

FEMALE TEACHERS IN COLOMBIA'S SOUTHERN REGION: XIX CENTURY

Gabriela Hernández Vega¹
University of Nariño – Colombia
gahve2003@gmail.com

Reception: 05/04/2011
Evaluation: 15/06/2011
Acceptation: 26/08/2011
Reflectie Article
doi:10,9757

ABSTRACT

This article approach as an evidence of teaching activities performed by three female educators at the cities of Pasto, Ipiales y Túquerres all located in the south part of Colombia, on the last part of 19th Century. These Educators' work was developed during the last years of a radical liberal Government period and thorough its recovery era, therefore, all Education Institutes as well as educators and teachers had to survive among political tension and issues of the era. Those were years in which because of the liberal education politics it was possible to instruct both male and female educators thanks to the introduction of Tutoring schools in the country specially in Popayan, Capital city of Cauca Reign State, that was source of education in the south región of Colombia. The Liberal Educational Project, made possible conditions for the teaching and apprenticeship for women despite of being developed in a context of female discrimination and high command from male politicians. These female educators worked at the same time for improving quality of girl schools with educational plans which had objectives that pull female education focused on first vowels, morals, education on religion and social behavior. This article is related to a wider subject about feminine education in Pasto¹ prior study that was developed having in mind all regional social with an unique possibility of understanding an analyses based on gender, social class and ethnicity.

Key words: *Journal of Latin American Education History, female educators of 19th century, pedagogical activism, liberal education.*

INTRODUCTION

This text seeks to show the pedagogical action of three female teachers at the end of XIX century in three Colombia's southern cities: Pasto, Ipiales and Tuquerres. Their work was developed inside the last years of the period when *radical liberals* were in power, just before they were replaced by the conservative *regeneration movement*. It was a time of political tensions that marked the job of educational institutions of these women.

Due to the liberal education reforms it was then posible to create *Normal Schools* to prepare teachers. One of them was located in the city of Popayan, the capital of the state of Cauca that was the main administrative authority of the described context and its teachers.

¹ Professor de la Faculty of Educationn, Universidad of Nariño. Member of the Investigation Group recognized by COLCIENCIAS: University of Nariño: History, Education and Development.

It was a time of subordination and political exclusion of women; however, the liberal educational project created the conditions to forming profesional women teachers who improved the quality of girl's schools. Their job made it possible to improve female education beyond the traditional task of reading and writing, morality, religious education and urban manners.

This article is part of a wider study made around female education in Pasto². It was made based on the regional social history combined with gender, social class and ethnic analytical views.

1. A first glance

Europe's *Illustration* denied women the participation in the world of reason, which was defined as a male exclusive field; Colombian illustrated men shared this concept: female colombians, as european ones were *pure sensibility*, so they should not be considered "subjects of enlightenment, but given they are defined as nature, they are the objects to be illuminated by *lights*³."

From such perspective, in contrast with males, educational lights were given to women just when they were excluded from public matters, subordinated and assigned to domestic areas. Therefore, formal education for girls and ladies had no other purpose than becoming them better homewives:

More loving and dedication to children; order and discipline in home duties, knowledge to administer home and "servants", their becoming in compasive and nice wives for their husbands, and besides, if they had remaining time it should be employed in praying and refining skills of feminine labors in order to be prepared for the eventual lack of home master⁴.

2. The first official female teacher in the city of Pasto

The question if women should or should not be educated in the new Gran Colombia nation was posed since 1821 during the constitutional Congress of Cucuta⁵. Delegates agreed in limiting their education: forming them to become good wives and mothers was "very important for public happiness"⁶. Felix Restrepo, a congress delegate, proposed a study plan to develop femenine education, "because there is not anything as convenient as to wish for the moment that young ladies learn to read, write, embroidery and sewing"⁷. Congress also approved in a first resolution of july 28th that "Article 1st. It will be established schools or education houses for girls and ladies in all nuns religious convents"⁸. In the following august month it was approved Law 8th. about creating schools of first letters, authorizing girls schools installment in the capitals of

² Gabriela Hernández Vega, "Avatars of femenine education inPasto (Colombia): 1880-1935" (Doctoral thesis, University Pablo de Olavide-Sevilla España, 2008).

³ Cristina Molina Petit, *Dialéctica feminista de la Ilustración*, (Barcelona: Anthropos, Madrid, Comunidad de Madrid. Consejería de Educación. Dirección General de la Mujer, 1994), 120.

⁴ Suzy Bermúdez, "Familias y hogares en Colombia durante el siglo XIX y comienzos del XX", en *Las Mujeres en la Historia de Colombia. Tomo II. Mujeres y sociedad*, Consejería presidencial para la política social, Presidencia de la República, (Santafé de Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma, 1995), 248-249.

⁵ Congress made in the city of Cucuta, it created the first el cual dio constitution of the Republic of Gran Colombia integrated by Nueva Granada (Colombia and Panamá), Venezuela and Ecuador.

⁶ Actas del Congreso de Cúcuta 1821.Tomo II (Bogotá: Fundación Francisco de Paula Santander, 1989), 130.

⁷ Actas del Congreso de Cúcuta 1821, 109.

⁸ Actas del Congreso de Cúcuta 1821, 124.

cantons.

At the time, educating girls was not still part of cultural life in Colombian society because “most of fathers do not give importance to educating their daughters”⁹; among their interests it was central educating boys and male youth; however, in Pasto some families were concerned about girls education and expressed it to the municipal council.

The answer came in 1835 when it was organized the First Letters School for girls of the city and named a female teacher by the first time in the formal education system of the city. Since then, this fact became an example to be followed by young ladies and married ones who took part in this field of formal education in the city:

The Municipal Council of Pasto, using its attributions conceded by article 172 of Law 1° from past month of may,

Considering:

1°. That the establishment of a girl's school is an absolute need for the canton's advance and reform of the sex reform disposition for letters, as for sewing and other activities proper of them are highly laudable.

2°. In spite of the advantages it offers, this can not be made without creating a fund to provide the female teacher and the rent of a local from the community rents ruled by the numeral 4th of the provinces organic law; and according to the sense of our law those commercial rents must be invested preferently in the establishment of schools,

Decreets:

1°. As soon as possible it will be established in this city a girls school, which female teacher will be named according to the judgement of the society of education, and she will be elected from the appearing persons with more virtues and respectability.

Her duties are: teaching: 1°. Truths of religion that form part of Christian doctrine: 2°. Main maxims of good morals and urbanity: 3°. Reading and writing: 4°. Sewing, embroidery and drawing¹⁰.

The selection of the women to be teacher was central because she was the person to guarantee the good orientation of girls. She could not be anyone. The elected one should fulfill some previous requirements that satisfied the normality expected by society besides “being the person with more virtue and respectability”: catholic as a signal of a highly clean moral behaviour, plus good knowledge of reading and writing. Keeping in mind those indispensable traits needed for the good school functioning, miss Margarita Polo was selected to assume the charge of first teacher of Pasto's girls. Clarification: Polo's abilities does not imply that the inexistence of a school for girls in the city was an obstacle for some other young ladies attaining that formation as it was the practice in other places, probably at home, considered the most proper place for girls, under the teachings of the mother or any women of the neighbourhood¹¹.

⁹ Patricia Londoño, “Educación femenina en Colombia, 1780-1880”, *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* Vol: 31, No 37 (1994), 35.

¹⁰ Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pasto (AHMP), Pasto. *Correspondencia*, Pasto 1835-1837, Caja 14, Folio 55.

¹¹ At those times it was common in Europe and in some countries of the Americas to have private domestic schools known as las Amigas o Migas. Teachers received the same name of the institution, met girls in their own homes and taught them to memorize catechism, sewing, weaving, embroidering and reading printed and manuscript letters. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *La educación de la mujer en la Nueva España* (México D.F: Secretaría de Educación Pública, *Rev. hist.edu.latinoam* - Vol. 14 No. 18, enero – junio 2012 - ISSN (versión online) 2256 – 5248- pp. 243 – 264

During forty five years a group of women without any special instruction worked as teachers in first letters for the girls of the community. Its number increased as the school organization improved in this southern region of the country. Some important personalities of the city recognized their contribution just before 1900 and lamented that there were not any other fields of action different from convent and school. They admitted that it was not a lack of aptitudes but because “the instruction we give them is quite small, both in the extensión of matters to be learned and in the number of persons that receive it.”¹². This statement admitted the responsibility of government, catholic church and intellectuals, besides the complicity of women, who requested to be separated from *lights*, as personages “of a ghost gallery” according to the description that Belinda Arteaga gave to those in permanent age minority.

3. The first professional female teachers in Colombia

The formation of Latinoamerican professional teachers started in the second half of 19th. Century; it was undertaken by governments in each country according to the circumstances, inside a general context in which each new republic decided to consolidate their modernization processes. From this point of view, teachers training in Colombia was a process conducted by *radical liberals*, who considered that reinforcing public instruction was one of the best strategies “to combat analphabetism and to make colombian society an illustrated one seeking progress”¹³. In this context, organizing ENI (Female Teachers Normal Schools) was part of the political project that tried to find an answer to the need of forming a sector of female population in order to incorporate a new culture in everyday life. Salvador Camacho Roldán, a radical public figure, recognized “the indolence shown by Colombian liberals related to female education policies”¹⁴, which it deserved to impulse an educational project toward creating the conditions to end their marginal situation. Quoting him about women:

*She has been confined to domestic homelife; there have not existed universities, schools, or advanced education to spark in her mind the new century ideas. She still is what she was before the Independence from Spain. We have not tried to place her in the current tendence of this century, and they stay now behind us*¹⁵.

Liberals were urged to prepare more illustrated women in comparison with past times; it was needed to actualize their education with new values to be displayed in their expected roll at home: the formation of the new citizen. Organizing of ENIs was an advance if compared with traditional women education¹⁶, where they were formed as teachers for all the states of the Union, against those who opposed the idea of transferring scientific knowledge to them.

Subsecretaría de Cultura, Dirección General de Publicaciones, 1985), 16. According to Pilar Foz y Foz “las Amigas, very extended in spanish Americas, did not leave evidences with that name in Nueva Granada”, Pilar Foz y Foz, *Mujer y Educación en Colombia. Siglos XVI-XIX* (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1997), 33. However, some girls were educated at home, as it was the case of girls of Pasto’s elites.

¹² Alejandro Santander, *Biografía de D. Lorenzo de Aldana y Corografía de Pasto* (Pasto: Imprenta de Gómez Hermanos, 1896), 98.

¹³ Myriam Báez Osorio, “Las Escuelas Normales y el cambio educativo en los Estados Unidos de Colombia en el período Radical, 1870-1886” (Tesis Doctorado, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, 2004).

¹⁴ Gabriela Hernández Vega, *La mujer en la Universidad de Nariño: 1935-1969* (Pasto: Universidad de Nariño, 2004), 103.

¹⁵ Salvador Camacho Roldán, *Escritos varios. Tomo II*. (Bogotá: Editorial Incunables, 2ª. Edición. 1893), 78.

¹⁶ Londoño, “Educación femenina en Colombia, 1780-1880”, 35.

However, modernizing her education had no effect in the political and civil situation of women. The liberal project of women formation did not search to change political thinking, neither new legal definitions about female inequality conditions. On the contrary, with the new political Constitution of 1863 and approved civil code, liberals institutionalized and legalized the subordinated status of married women and at the time, they ratified their exclusion from public spaces.

This environment of male fraternity and female subordination was the stage when the first ENI was created in the capital of the nation, Bogota, in 1872, by the Sovereign State of Cundinamarca. This experience impulsed later the central government to extend it at a national level: “with the creation of ENIs for males, the interest in doing it for women increased, and it favored the formation of female teachers”¹⁷.

Given this precedent of the Cundinamarca’s ENI, in 1874, the president of the United States of Colombia, Santiago Pérez, signed the decret that gave rules to female ENIs. It determined that – as it was done with male ENIs- “It will be created a female ENI in each state where there is not a similar one, in agreement with this decret”¹⁸; at the end of this 1870’s decade there were female ENI’s in these states: Antioquia, Bolivar, Boyaca, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Panama, Santander, Magdalena and Tolima.

Female’s teacher profession was soon recognized as an appropriated activity for the “nice sex” given the analogy that had been created between “femenine nature” an formal education of girls and ladies. For society, those teachers mixed the sense of motherhood with their capacity to serve others; it was a common belief the supposed innate capacity of women for educational tasks, moral care and material care of childhood¹⁹, “as with sewing, it constituted a prolongation of the activities they should perform at home”²⁰. The sense of female scholar life was centered in providing them with better educational conditions to “give theirselves to others, mainly to a man, but not to form herself, therefore the culture of science, philosophy and poetry is not supposed to fit them”²¹; the goal was that their children’s mothers were not analphabets.

Due to those analogies with the profession, women’s dedication to teaching was considered in an essentialist sense; it was like if women were born to be teachers, an interpretation that did not allow to evidence the social-historic origin of vocational activities. However, both traits of female formation and dedication were very important in shaping the future female action in public spaces because they widened the existential field of colombian women. Teaching then became an activity which allowed some women from Pasto and southern regions of the country to give a step forward to superate the social marginality in which they still dwelled in the final years of

¹⁷ Myriam Báez Osorio, “Las Escuelas Normales y el cambio educativo en los Estados Unidos de Colombia en el período Radical, 1870-1886”, 158.

¹⁸ Decreto Número 356 de 1874 (27 de agosto) Sobre establecimiento de Escuelas normales para mujeres. Artículo 1°.

¹⁹ Magdala Velásquez Toro, “Condición jurídica y social de la mujer”, en *Nueva Historia de Colombia*,. Tomo IV (Bogotá: Planeta Colombiana Editorial S. A, 1989), 26.

²⁰ Suzy Bermúdez, *El Bello Sexo La mujer y la familia durante el Olimpo Radical*. (Santafé de Bogotá D.C: Ediciones Uniandes, Ecoe Ediciones, 1993), 123.

²¹ Gabriela Castellanos, “¿Existe la mujer? Género, Lenguaje y Cultura”, en *Género e Identidad. Ensayos sobre lo masculino y lo femenino*, eds. Luz Gabriela Arango et al (Santafé de Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, Ediciones Uniandes, Programa de Estudios de Género, Mujer y Desarrollo, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1995), 40.

XIX century.

Independently of those limitations and difficulties, their teaching performance became a fact that brought personal and collective benefits to women: “by the first time, it gave them the opportunity and access to a respectable profession with an affluent level; also, it gave them a new sense of dignity and the chance to administer a rentable business”²².

4. Normal School of Teachers (INE) in Popayán

At the time, Pasto and the province around was part of the Sovereign State of Cauca with capital city Popayan. People from Pasto and its surroundings had to travel to Popayan where the closer ENIs for females and males existed in order to study the career of normalist.

Also in Popayan, in previous years, there was a Ladies School that was an institution to educate girls after primary education. Created by state Law 9 of 1873, it operated during four years until 1877, when it was transformed into the ENI. It was created with Cauca's public funds exclusively for “the education of the nice sex”; the study plan included matters concerning pedagogic formation, so their students were the first female teachers specialized to attend the girls of the State.

The opportunity to enter Popayan's ENI was an advance in feminine education of the southern region, but the limited number of cups assigned to Pasto was a limiting obstacle to conform an stable group to cover the schools of the region. Pasto, as the rest of southern provinces, only had one space for each anual promotion: only one lady might be paid by the state's ENI each year. This was clearly insufficient for the requirements of each province. In spite of this limitation, it was posible to conform a small group of highly qualified young teachers; they impulsed many changes and gave a new dynamic to the women education in this region. At these organizing times, the need and importance of women formal education was not a point of debate, but there was no consense about the contents of their educational instruction. Graduated females were uneasy persons, or as it was expressed by a member of the Literarian School of the city, a young native of Pasto, Dolores Guerrero who said: “enemies of the literate women, but lovers and admirers of the poetic lady that entertains their leisure times”²³; their ideal was to educate women keeping them inside the space of home, so she did not get confused by the world of theories.

5. First three profesional teachers, end of XIXth century

Due to the mentioned rules of the state of Cauca, only three young ladies of its southern region had Access to the Popayan's ENI during last decades of XIX century. Once they finished those studies they went back to their hometowns to work in the existing official schools. Their names were: Amalia Santander, Hortensia Mora y Elena Fernandez de Cordoba.

Amalia Santander Villamarin

She was from Pasto and belonged to a family of liberal tradition; in 1875 she went to Popayan as

²² Aída Martínez Carreño, “Opciones femeninas en la Colombia del siglo XIX”, *Gaceta*. Edición 6, 56.

²³ Dolores Guerrero, “A la señorita Rosario Rodríguez en el día de su natalicio”, *El Precursor*, Pasto, 15 Octubre, 1887, No 22.

scholarship holder and was the first Pasto's women graduated as a *normalist* of the ENI. The scholarship included her compromise to “stay working in the girl's school located at the city, during the needed time to complete the courses detailed by the Rules”, like “serving during three continuous years at the school with the charge of professor, once she concluded the training course”²⁴.

Once graduated and back in Pasto, she was named as professor of the School of Pasto, and one year later she became director of the institution. According to the Decree Organizing Public Instruction –DOIP–, Superior Schools should be directed only by graduated normalists. Therefore, all this changes and events opened the possibility for local authorities to transforming the previous First Letters Girls School, into a Superior School, which gave a new handling to the girls study plan in Pasto's society. This entity operated as it was envisioned by DOIP in relation to class courses and teaching methods permitting to advance in the feminine education of the city. Doña Amalia was succesful in administering the school: during her period it was conformed an average group of 120 girls assisting each day to clases. This figure is high if compared to the scarcely 25 assistants of 90 inscribed ones in the elder school.

There were no objections to Amalias's performance; however, given that she was director of an entity which represented the liberal educational thinking, she had to face several conflicting situations with some catholic clergy and local government representatives. In the first case she confronted priest Joaquin Delgado who made a public aggresion to a group of girls that studied at the Superior School: he threw them out of the church because they studied at a liberal school; the other case was when she faced the major of the city, who retired her from the charge of director of the Girls Superior School.

When the nation was in the civil war of 1885, Jose Maria Navarrete, the mayor of Pasto, requested Amalia's resignation as director and professor of Girls Superior School of the city. He accused her of *political intervention* because she was part of a group of women that gave assistance to a group of political prissoners that included the liberal former secretary of government of the state of Cauca, Manuel Sarria.

Pasto 2 de mayo de 1885

*Mr. José María Navarrete
Present*

I have not assumed your kind message, received yesterday, and as an answer I tell you this:

In normal circumstance the request of my retirement should be justified and verified in accordance to article 131 of the I.P.P code so I could exert my defense; but in this abnormal times that the nation faces, this imposition may not have another reason that the gossip of some person that dislikes me and put me at odds with you. This is the reason I have for not resigning to the destin you suggested because it would imply a confession of mine about the comision of some serious fault that is not present in my consciouness.

If calling to several women charity -to give daily food to Dr. Manuel Sarria and to other political prissoners who lack the basics of subsistance, as it is evident- has been the motive to believe that I intervened in polical matters, then I judge a

²⁴ Archivo Central del Cauca (ACC), 1875, Paquete 132, leg. 69.

serious mistake the act of qualifying my conduct as reprehensible and I show it as a virtue that praises humankind.

As a whole, I manifest you that if the government -which you loyaly and decidedly represent- orders my retirement of charge, I will be ready to suffer it without recognizing the serious cause imputed to me making believe that the sex to which I belong is outside of the field of action that is pertinent in the interior war of the nation.

*Those are the terms of my answer to your hasty message.
Sincerely and friendly,
Amalia Santander²⁵.*

Visiting and helping Sarria at jail was a charity act and a grateful trait from Amalia; years before, Sarria collaborated to Amalia when she requested entering Popayan school in 1875. At that time, liberal Cesar Conto was the president of the Sovereign State of Cauca and “Manuel Sarria was in charge of the Secretary of Government of the State”²⁶, so he approved the income request of Amalia. In her opinion clearly stated in her reply, that was part of the roll that women should perform during war times.

Don Jose Maria Navarrete’s position was different. In his opinion the behaviour of Amalia was beyond charity and humanitarian solidarity: it was the attention given by a functionaire to a political adversary of the regime that he represented. His request to resignation had happened three months after liberals surrendered to the representatives of the Mayor Navarrete on behalf of the conservative party and those ones that represented General Rosas, on behalf of the liberal party, which included brothers Santander. In this context, the contents of Mayor’s request to Amalia are understood as a revenge of the main conservative power of the city against a female professor considered a political adversary.

Amalia’s answer did not receive attention; on the contrary, one month later she was replaced by Primitiva Velasco, as it is confirmed by her message sent on june 11th of the same year, declaring that she is in charge of the Girls Superior School by “cesion of Amalia Santander”²⁷. Primitiva had not studied the course to graduate as a normalist, she was a teacher with some years of teaching experience in schools of the province.

Hortensia Mora

She was considered a lady of “high moral virtues and proven intelectual capacities and techniques for women culture”²⁸; she was born in Tuquerres and was the second lady of the southern region that graduated as profesor of the ENI, Popayan, 1881²⁹. This fact gave her the opportunity to organize the Girls Superior School in Tuquerres that she directed and worked accompanied by her sister Sofia Mora.

²⁵ Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pasto (AHMP), Pasto 1884-1885, Caja 10, Leg. 17, f. 6.

²⁶ Archivo Central del Cauca (ACC), 1875, leg. 69, f. 132.

²⁷ Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pasto (AHMP), Pasto 1884-1885, Caja 10, Leg. 17, f. 9.

²⁸ Leónidas Coral, *La guerra de los Mil Días en el Sur de Colombia*. (Pasto: Editorial Nariño, s.a), 100.

²⁹ *El Escolar*, Periódico oficial de Instrucción Pública del Estado Soberano del Cauca, Popayán, No 97, 27 Julio, 1882, 1.

In her speech of the graduation ceremony she expressed the importance of education as a factor in obtaining the freedom of people and in advancing of society through women instruction:

Gentlemen

Let me express my heart's gratitude for all those persons that have contributed to this achievement in my school career; I address you in this solemn moment when civilization shines and displays its most prestigious banquet to peoples and governments that have made huge efforts to conquer it and to enjoy of its beneficial results. In particular, Cauca's government celebrates today because it is present in the apotheosis of its achieved freedom, after continuous struggles in the field of letters, inedit sacrifices in the battle's field simbolized in the improvement of human gender, through educating and instructing of women.

Therefore, I feel plain of the enthusiasm inspired by youth and by the recognition and admiration for this people of my homeland that have achieved such triumphs after hazardous efforts and blood of their sons, to that people I dedicate with reverence and gratitude this diploma that have been conceded to me, without deserving it, in order to asume the directing of a school. Please, accept this as a the only present up to its dignity. On my side, I will give my best efforts and limited knowledge to deserve the honor of this truly regenerating mission entrusted to me. Now, let me address to the Directors of this institution to leave a testimony of my support and sincere gratitude for the active and direct part they have taken in my education and your kind treatment given to me. I also want that you know that I will conserve the memory of your noble qualities that will guide my life with those sound advices and lessons learnt from you.

Finally, to my dear fellow students, please accept my warm goodbye and fervent votes for your happiness and success in your careers, which is to be expected given your skills and also accompany our benevolent Directors. I said³⁰.

Elena Fernandez de Cordoba

Finally, a third teacher was Elena Fernandez de Cordoba, born in the city of Ipiales; she was part of the privileged group of ladies from the south that lived the same experience in the city of Popayan and “graduated as Elementary Professor in 1889”³¹.

6. Schools of XIXth century teachers

A disctintive trait of this outstanding teachers of the XIXth century, besides their personal interest in their own profesional formation, was the amount of actions made in favor of girls education in the region; those actions are the best testimony of their thinking. With their pragmatism they showed their interest about a femenine illustrated population: they did not want analphabet girls. They knew the social value of this mission for the benefit of the region, and this explains their constance when implementing those educational projects.

The first result of the social impact produced by training teachers was that it helped directly the infant female population. Their job widened the coverage of public scholarity and improved the

³⁰ Hortensia Mora, “Palabras de despedida en la sesión de distribución de premios de la Escuela Normal de Institutoras”, *El Escolar*, Popayán, 23 agosto, 1882, No 101, 2.

³¹ Informe del Ministro de Instrucción Pública al Congreso de 1913. *Diplomas de Maestros, expedidos por las Escuelas Normales de la República*. (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1913), 82.

quality of pedagogical processes by means of organizing these schools of superior character in three main regional cities as Pasto, Ipiales and Tuquerres. They worked the transforming of schools of first letters into Superior Schools for girls.

The second impact keeps consistency with the first one. It took place when private school's normalists organized for the education of adolescents in Pasto and Ipiales; this step led to a revolution in the daily lives of girls³² belonging to richer social sectors. New schools were created and they benefited young girls in two senses: first, it permitted that teaching were done according to a systemic project plan; and second, given that girls necessarily had to leave their homes daily for school, this changed the habits of families.

After being removed as director of the Girls Superior School, Amalia Santander decided to continue her labor in the field of private education. Several families residing in the city of Ipiales, concerned about educating their daughters and joined efforts to organize a girls' school that was able to provide a good education to the local youth. This initiative led to the creation of a private school *Our Lady of Las Lajas*, and without prejudices of any kind, they hired Amalia Santander to lead the new school.

It is not known exactly the school curriculum of *Our Lady of Las Lajas*, but it is reported the satisfaction and gratitude of parents for educational performance of Amalia. In the solemn session of August 1889 that concluded the school year, the school board read a note where parents recognized the excellent test results as well as the "exaltation of the virtues and talents of the highly cultured Pasto's daughter, Miss Santander"³³.

After some years in Ipiales, Amalia returned to Pasto. With the collaboration of her cousin, Elena Eloisa Santander, they created the School of Conception for girls that started on December 1st. of 1891 with "Amalia as Director and Elena Eloisa as Sub-director"³⁴. Some girls and ladies were from Pasto and were inscribed as *external* students; there were also students from other south regions who were inscribed as *internal students*. Family fathers paid a monthly amount from *six to eight reals*.

Education was the responsibility of the Director and Sub-Director who, in addition to administrative functions, gave classes for different subjects to the primary and secondary levels; one exception was the drawing class given by Mr. Apolinar Guzman. The academic quality was commented by local press as to the "lucid examinations submitted by students of the School of the Immaculate Conception, directed by Elena and Amalia Santander"³⁵.

On October 6th, of 1893 it started to function the Lyceum of the Merced run by Ms. Elena Fernandez de Cordoba, and according to a newspaper note full of gallantry, there studied "the aristocracy of talent and beauty of Pasto"³⁶. The organization of the Lyceum was "backed by Mr. Bernardo de la Espriella, Epaminondas Navarrete, highly recognized merchants, and Dr. Manuel

³² Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pasto (AHMP), *Correspondencia*, Caja 9, leg. 6, f. 9.

³³ Leónidas Coral, *La guerra de los Mil Días en el Sur de Colombia*, 99.

³⁴ Santander, *Biografía de D. Lorenzo de Aldana y Corografía de Pasto*, 117.

³⁵ *El Bien Público*, Pasto, 5 agosto, 1894, Año 1, No. 29, 116.

³⁶ Erasmo Del Valle, "Liceo de la Merced", *El Bien Público*, Pasto, Julio 14, 1894, No 26, 104.

Maria Rodríguez who was director of the local newspaper *The Public Good*³⁷. The three men were concerned about the education of girls and regional progress; they were also part of those persons engaged in the cause of the autonomy of the region with respect to the Sovereign State of Cauca, with the goal of becoming the tenth department of nation.

The Lyceum curriculum comprised basically Religion, Reading, Writing, Spanish, Arithmetic and Geography, with special emphasis on religious education of girls because, as explained, for local society female education should be Catholic religion as its foundation: "A lady instructed in all knowledge of adornment, but that has vegetated without a solid Christian education, is more damaging to his parents, husband and children, than help, support and joy"³⁸.

However, at the Lyceum directed by Elena Fernández de Córdoba, contrary to what it could be expected about the requirements of city families for the education of their daughters, the teaching of the matters called *proper of the sex* were not part of school work, an indication of the thinking of the director about what it should be the schooling of girls.

However, one of the sponsors of the institution as was Manuel Maria Rodriguez had written years before in *El Precursor*, the newspaper of the Literary School of Pasto, about the importance of education as a "principle of any regeneration" emphasizing aspects that should provide education of young women:

*attended the importance of her illustration, due to the big influence to be exercised by she, and the lofty mission she is called to display, she receives a good moral education, widely scientific, and exquisite good taste, by the participation that literature, languages, music, painting and exquisite work proper sex have in it*³⁹.

The annotation of Rodriguez echoed the expectation and interest of the parents, who did not accept the training of girls without the areas and skills that would allow them to perform properly their domestic function. The girls, before their marriage, should be able to lead, manage a house properly and especially make good use of the family budget. Such knowledge and skills of women could be acquired at home, but it was also expected to make part of the comprehensive training that schools should teach, as a basic reason of the female educational project. Accordingly, they requested to Directors the necessary inclusion in the curriculum of domestic economics and domestic hygiene, which keep undeniable importance in the education of women⁴⁰.

The War of a Thousand Days forced The Lyceum La Merced to suspend; Elena Fernandez de Cordoba and her sisters moved then to the city of Tulcan in Ecuador⁴¹.

In the city of Ipiales, after the return of Amalia to Pasto, the *normalist* Hortensia Mora organized the female private school Providence. Mrs. Hortensia thought was to fill, in part, the need to prepare teachers for schools in the town, so the curriculum she adopted

³⁷ Del Valle, "Liceo de la Merced", 23.

³⁸ Angel De Aviñonet, "La educación de la mujer", *El Adalid Católico*, Pasto, 2 Junio, 1904, No 57, 1.

³⁹ Manuel María, Rodríguez, *El Precursor*, Pasto, 15 mayo 1887, No 12, 2.

⁴⁰ Del Valle, "Liceo de la Merced", 104.

⁴¹ Tulcan is the city of Ecuador closer to Colombian border.

contained pedagogical orientation. From this college came the first graduates of the Municipalities of Obando and Tuquerres⁴², who also became the first teachers with pedagogic formation in Ipiales, Tuquerres and other municipalities in the Province of Obando.

The Providence School worked during the political period known as The Regeneration, which changed the Public Instruction Act – DOIP- and regulated the educational project of the Liberals with a new set of rules shaped under the educational conservative. However, in order to reorient the studies of The Providence School, Mrs. Hortensia took again the plan she had followed during his training at the ENI, Normal School of Popayán, that corresponded to the liberal ideology and increased in one year the duration of studies, despite new conservative government guidelines about ENIs.

Providence School Curriculum

First Year	Second Year
Religion Castilian Arithmetic (1st. course) General geography and physics Urbanity Reading and Writing Christian Doctrine	Religion Physics (1st. course) Geometry Arithmetic (2nd. course) Castilian advanced Spelling
Third Year	Fourth Year
Religion Physics (2nd. course) Cosmography Home economics History Homeland (1st. course) Geography of Colombia Pedagogy (1st.course)	Sacred History History Homeland (2nd. course) Pedagogy (2nd. course) Botany Zoology

Director: Hortensia Mora. (ACC, 1875)

CONCLUSION

Pasto's XIXth century teachers were the expression of a *real solidarity of gender* and they distinguished by its action in favor of the education of feminine youth in the region. Their action manifested then differently, achieving a better position in its relationship with knowledge. This change was not intended nor desired by political elites, it happened because at the social level "of the fabric of acts of will and plans there resulted processes that nobody might anticipate"⁴³ like the progress shown in this interpretation of those years when teachers Amalia, Hortensia and Elena impulsed the education of girls in cities such as Pasto, Ipiales and Túquerres.

⁴² Guadalupe Flórez Pérez, *Desafío por el futuro*. (Ipiales: Ediciones Fundación Antonia Josefina Obando, 2001), 122.

⁴³ Norbert Elias, *El proceso de la civilización. Investigaciones sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, Reimpresión Colombiana, 1997), 151.

The training of the teachers helped to the southern region and it gave this three young women a scientific and pedagogic education that they employed later to make educational acts that changed the training of girls and young women in the region, transcended the domestic realm, and became "one of the ways for women to succeed in making changes in the relationship between the sexes"⁴⁴.

Those schools organized by Amalia and Hortensia, not only served the proposed curriculum given by the educational project, but also sought to prepare young people in the educational field, thus increasing the number of professional teachers who served later in schools the region, so they filled the gap, in terms of professional teachers, produced by the distribution policy of quotas given by the government of the Sovereign State of Cauca.

As a whole, those schools as well as the progress obtained in basic education of girls were deep cultural changes that gave them a new sense of their social being; they also contributed to improve the labor relationship of women for several young teachers, and they widened the practice of their formation beyond the moral-religious aspects by adding pedagogic training and the study of natural and social sciences. From this perspective, those three teachers fostered the formation of illustrated ladies and girls.

SOURCES

Archives

Central Archive of Cauca

Municipal Historic Archive of Pasto

Reports

Report of the Minister for Education Congress 1913. Masters Degrees awarded by the normal schools of the Republic. Bogotá, National Printing.

National Documents

Decree No. 356 of 1874 (August 27) on the establishment of Normal Schools for women.

Act 39 of 1873 (1st. Oct.) on creation of a girls' school in Popayan.

Press

A... *El Precursor*. Pasto, 15 mayo, 1887, No 12.

DE AVIÑONET, Angel. "La educación de la mujer", *El Adalid Católico*. Pasto, Junio 2, 1904, No. 57.

DEL VALLE, Erasmo. "Liceo de la Merced", *El Bien Público*. Pasto, Julio 14, 1894, No 26.

"El talento de la mujer es apropiado para las ciencias exactas", *El Bien Público*, Pasto, 10 marzo, 1894, Número 11.

El Bien Público. Pasto, 5 agosto, 1894, Año 1, No 29.

El Escolar. Periódico oficial de Instrucción Pública del Estado Soberano del Cauca. Popayán, No 97, 27 Julio, 1882.

GUERRERO, Dolores. "A la señorita Rosario Rodríguez en el día de su natalicio", *El Precursor*. Pasto, 15 Octubre, 1887, No 22.

M.A.O. "Exámenes en el Colegio de las R:R: M:M: Bethlemitas", *El Bien Público*. Pasto, 5 agosto, 1894. No 29.

RODRIGUEZ, Manuel María.(a) "Pro-Patria", *El Precursor*, Pasto, 15 enero, 1887, No 4o.

⁴⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *La dominación masculina* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama S.A., 2000), 109.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Báez Osorio, Myriam. “Las Escuelas Normales y el cambio educativo en los Estados Unidos de Colombia en el período Radical, 1870-1886”. Tesis Doctorado en, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, 2004.

Bermúdez, Susy. “Familias y hogares en Colombia durante el siglo XIX y comienzos del XX”, en *Las Mujeres en la Historia de Colombia. Tomo II. Mujeres y sociedad*, Consejería presidencial para la política social, Presidencia de la República, (Santafé de Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma, 1995)

Bourdieu, Pierre. *La dominación masculina*. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama S.A. 2000.

Camacho Roldán, Salvador. *Escritos varios. Tomo II*. Bogotá, Editorial Incunables, 2ª. Edición, 1893.

Castellanos, Gabriela. “¿Existe la mujer? Género, Lenguaje y Cultura”, en *Género e Identidad. Ensayos sobre lo masculino y lo femenino*, eds. Luz Gabriela Arango et al, Santafé de Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, Ediciones Uniandes, Programa de Estudios de Género, Mujer y Desarrollo, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1995.

Coral, Leonidas. *La guerra de los Mil Días en el Sur de Colombia*. Pasto: Editorial Nariño, s.a.

Elias, Norbert. *El proceso de la civilización. Investigaciones sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, Reimpresión Colombiana, 1997.

Flórez Pérez, Guadalupe. *Desafío por el futuro*. Ipiales: Ediciones Fundación Antonia Josefina Obando, 2001.

Foz y Foz, Pilar. *Mujer y Educación en Colombia. Siglos XVI-XIX*. Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1997.

Gonzalbo Aizpuru, Pilar. *La educación de la mujer en la Nueva España*. México D.F., Secretaría de Educación Pública, Subsecretaría de Cultura, Dirección General de Publicaciones, 1985.

Hernández Vega, Gabriela. *La mujer en la Universidad de Nariño: 1935-1969*. Pasto: Universidad de Nariño, Sistema de Investigaciones, 2004.

Londoño, Patricia. “Educación femenina en Colombia, 1780-1880”. *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, Vol 31 No 37, (1994): 35.

Martínez Carreño, Aída. *Mujeres y familia en el siglo XIX 1819-1899*, en: *Las Mujeres en la Historia de Colombia. Tomo II. Mujeres y sociedad*. Santafé de Bogotá, Consejería presidencial para la política social, Presidencia de la República de Colombia, Grupo Editorial Norma, (1995): “Opciones femeninas en la Colombia del siglo XIX”, *Gaceta*. Edición 6, 56.

Molina Petit, Cristina. *Dialéctica feminista de la Ilustración*. Barcelona: Anthropos, Madrid, Comunidad de Madrid. Consejería de Educación. Dirección General de la Mujer. 1994.

Santander, Alejandro. *Biografía de D. Lorenzo de Aldana y Corografía de Pasto*. Pasto: Imprenta de Gómez Hermanos, 1896.

Velásquez Toro, Magdala. Condición jurídica y social de la mujer, en: *Nueva Historia de Colombia*. Tomo IV. Bogotá D.E: Planeta Colombiana Editorial S.A, 1989.

Hernández Vega, Gabriela “Female teachers in Colombia’s southern region: XIX century” *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana* Vol. 14 No. 18, (2012): 243- 264.