intendencia, 1787-1788, f. 11.
69. AGN, Fondo colonial, Expediente 39a, f. 4: Real provisión en la que se manda al Alcalde interino.
70. AGCA, A1(3).31 Legajo 355, Expediente 4037, Sobre el aumento de salario . . . de Buena Ventura Cáceres, 1802, f. 17.
71. Rubio, Alcaldes mayores, 220. By 1803 Cáceres earned twenty-three pesos a month while other teachers generally received four to five pesos monthly. AHAG, Tomo 38, Tramo 5, Caja 64, Visita pastoral del arzobispo Peñalver y Cárdenas, 1803, “Estado que manifiesta todas las Escuelas,” f. 53.
72. Rubio, Alcaldes mayores, 221.
73. AHAG, Tomo 38, Tramo 5, Caja 64, Visita pastoral del arzobispo Peñalver y Cárdenas, 1803, ff. 56-57; 82-83; 122-123; 143-144; Tomo 39, Tramo 5, Caja 5, f. 8.

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74. AGCA, A1(3) Legajo 40, Expediente 437, José Santiago Vázquez, escribano del pueblo de Concepción Chilanga a la Audiencia de Guatemala, 1803.
75. AGCA, A1(3).31 Legajo 355, Expediente 4038, ff. 2-5v.
76. AGCA, A1.31 Legajo 2612, Expediente 22041, 1808.
77. The priests specified that there were Indian teachers in the Indian villages Mejanocos, Yantique, Gotera, Tiquiapa, and Texistepeque y Chalchuapa; a Spaniard in Chalatenango; and a ladino in Santa Ana. Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, 137, 166, 170, 175, 182, 197, 201, 206.
78. Robles cited in ibid., 137.
79. AGN, Fondo colonial, Expediente 39, Real provisión en la que se manda al alcalde interino . . . 1799.
80. AGCA, A1(3).31 Legajo 37, Expediente 395, f. 2: Certificaciones de buena conducta de Don Antonio Pujares . . . 23 October 1801. Maestro Antonio Pujares received a good conduct certificate certifying his skills as a teacher in reading, writing, and doctrine, as well as his prudence and gentleness.
81. Ibid.
83. Ibid., ff. 9-15: Declaración del cura de Metapán, 12 August 1811; del escribano público, 8 August 1811; de los alcaides ordinarios, 23 November 1811.
84. See ANC Decree, 10 January 1824, and AHAG, Cartas Eclesiásticas, Tomo 108 (April-June 1824), copies of answers to Ministerio General letters (1823-1824).
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