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From Subjects to Citizens:
American Colonial Education and Philippine Nation-Making, 1900-1934

By

Adrienne Marie Francisco

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Richard Cándida Smith, Chair

Professor Peter B. Zinoman

Professor Catherine C. Choy

Professor Heinrich Mintrop

Summer 2015

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Abstract

From Subjects to Citizens: American Colonial Education and Philippine Nation-Making, 1900-1934

by Adrienne Marie Francisco

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Richard Cándida Smith, Chair

This dissertation examines the U.S. colonial state's efforts to promote Filipino national sentiment and patriotism through the public school system between 1900 and 1934. During the early years of American rule, U.S. colonial officials argued that Filipinos lacked a sense of nationality due to their linguistic and religious diversity, cultural heterogeneity, and regionalism. This perception shaped U.S. educational policy in the Philippines, leading to the creation of a curriculum that would attempt to homogenize and foster national affiliation among Filipinos. Using administrator files, Bureau of Education records, textbooks, and curricular materials collected in both the United States and the Philippines, this study reconstructs the colonial curriculum, paying special attention to English language instruction, history and civics, and vocational education. It shows that colonial education aimed to quell Filipino anti-colonial nationalism and facilitate obedience to the colonial state by casting good citizenship and “proper” patriotism in terms of economic self-sufficiency and non-violence, and by defining national allegiance as loyalty to both the Philippines and the U.S. Its central contention is that American colonial education created a form of Philippine nationalism that would become the dominant strain of official nationalism among Filipino leaders and educators. Bringing local actors the fore, this study enlists Filipino students’ and educators’ writings, vernacular novels, newspapers, and Philippine education journals to examine how Filipinos, both in the colony and metropole, responded to colonial education. It finds that Filipinos reformulated colonial lessons to fit in with older strains of Filipino nationalism even as they saw their American education as a path to economic opportunity and Philippine independence. By looking at the U.S. colonial state’s promotion of a native national identity, this study contributes to and complicates current narratives of U.S. colonial education and Philippine nationalism.

To my parents, Tony and Lita

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Subjects and Schools: The Colonial Curriculum and the Teaching of Philippine Nationalism	11
Chapter 3: Industrial Education: Working for the Nation	34
Chapter 4: Studying Abroad: Filipino Students in the United States	52
Chapter 5: Returning Home: U.S.-Educated Filipinos and the Colonial Bureaucracy	87
Chapter 6: Nation-Builders: Filipino Educators and Notions of Nationhood	112
Chapter 7: Epilogue – Commonwealth Education: Change and Continuity	141
Bibliography	158

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 1:	“It’s ‘Up’ to Them,” <i>Puck</i> magazine political cartoon	18
Figure 2:	“School Begins,” <i>Puck</i> magazine political cartoon	35
Figure 3:	June 1905 cover of <i>The Filipino Students’ Magazine</i>	77
Figure 4:	1915 organizational chart of the Bureau of Education in <i>Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition</i>	101

Tables

Table 1:	1904 Course of Study	41
Table 2:	Philippine Government Students Sent to the United States, 1903-1912	61
Table 3:	Philippine Government Students by State, 1906	66
Table 4:	Type of Schools and Number of Filipino Government Students Enrolled, 1906	68
Table 5:	Pensionados in the Colonial Bureaucracy	93-94
Table 6:	Filipino Textbook Writers’ Education and Affiliations	117

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Chapter 1

Introduction

It is September 1910, and you are one of the over half a million primary grade students in the Philippine public school system. You are twelve years old, and you are in Grade IV. Some of your classmates are even older, about fourteen or so, as schools were not yet in your town a decade ago.¹ Your school, a one-story building with thick walls and a thatched roof, is fairly new. Your classroom contains no desks, only rows of long tables paired with rough benches. Public instruction has been under the direction of the Americans for about ten years now, and there are American teachers scattered all over the various barrios and towns of the Philippines. All of your teachers have been Filipino, though, because you are still in the primary course, and Americans typically take over teaching students in the intermediate and secondary grades.

You and your teacher are both Tagalog and speak the same vernacular, but in the classroom you interact with him entirely in English. This language you have learned from books that came all the way from the United States. They contained delightful illustrations of coconut groves, nipa huts, bananas, and carabao, but they made you use unfamiliar terms for familiar things: the wooden sandal that you called a *bakya* at home you now had to call a “clog” in class.² You are becoming skilled at switching between how to think at home and how to think at school. English is the language of learning, you realize, while Tagalog is the language of home. In your primers you read about coconuts, bamboo, and hemp and the numerous products that can be made out of them. These selections complement your other classwork. Starting in Grade I, all Filipino boys and girls learn how to make handicrafts, garden, cook, or sew. Of the five hours you spend in school each day, you devote the most time to makings things with your hands (one hour and forty minutes) and to learning English (one hour).³ That you go to school to weave hats and baskets puzzles your parents, who think going to school means burrowing in books. However, the Americans believe that a hardy work ethic is important, and that one way for young Filipinos to learn this ethic is by making boxes, fans, and small baskets. Arithmetic, geography, physical education, nature study, music, and civics fill the remaining two hours and twenty minutes.⁴ For civics this school year your class has started a Home and Town Improvement Society, where you learn about meeting rules, the functions of different municipal offices, and how to vote.⁵ The purpose of this society is to train young Filipinos in the duties of

¹ Although the Bureau of Education did not collect enrollment statistics by age, it is assumed that most Filipino children started school at a later age. Grade levels in the Philippines were not sorted by age, as so many children, teens, and adults lacked even a primary education. I have estimated that a Grade IV student might be twelve years old based on information from the 1925 educational survey. In 1925 the Board of Educational Survey found that Filipino school children were on average older than their American counterparts in the same grade levels. Filipino children typically started school (Grade I) at the age of seven. In 1924, the board reported that Grade I students ranged in age from under 5 to 22 years. Almost half of the 218,500 first graders were between the ages of 11 and 22. Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 206-211.

² O.S. Reimold, “The Shoe Maker,” in *Composition Leaflets on Philippine Activities* (Manila: World Book Company, 1905), 3.

³ Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 106

⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵ Aniceto Fabia, *The Development of the Teaching of History, Civics, and Current Evens in Philippine Schools* (Manila: Imprenta “Dia Filipino,” 1928), 25.

citizenship. This is why the Americans say they have come—to teach democracy to the Filipinos and prepare them for self-government.

Good citizenship requires patriotism, so in the mornings your teacher leads your class in singing “My Native Land,” a new anthem written by an American teacher. “To thee I give my heart and hand, Philippines, my Philippines” you sing fervently.⁶ Even as you swear to give your heart and hand to the Philippines, it is the American flag that hangs in your town; the Philippine flag was banned three years ago. Along with the American flag, you observe American holidays, such as Washington’s birthday, Thanksgiving, and the Fourth of July.⁷ Since the Philippine school year begins in June, July 4 always falls during the term, and you and your classmates learn about the American Revolution and how the American colonists declared their independence. It is an awkward subject; everyone in the classroom knows from hearing family and neighbors talk about the *rebolusyon*, or revolution, that the Filipinos tried something similar. Not all civic holidays originate from the United States, however. One holiday that is of local provenance is Rizal Day, December 30. It memorializes the death of Jose Rizal, who was executed by the Spanish for treason in 1896. When the Americans arrived, they recognized that Filipinos needed a national hero, and so they early on decreed that Rizal Day should be a holiday.⁸ Many of your countrymen consider him the greatest Filipino. In school you learn that Rizal wanted the Philippines free from unjust Spanish rule, but he did not believe in violence or insurrection. He admonished Filipinos to work hard and to study so as to prepare themselves for independence. And so this is what you do in school: you work hard, and you study. Philippine-centered textbooks in English, manual work and citizenship training, the Fourth of July and Rizal Day. This is what Philippine public instruction is like in 1910. This is American colonial education.

As the above reconstruction illustrates, American colonial education in the Philippines was a mixture of Philippine and American elements. Yet most of the scholarship on the subject holds that American colonial education in the Philippines was first and foremost about Americanization.⁹ After all, American authorities and colonial officials spoke loudly and often about “benevolent assimilation” and the transplanted Anglo-Saxon values on Philippine soil in the same breath with which they berated Filipinos’ Latin heritage and Malay traits. Undeniable, however, is the fact that American colonial education also aimed to foster a sense of nationality among Filipinos. It encouraged them to identify with the Philippines and to understand themselves as Filipinos first and foremost. In essence, American colonial education

⁶ Lyrics may be found in Philippine Bureau of Education, *Bulletin No. 50: Programs for Arbor Day and Other Special Days*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915), 108.

⁷ United States Department of Education, “The Present Educational Movement in the Philippine Islands,” by Fred W. Atkinson, in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1900-1901, Advance Sheets* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1902), 1437.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ “The Mis-Education of the Filipino,” in *The Filipinos in the Philippines and Other Essays* (Quezon City, Philippines: Filipino Signatures, 1966), 39-65; Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 201-209; Alexander A. Calata, “The Role of Education in Americanizing Filipinos,” in *Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines*, ed. Hazel M. McFerson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 89-98; James P. Young, “Intimate Allies in Migration: Education and Propaganda in a Philippine Village,” *Comparative Education Review* 26, no. 2 (June 1982): 218-234; Anne Paulet, “To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines,” *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (May 2007): 173-202.

sought to “Filipinize” Filipinos.¹⁰ The colonial archive is replete with references to this effort. Officials responsible for educational policy spoke of how Filipinos were to be “welded into one nation” with a “common sense of patriotism for their land.”¹¹ In schools students received textbooks that featured idyllic scenes of Philippine life and learned to sing a Philippine national anthem, albeit with English lyrics. American colonial education was not simply about Americanizing Filipinos; it was also about Filipinizing them and strengthening bonds across the communities that students learned made up their own national homeland.

This dissertation looks at this other project of American colonial education: the promotion of Philippine patriotism and nationalist sentiment. Ultimately it is a study of American colonial education and its impact on Philippine nationalism in the twentieth century. When the United States acquired the Philippines in 1899, it justified its rule by claiming that Filipinos were unfit for self-government because they lacked the “sentiment of nationality” and had yet to form a true nation.¹² When the system of public instruction was organized in 1901, the perception that Filipinos lacked the “sentiment of nationality” led to the creation of a curriculum designed to instill national consciousness among Filipinos. My central claim is that American colonial education created a state-sponsored form of nationalism that became the dominant strain among Filipino leaders, intellectuals, and educators influential during the Commonwealth, post-independence, and postwar years. It imposed a form of Philippine nationalism that emphasized U.S. conceptions of modernity, progress, economic development, and the application of knowledge, skills, and expertise in service of the nation. This state-sponsored nationalism recognized and honored the achievements of nineteenth-century revolutionaries and reformers but it was stripped of the anticolonial revolutionary fervor of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Philippine nationalism. In this manner, the nationalism that the American colonial state promoted in the Philippines did not provoke challenges to American colonial rule. In fact, as I show in this dissertation, it helped uphold U.S. presence in the Philippines.

Compared to other works on Philippine-American relations, which have focused on warfare, the United States’ decision to annex the Philippines, its colonial policy and high politics, my study foregrounds the encounter between American colonialism and Philippine nationalism as a crucial site of interaction.¹³ I argue that American colonialism and Philippine nationalism produced one another. American colonial authorities justified U.S. rule by both dismissing and upholding Filipino nationalism. On the one hand, they denied the Philippine

¹⁰ My use of this term in this instance differs from the official policy of Filipinization that Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison undertook in 1913. Harrison’s program of Filipinization referred to increasing the number of Filipino staff in civil service or other administrative functions. Here I refer to an encouragement of an attachment to the Philippines.

¹¹ Philippine Department of Public Instruction, *Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction*, 1903, in *Annual School Reports, 1901-05*, repr., ed. Philippine Bureau of Public Schools (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 266.

¹² U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1: 182.

¹³ See Stuart Creighton Miller, *“Benevolent Assimilation:” The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Amy Blitz, *The Contested State: American Foreign Policy and Regime Change in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000); Frank H. Golay, *Face of Empire: United States-Philippine Relations, 1898-1946* (Madison, WI: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998); Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*, Philippine ed. (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

Revolution's legitimacy and the nationalist consciousness that fueled it. On the other hand, by citing Filipinos' lack of the "sentiment of nationality," American colonial authorities also made nationalism, or a sense of national identity and unity, a criterion for self-government. American colonial rule was therefore built on the suppression of one nationalism and the sponsorship of another.

As mentioned above, American colonial education produced a form of Philippine nationalism that became dominant among leading Filipino educators. They included U.S.-trained Filipinos such as Francisco Benitez, Jorge Bocobo, and Camilo Osias. These educators are a major focus of my study. Their ideas formed in the process of building a national educational system during the four decades of U.S. occupation. They were products of a program to send Filipino students to the United States, which was known as the pensionado program. I show that through the pensionado program, the American colonial state created a new class of elite intellectuals and experts that replaced the old educated Filipino elite, the *ilustrados*. This new class of U.S.-trained experts and intellectuals helped sustain the system of American colonial education and, I argue, was influential in molding Philippine education into what it is today. The persistence of subjects introduced during the American colonial period long after the end of colonial rule is in part due to these Filipino educators and intellectuals who were reared in the American colonial educational system and who later worked to shape the Philippine educational system post-independence.

Whereas works on American colonial education in the Philippines have focused on policy, institutional history, and the experiences of American teachers, my study takes a different approach by bringing to the fore the experience of Filipinos who participated in the American colonial educational system not only as students but also as teachers, academics, and administrators. These educators and intellectuals were both recipients and agents of the project of American colonial education. Admittedly I study a very elite group of Filipinos—those who became high-ranking educators and intellectuals. Their educational experience was not that of most Filipinos. Nonetheless they are important to look at for three reasons. First, they steered the course of Philippine public instruction both during and after the formal colonial period (1900-1934). They wrote textbooks, designed curriculum, and articulated what the Philippine nation was, its identity, and values. They thus provided Filipino citizens with one of the most important, probably the most visible repertoire for understanding their nation and their own identity. Second, in contrast to the experiences of other Western-educated colonized subjects such as those in India, Burma, Vietnam, and Indonesia, and indeed even their predecessors, the nineteenth-century *ilustrados*, this group did not mount an anticolonial nationalist movement. Their experience invites us to rethink the relationship between colonial education and anticolonialism. Third, these educators were part of a transitional generation of Filipinos who lived through both Spanish and American colonial rule. Consequently their notions of nationhood and of progress and modernization were informed by the extraordinary time in which they lived. Born during the last two decades of Spanish colonial rule, these Filipinos lived through the Philippine Revolution and Philippine-American War. Though they were too young to participate in these armed struggles as combatants, these events gave them an awareness of the Philippines' prior pursuit of national independence. They also saw promise in American colonial rule. It offered resources with which to modernize the Philippines and thus bring it in closer communion with the rest of the world. In this dissertation, I show that their adoption of certain American ideas or methods came from this desire for modernity.

While my study pays special attention to three educators, Francisco Benitez, Jorge Bocobo, and Camilo Osias, they are only some of the intellectuals and educators whose ideas were shaped by American colonial education. Scholars have criticized these figures for their close connection to the colonial state, describing them as “docile civil service functionaries” and “followers of Americanism.”¹⁴ My research shows their relationship to American colonialism to be more complex. Following Augusto Espiritu’s observations of Carlos P. Romulo, another U.S.-educated Filipino, I see my historical actors as operating in “a diverse cultural milieu involving a residual Hispanic influence, a dominant American colonial modernity, and an emergent Filipino nationalism.”¹⁵ This matrix has much to tell us about how Filipinos responded to the American colonial project. While many of these figures expressed gratitude to the United States and admired aspects of American culture, they also found ways to critique U.S. colonial rule. This finding squares with the recent scholarship of Roland Sintos Coloma, Malini Johar Schueller, Catherine Ceniza Choy, Augusto Espiritu, and Lisandro Claudio in their examination of different U.S.-trained Filipinos.¹⁶

My work is first and foremost a study of American colonialism and imperialism in the Philippines. It is a study of American colonialism in the Philippines, however, that has largely been informed by the approaches of Southeast Asian Studies, the scholarship of Philippine Studies, and the insights of Asian American Studies. Given my foregrounding of Filipino actors in this history, these fields are integral to understanding their responses and reaction to American colonial education. To large degree, I situate my work squarely at the intersection of the fields of American history—particularly histories of U.S. empire—and Philippine Studies. I have done this with the conviction that the history of American colonialism in the Philippines cannot be disentangled from the preexisting history and dynamics of Philippine society. The joint history of the Philippines and the United States resists compartmentalization into neat categories: if the Philippines’ history is at once the United States’, then the United States’ history is also that of the Philippines.

¹⁴ E. San Juan, Jr. *Toward a People’s Literature: Essays in the Dialectics of Praxis and Contradiction in Philippine Writing* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1984), 74, as quoted in Noel V. Teodoro “*Pensionados and Workers : The Filipinos in the United States, 1903-1956*,” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 8, no. 1-2 (1999):160; Noel V. Teodoro “*Pensionados and Workers : The Filipinos in the United States, 1903-1956*,” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 8, no. 1-2 (1999): 161.

¹⁵ Augusto Espiritu, *Five Faces of Exile: The Nation and Filipino American Intellectuals* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 11.

¹⁶ Roland Sintos Coloma, “Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling under United States Rule, 1900-1910” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2004); “Care of the Postcolonial Self: Cultivating Nationalisms in *The Philippine Readers*,” *Qualitative Research in Education* 2, no. 3 (October 2013): 302-327; “Disidentifying Nationalism: Camilo Osias and Filipino Education in the Early Twentieth Century” in *Revolution and Pedagogy: Interdisciplinary and Transnational Perspectives on Educational Foundations*, ed. E. Thomas Ewing (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 19-37; Malini Johar Schueller, “Colonial Management, Collaborative Dissent: English Readers in the Philippines and Camilo Osias, 1905-1932,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 17, no. 2 (June 2014): 161-198; Catherine Ceniza Choy, “A Filipino Woman in America: The Life and Work of Encarnacion Alzona,” *Genre* 39, no. 3 (2006): 127-40; Augusto Espiritu, “Expatriate Affirmation: Carlos P. Romulo,” in *Five Faces of Exile: The Nation and Filipino American Intellectuals* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 9-45; Lisandro E. Claudio, “The Anti-Communist Third World: Carlos P. Romulo and the Other Bandung,” *Southeast Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (April 2015): 125-126; “Beyond Colonial Miseducation: Internationalism and Deweyan Pedagogy in the American-era Philippines,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 63, no. 2 (June 2015): 193-220.

In focusing on curriculum, this study shares the methodology of other analyses of American colonial education in the Philippines such as the works of Meg Wesling, Glenn Anthony May, Rey Ileto, and Funie Hsu.¹⁷ Wesling, for instance, has looked at the teaching of English-language literature in the Philippines and its contribution in creating a canon of American literature and formalizing it as a field of study. Similarly, Hsu delves into English instruction in the Philippines, but her study uncovers the ways it “functioned as a tool of benevolent pacification.”¹⁸ May and Ileto have each investigated different subjects within the colonial curriculum, industrial education and Philippine history, respectively. With the exception of May, whose study is more concerned with the on-the-ground execution of a large-scale program of industrial education, the aforementioned scholars (whether intentionally or not) answer Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease’s call for examinations of “cultures of United States imperialism.”¹⁹ My study takes part in this conversation by looking at the ways in which colonial power operated within the colonial curriculum. At the same time, however, my study goes beyond colonial discourse and rhetoric to look at, like May, on-the-ground practices.

This study responds to four observations from three different scholars. First is Paul Kramer’s remark that Philippine-American colonial historiography treats 1898 as a “sharp temporal border.”²⁰ Doing so cuts off analyses of the American colonial period in the Philippines from insights that can be gained from studies of the Spanish colonial period. This dissertation, by examining the interaction between American colonialism and Philippine nationalism and by studying the experience of a generation of Filipinos who lived under the Spanish, U.S., and national regimes, is an attempt to show the complex ways in which the legacies of Spanish rule continued to reverberate in the American colonial period. Second is Kramer’s astute observation that in studies of Philippine nationalism, the American colonial period “has frustrated the traditional narrative of rising Filipino nationalism.”²¹ Within Philippine historiography, nationalism is almost never to be seen in the American period. My dissertation fills this lacuna. Despite the United States violently suppressing revolutionary nationalism, Philippine nationalism did not simply disappear in 1902, the end of the Philippine-American War, only to reappear again in 1946, when the Philippines became independent. The third observation comes from Resil B. Mojares, and it is related to Kramer’s second point. In the brief and insightful article, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule,” Mojares notes that much of what counts as the Philippines’ most cherished national symbols, values, and traditions emerged

¹⁷ Meg Wesling, *Empire’s Proxy: American Literature and U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Glenn Anthony May, “The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 151-62; Reynaldo C. Ileto, “The Philippine Revolution of 1896 and U.S. Colonial Education,” in *Knowing America’s Colony: A Hundred Years From the Philippine War* (Honolulu: Center for Philippine Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1999), 1-17; Funie Hsu, “Colonial Articulations: English Instruction and the ‘Benevolence’ of U.S. Overseas Expansion in the Philippines, 1898-1916,” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2013).

¹⁸ Funie Hsu, “Colonial Articulations: English Instruction and the ‘Benevolence’ of U.S. Overseas Expansion in the Philippines, 1898-1916,” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2013), 4.

¹⁹ Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

²⁰ Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*, Philippine ed. (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

in the American period. He contends that during American rule, the revolutionary nationalism of the nineteenth century mutated in to a “canonical, civic nationalism.”²² My dissertation builds on Mojares’s observation by looking specifically at education’s role in this transformation. Education, after all, was the primary delivery system for teaching official narratives about the nation. The final observation comes from Renato Constantino who in 1966 in an essay entitled “The Miseducation of the Filipino” excoriated American colonial education and its colonization of the Filipino mind. Constantino presented American colonial education as an all-powerful force to which Filipinos easily succumbed. However, as more recent scholarship has shown, American colonial rule in the Philippines was in many ways weak and relied on Filipino elites to shore it up. Recent scholarship has also shown that Filipinos, even those who were very close to the American colonial state, criticized and at times opposed American colonial rule. This study is an attempt to bring into conversation these recent findings with Constantino’s critique and complicate the notion of “miseducation.”

In “The Miseducation of the Filipino,” Constantino claimed that American colonial education taught Filipinos patriotism but not nationalism.²³ I contend that American colonial education taught both, though its conception of nationalism is different from that of Constantino. In this study I treat nationalism and patriotism as referring to two distinct but related and overlapping phenomena. Patriotism I define as love of country and loyalty to homeland. Neither country nor homeland necessarily correspond to a nation, though patriotism often is directed towards one. By nation, I rely on Benedict Anderson’s definition of a nation as an “imagined political community” that is “limited and sovereign.”²⁴ Nationalism is patriotism of a specific sort. In this study, it refers to the subsumption of local, regional, provincial, or ethnolinguistic identities under a national identity. I show how the American colonial curriculum encouraged Filipinos to think beyond the local and to make the nation their primary unit of loyalty. After the passage of the Jones Law in 1916, which clarified that the Philippines would have independence, thinking about the nation became even more pressing. Thus after 1916, nationalism also involved defining the Philippine nation and what its characteristics, symbols, values, and heroes were. Like patriotism, the teaching of nationalism meant the cultivation of allegiance and affective ties—in short, the “sentiment of nationality.”

The nationalism I discuss differs from that found in leading studies about nationalism in that it focuses on the cultivation of national sentiment and identity rather than politics. Many of the scholarly works on nationalism have defined nationalism in terms of a quest for political sovereignty. For Ernest Gellner, nationalism is “a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent,” a view to which Eric Hobsbawm subscribes.²⁵ Anthony Smith defines it as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation.’”²⁶ While many Filipinos wanted autonomy, unity, and identity for themselves

²² Resil B. Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (March 2006): 12.

²³ Renato Constantino, “The Miseducation of the Filipino,” in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of the Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, ed. Shaw Angel Velasco (New York: NYU Press, 2002), 186.

²⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

²⁵ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9.

²⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 73.

and certainly thought that the Philippine political and national unit should be congruent, the nationalism this study examines encompasses more than political campaigns or arguments for independence. What it looks at is the cultivation of what Smith has described as “a consciousness of belonging to the nation.”²⁷ For this reason, the process I describe in this dissertation is that of “nation-making.” I use “nation-making” over “nation-building” as it focuses less on the creation of institutions and more on the process of conceiving of the Philippines as a nation—a single society united by a common history and a shared fate.

Scholars of nationalism, Benedict Anderson most notably, have also identified the appearance of different kinds of nationalisms in history. Working from Anderson’s typology, I consider the nationalism encouraged within the American colonial educational system as an official, colonial state-sponsored nationalism. Given its source, it would be easy to call this nationalism “false” or “inauthentic.” However, to evaluate nationalism in terms of authenticity does little to explain how it worked or was received, and worse, makes invisible one crucial area of the Filipino response to U.S. rule. Moreover, nationalism, whether one considers it an ideology, a set of feelings, or a movement, is very much a construction and its traditions and symbols invented. Not all members of a would-be nation have nationalist feelings or consciousness, and so even the early adopters among them, the first nationalists, must propagate nationalism top-down. Nationalism spread through education, especially, will be top-down, official, and state-sponsored.²⁸

Organization of Chapters

Two interlocking themes, American colonialism and Philippine nationalism, undergird this study, and the story I tell in this dissertation is two-fold. The first half is a top-down narrative that focuses on the colonial curriculum and the educational policies of the American colonial state. The second half looks at the Filipino reaction to American colonial education from the early 1900s to early 1930s. It explores Filipinos’ engagement with the values and ideals of American colonial education, their concepts of nationhood and their articulation of Filipino national identity. The chapters of this study are organized thematically and chronologically.

Chapter 2 looks at the development of American colonial educational policy in the early 1900s and argues that Filipino resistance to U.S. rule led to the creation of a nationalist colonial curriculum. It shows how U.S. officials’ perceptions of Filipinos’ lack of the ‘sentiment of nationality,’ combined with the idiosyncracies of American colonialism and the ongoing Philippine-American War required engaging with Philippine nationalism to reconcile Filipinos to U.S. rule. In effect, the resistance to U.S. rule was so great that colonial officials had to incorporate the teaching of Philippine nationalism and patriotism so as to gain Filipino support for American colonial education. While the first half of the chapter looks at the development of this curriculum, the latter half moves from policy to practice. It examines how the nationalist colonial curriculum worked on the ground through English language instruction and the teaching of Philippine history and civics. Each of these subjects dealt with the problem of “nationality” in their own way. Colonial officials thought that English language instruction would help promote a sense of unity among Filipinos by serving as a common language. Philippine history and civics,

²⁷ Ibid., 72.

²⁸ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 39.

meanwhile, would orient Filipinos' loyalties to the nation. In my analysis of the early American colonial textbooks, I show that this nationalist colonial curriculum, which was packaged as part of Filipinos' preparation for self-government, met the needs of the colonial state by supplanting the earlier, revolutionary version of Philippine nationalism and reconciling Filipinos to U.S. rule.

Chapter 3, which also begins in the early 1900s, focuses on vocational education and its relationship to the promotion of patriotism and nationalism. Then called industrial education, it was the second only to English language instruction in importance. From Grade I on, Filipino students received form of industrial education, and under its banner they studied handicrafts, gardening, cooking, carpentry, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Despite its prominence in the curriculum, the history of vocational education in the Philippines has been relatively understudied. As of yet no single study devoted to the history and development of vocational education in the Philippines during the American period exists, and the brief studies and articles that do exist focus on describing the program, the thinking behind it, and its relative success or failure for teaching vocational skills. This study takes a different approach by uncovering the ways in which vocational education was associated with nationalism and patriotism. It contends that vocational education functioned as citizenship education and that, given Filipinos' lack of interest in the program, it was promoted as a form of service to the nation so as to attract Filipinos. Finally, this chapter explores more closely the relationship between vocational education and colonial economic development.

The dissertation pivots on chapter 4 and turns to the experiences of Filipinos. It crosses the Pacific and looks at the first Filipinos to go to the United States for schooling during the first decade of American colonial rule (1899-1908). These students included young men who were privately funded by their families and as well as young men and a few young women who were sent by the insular government through the pensionado program. One of the chief innovations of the American colonial educational system, the pensionado program's purpose was to create a U.S.-trained corps of Filipinos to staff the colonial bureaucracy. Whereas colonial officials considered vocational or industrial education a form of skills training for the masses, they reserved the pensionado program for the Philippines' future leaders: men and women who would work in the colonial bureaucracy, government, or state institutions like the University of the Philippines. Of key importance in chapter 4, and the study as a whole, is understanding the experiences of those Filipinos who were deemed by the American colonial state to be the Philippines' nation-builders. It concentrates on the first decade of U.S. colonial rule as the students who went to the U.S. during these years belonged to a generation that was reared partly under Spanish colonial rule but that came of age in the American period. To illustrate the radicalness of their times, the students who went to the United States in the mid-1900s would have witnessed the political ferment of the early 1890s, the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution, and the revolution's transformation into the Philippine-American War. What did it mean for such Filipinos to go to the United States under the sponsorship of colonial authorities? Chapter 4 demonstrates that study abroad in the United States reinvigorated Filipino national self-assertion and claims for independence.

Chapter 5 returns to the Philippines and follows the pensionados and other U.S.-trained Filipinos as they transitioned to being back home and to beginning their careers in the colonial bureaucracy during the 1910s and 1920s. Mandatory government service was required of pensionados, but many privately-funded students, since they were trained in the United States, came to work for the insular government and its various branches and bureaus as well. The

colonial bureaucracy, more than any other sector in Philippine society, had a high representation of U.S.-trained Filipinos. Chapter 5 treats the colonial bureaucracy as another “school” for such Filipinos, one that provided the space, resources, and opportunities for seeing, experiencing, and thinking about the nation. The colonial bureaucracy, it argues, created an action-oriented outlook and problem-solving ethos that would impact U.S.-trained Filipinos’ outlook on nationhood and national identity.

Building on the themes of chapter 5, chapter 6 examines pensionados’ and other U.S.-trained Filipinos’ participation in colonial nation-building. Set in the 1920s and 1930s, a time when independence was uppermost in discussions about the Philippines, this chapter studies U.S.-trained Filipino educators and intellectuals’ efforts to promote Philippine history, culture, values, and identity in preparation for nationhood. It looks at on-the-ground activities such as textbook design and the promotion of Philippine topics in the colonial curriculum. Chapter 6 also investigates debates among educators and intellectuals about Philippine national identity and the place of Western (American) culture, practices, and values. These debates, chapter 6 shows, derived and deviated from earlier nationalist thoughts, and they were at their core concerned with the question of how to ensure Filipino social cohesion and national affiliation. Because their work entailed the shaping of citizens and defining and uncovering the contours of national identity and culture, educators and intellectuals were important figures in such debates. Chapter 6 looks closely at the three following educators and intellectuals, all of whom were influential in their field: Francisco Benitez, dean of the University of the Philippines’ School of Education; Jorge Bocobo, dean of the University of the Philippines’ School of Law and later university president; and Camilo Osias, assistant director of the Bureau of Education. Benitez championed westernization as a path for Philippine progress, while Bocobo advocated for the promotion of Filipino cultural values. Osias represented a third way, blending local concepts of community with internationalism and “universal” civic values.

Finally, with chapter 7 this study concludes with a discussion of education during the Commonwealth period. As a decade of semi-autonomy, the Commonwealth period presented Filipinos with the opportunity to manage their domestic affairs. It was also a time of intense nation-building, as Filipinos ramped up for the granting of independence in 1946. Chapter 7 looks at how Filipinos ran the educational system once direct colonial rule ended. It demonstrates that leading Filipino educators, many of whom participants of the first pensionado program discussed in chapter 4, continued and extended the ideals, principles, and methods of the American colonial educational system. By and large, Filipinos carried forward the initiatives of the American colonial period and at the same time doubled their efforts to foster patriotism and nationalism. In this arena, American colonial education did not fail, and its legacies continue to live on and be a source of debate and dissent in the Philippines today.

Chapter 2

Subjects and Schools: The Colonial Curriculum and the Teaching of Philippine Nationalism

On January 31, 1900, the First Philippine Commission, a five-person body appointed to investigate conditions on the Philippine Islands, submitted a report of its findings to President William McKinley. Headed by Jacob Gould Schurman, the president of Cornell University, the commission included the islands' then-military governor, General Elwell S. Otis, Admiral George Dewey, former minister to China Charles Denby, and Dean C. Worcester, a University of Michigan-trained zoologist. With the exception of Schurman, the commission was comprised of military and civilian figures who had some familiarity with Philippine or Asian affairs.¹ Their purpose in the Philippines was to help Washington understand how to best extend and establish American authority throughout the whole archipelago. A year earlier, the United States had formally acquired the islands from Spain, but the transfer of power had not been smooth. Filipino revolutionaries, disappointed that the United States did not recognize their claims for independence, were at that moment engaged in a bloody war with U.S. troops. Meanwhile back home, anti-imperialists were still protesting the United States' annexation of the Philippines.² To a certain extent, the commission's work would help validate American rule over the Philippines.

The question that confronted the commission boiled down to Philippine nationhood and independence. According to the revolutionaries, the Philippines was an independent nation and had been so since June 12, 1898, when General Emilio Aguinaldo proclaimed the Philippines' independence. That September, the Malolos Congress, an assembly of delegates representing several Philippine provinces, ratified the declaration. Consequently, the revolutionaries claimed, Spain had no authority over the Philippines when it signed the Paris Peace Treaty in December 1898 as the Philippines was by then already a sovereign nation; Spain therefore could not cede the islands to the United States. Revolutionary representative Felipe Agoncillo argued that the Filipinos at the time of the peace negotiations had their own government, which was "the only organized government" on the islands and one that was "recognized by the people and whose laws were confirmed by them." This government, Agoncillo stressed, was "the government of the republic."³

A trained lawyer and member of the Philippines's *ilustrado* ("enlightened" or educated) community, Agoncillo deployed a legal argument, namely that the Philippines was a nation by virtue of having declared independence. The First Philippine Commission, or Schurman Commission, thought otherwise and countered Agoncillo's legal reasoning with a cultural argument. In its report to McKinley, the commission wrote that "the most striking and perhaps the most significant fact" in the Philippines was the "multiplicity of tribes inhabiting the archipelago, the diversity of their languages (which are mutually unintelligible), and the

¹ Interestingly, Schurman was also an avowed anti-expansionist. Nonetheless, McKinley was able to convince Schurman to head the commission. See Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., "Reluctant Expansionist: Jacob Gould Schurman and the Philippine Question," *Pacific Historical Review* 36, no. 4 (November 1967): 406-7.

² The depth of anti-imperialist sentiment in the United States can be seen in the fact that Senate had approved the annexation of the Philippines by a very narrow margin. See Norman G. Owen, "Introduction," in *Compadre Colonialism*, ed. Norman G. Owen (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1971), 3.

³ "Filipinos Claim Independence," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 28, 1898.

multifarious phases of civilization . . . exhibited by the natives.” The Filipinos were “without a common speech” and lacked the “sentiment of nationality.”⁴ They therefore “were not a nation, but a variegated assemblage of tribes and peoples, and their loyalty is still of the tribal type.”⁵ As a result, they had not yet achieved the political maturity—one based on a sense of common identity—to govern themselves.

These two diametrically opposed arguments contained two different notions of nationhood. For the revolutionaries, represented by Agoncillo, nationhood was a legal quality or status. Additionally for the revolutionaries, the nation was *Filipinas*, the land and country or *patria*. For the Schurman Commission, however, a people’s declaration of independence did not a nation make. Nationhood was instead rooted in those people sharing a common culture, language, and identity. Nationhood also came from feeling or sentiment, and identification with a larger community that transcended family, faith, and province. They could not find these feelings among the Filipinos. Whereas *Filipinas* represented the nation for Agoncillo and his fellow revolutionaries, it was *Filipinos* themselves who comprised (or ought to comprise) the Philippine nation for the Schurman Commission. At the time that it reported its findings, however, the Schurman Commission doubted whether “Filipinos” even existed, choosing to describe them instead as “the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands,” who were “at present collectively known as ‘Filipinos.’”⁶

To be sure, strong rhetoric pervaded both Agoncillo’s and the commission’s arguments, but the rhetoric had practical effects on the ground. For one, the commission’s contention that Filipinos did not form a true nation helped justify American colonial rule. The two arguments, unbeknownst to their proponents at the time, also set in place a debate about what served as the basis of Philippine nationhood: civic ties or ethnocultural traits? Moreover, by using “lack of nationality” to reject the Filipinos’ claims of independence, the Schurman Commission set in motion the idea that “sentiment of nationality” should be a prerequisite for Filipino self-government. This idea would influence American colonial education in the Philippines. If the United States was indeed committed to preparing Filipinos for eventual self-rule, a period of “political tutelage” would create a Filipino “nation” out of the “variegated assemblage of tribes and peoples.” In effect, nationalization and promoting the “sentiment of nationality” was to become an objective of the American colonial project in the Philippines. In this work, the public school would be indispensable. In the school colonial officials imagined Filipinos learning the principles of American-style democracy, good citizenship, and civilized behavior.

The Necessity of a Nationalist Colonial Curriculum

The Schurman Commission’s assessment that Filipinos “lacked the sentiment of nationality” undoubtedly influenced the design of the colonial curriculum. During the years of direct American colonial rule (1899-1934), subjects taught in Philippine public schools, from English and history to ‘manual work’ and industrial courses, attempted in varying degrees to

⁴ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1: 181-2.

⁵ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1: 182.

⁶ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1: 11.

foster a sense of nationhood among Filipinos. Unlike other colonial powers in Southeast Asia, the United States seemed to have few qualms with a colonial curriculum that promoted indigenous nationalism. In 1907, for instance, an American teacher, Prescott F. Jernegan, developed a Philippine national anthem for use in the schools called “Philippines, My Philippines.” “I love my own, my native land/Philippines, my Philippines,” were its first two lines. One American division superintendent, of the mind that the Philippines should be emphasized more in students’ education, contended that “a little Philippine history and Philippine geography, properly taught” would “do more good than all the United States history and geography the pupils can master.”⁷ American-authored textbooks included lessons about Jose Rizal, by then revered by Filipinos as a national hero-martyr, and it was American educators who initiated the call for Philippine-centered teaching materials, such as primers filled with local names and places, flora and fauna that would be more comprehensible from a Filipino child’s point of view.

American officials and educators were not naïve, however, about the potential for Philippine nationalism to rouse challenges to colonial rule. In 1901 the insular government, or American colonial government in the Philippines, passed the Sedition Law, which made it illegal to conspire against the United States and to advocate for Philippine independence. Under this law, several playwrights of nationalist plays were arrested between 1902 and 1905.⁸ A few years later with the Flag Law of 1907, the insular government banned the Philippine flag and other nationalist symbols associated with the revolutionary organization, the Katipunan. Clearly, not all forms of Philippine nationalism or displays of patriotism sat well with colonial officials. Nor did they intend to do away with Americanization. Referring to the Manila Nautical School in 1902, General Superintendent of Education Fred W. Atkinson stressed that the school’s “first object is the Americanization of the students in language, habits of thought, manner of performing work, and general moral principles.”⁹ And as much as American colonial texts drew attention towards the Philippines, Filipino school children still had to observe American patriotic holidays. Instead of displaying the Filipino flag or celebrating June 12 (the day that Aguinaldo’s government declared Philippine independence) for instance, Filipinos students celebrated the United States’ Flag Day (June 14) and the Fourth of July.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that American colonial education had the promotion of Filipino national identity [nationalization?] as one of its objectives. David P. Barrows, who succeeded Atkinson in 1903, admitted as much. The insular government’s policy, he wrote, favored “welding [the Filipinos] into one nation with a common language, a common appreciation of rights and duties, and a common patriotism for their land as a whole.”¹⁰ Such a policy was unusual and seems to contradict the logic of colonialism. What explains this policy?

⁷ Philippine Department of Public Instruction, *Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction, 1903*, in *Annual School Reports, 1901-05*, repr., ed. Philippine Bureau of Public Schools (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 557. Superintendent George A. O’Reilly made this comment. Page numbers refer to the 1954 reprint.

⁸ See Paul A. Rodell, “Philippine ‘Seditious Plays’,” *Asian Studies* 12, no.1 (1974): 88-118.

⁹ Philippine Bureau of Education, *Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902* in *Annual School Reports, 1901-05*, repr., ed. Philippine Bureau of Public Schools (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 103.

¹⁰ Philippine Department of Public Instruction, *Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction, 1903*, in *Annual School Reports, 1901-05*, repr., ed. Philippine Bureau of Public Schools (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 266.

The answer lies in the unique position in which the United States and Philippines found themselves in after the Spanish-American War. As William Howard Taft wrote,

When there was thrust upon the American people the task of governing the Philippines . . . it was natural and proper and of the highest utility that we should profit by the experience of the British and Dutch in their colonial administration; but in so far as the people we had to deal with were different from the people under their control, and in so far as the object of our taking control of the islands was different from that which animated them, we were obliged to vary our policy from theirs.¹¹

In late 1898, the United States found itself with an overseas possession whose inhabitants had very recently launched an anticolonial nationalist revolution. The Philippines, for its part, found itself with a new colonial ruler whose own national founding was rooted in an anticolonial revolution, an event from which its people derived their sense of identity and national pride. It was this intersection of American and Philippine nationalism that led to the development of a Philippine nationalist colonial curriculum.

Faith in the United States' exceptionalism motivated American colonialists to pursue a form of rule that they envisioned as being different from and better than that of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and, most especially, Spain. The United States took the Philippines and Puerto Rico at the turn of the twentieth century in part to enhance its international standing and, as former Secretary of State Richard M. Olney put it, take its "true position in the European family."¹² However, it also wanted to outshine this family.¹³ In this spirit, colonial policymakers from statesmen like Elihu Root to bureau chiefs like David P. Barrows studied European colonial administrations but, in the spirit of American exceptionalism, ultimately decided to carve their own path.¹⁴ Education was one major field where American colonialists prided themselves in having deviated from the norm. In 1904 Taft, recently returned from his stint as governor-general of the Philippines, took stock of what the United States had so far done in the area of education. In a few short years, he boasted, the insular government in the Philippines had spent more on public schooling than did the British in the Straits Settlements and enrolled more native students than did the Dutch in Java relative to the total population.¹⁵ Taft explained that the thinking behind Dutch educational policy was to keep the people ignorant so that they would not become discontented. Unlike the Dutch and the British, the Americans prioritized public education, which, Taft wrote, had "never been attempted by any government having tropical colonies or dependencies."¹⁶ The United States sought to make its colonial rule exceptional, and the way to make it exceptional was to institute developmental policies that appeared to benefit the Filipinos.

¹¹ William Howard Taft, "American Education in the Philippines," *The Churchman*, October 1, 1904, 565.

¹² Richard Olney, "Growth of Our Foreign Policy," *Atlantic Monthly* 85 (March 1900): 289.

¹³ For a discussion of this desire to be 'exceptional,' see Michael Adas, "Improving on the Civilising Mission?" *Itinerario* 22, no.4 (January 1998): 44-66.

¹⁴ Julian Go, "The Provinciality of American Empire: 'Liberal Exceptionalism' and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898-1912," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no.1 (2007): 78; Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 6.

¹⁵ Taft, "American Education in the Philippines," 566.

¹⁶ Taft, "American Education in the Philippines," 569.

American colonialists' tolerance, even encouragement, of a nationalist colonial curriculum stemmed from a desire to prove the United States' benevolence.

At the same time, it was also possible to have a nationalist colonial curriculum because of public discomfort. American citizens were divided over the annexation of the Philippines, many seeing it as contradictory to the United States' democratic principles and much-vaunted anticolonial origins.¹⁷ The McKinley administration's policy of "benevolent assimilation" thus emerged out of a need to mollify American critics of Philippine annexation.¹⁸ Developing a nationalist colonial curriculum helped give credence to the United States' stated mission of going to the Philippines "not as conquerors or invaders, but as friends."¹⁹ Furthermore, as the American colonial state soon determined that its mission in the Philippines would be that of political tutelage and of preparing Filipinos for self-government, a curriculum that attempted to foster the sentiment of nationality fit in well.

To a certain extent too the United States could afford to implement a nationalist colonial curriculum because its material interests in the Philippines were different from that of other European colonial powers. They consisted of having a naval base and foothold in Asia rather than resource extraction or settler colonialism. Had American colonial interests in the Pacific focused on the latter, then fostering Philippine nationalism would not have been an option. As it turned out for the United States, engaging with Philippine nationalism legitimated American colonial rule.²⁰

The most important contributing factor behind the nationalist curriculum, however, was the strength of Philippine nationalism itself and Filipino opposition to the United States occupation. As Taft put it, "the people we had to deal with were different." The length of the Philippine-American War made it clear that the United States needed to make concessions that could quell popular resistance.²¹ As Julian Go has shown, the liberal nature of U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines was largely due to Filipinos' political aspirations.²² U.S. leaders like Taft and

¹⁷ H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), v, 28-29.

¹⁸ Reo Matsuzaki provides an excellent reconstruction of this debate in "Institutions by Imposition: Colonial Lessons for Contemporary State-building" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011), 113-117.

¹⁹ As quoted in James Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 148.

²⁰ Why resource extraction was not a feature of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines was due in part to the United States' ability to obtain necessary raw materials from within its own continental borders. Additionally, the Philippines' main resource was its strategic location in Asia. Compared to other colonies in Southeast Asia, the Philippines, even under Spanish rule, was not as rich in desirable resources or crops as were other colonies such as the Dutch East Indies (spices, coffee), the Federated Malay States (rubber, tin), or French Indochina (rubber, tobacco, cotton, textiles, rice). Indeed, the Spanish did not develop export crop cultivation in the Philippines until after 1763. Resource extraction and settler colonialism, however, were features of United States' continental expansion. To a large measure, the United States' policy with regards to seizing Native American land and to dealing with Native American populations was more similar to European colonial practices than not and as many scholars have argued was colonialism in it of itself. See for example, Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Walter Williams, "United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism," *Journal of American History* 66:4 (March 1980): 810-31.

²¹ Many Americans thought that this war would be quick, like the six-week-long Spanish-American War; the Philippine-American War, however, officially lasted three years.

²² Julian Go, "The Provinciality of American Empire: 'Liberal Exceptionalism' and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898-1912," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no.1 (2007): 86.

Root understood that enlisting western-educated Filipino elites' support was necessary for ending the Philippine-American War and securing U.S. dominance over the Philippines. A "policy of attraction" required promising Filipinos freedom of speech and the right to vote (though the franchise was at first restricted to males of some wealth and education), as well as opportunities to participate in government as advisors, provincial governors, legislators, and civil service personnel. Public instruction was a vital component of the policy of attraction. American colonial officials hoped that public instruction would meet the Filipino educated elite's, or *ilustrados*, demands for expanded education across the archipelago. Public schools could also attract ordinary Filipinos, or the *tao*, for whom educational opportunities under Spain had been rare.

In the 1950s, J.S. Furnivall, a scholar and British colonial servant, observed that the Americans had early on encouraged Filipino patriotism.²³ Furnivall contended that the United States used patriotism to entice Filipinos to attend the new American-run public schools: "The schools were useless if the children could not come to them, so they attracted pupils and at the same time undermined Spanish influence by associating education with patriotism."²⁴ While Furnivall's claim has merit, it is more accurate to say that the new colonial schools needed a nationalist curriculum to combat the revolutionary nationalism that had fueled the Katipunan and which had later turned anti-American. Nonetheless, even as the new system of public instruction favored "welding Filipinos into one nation," American colonial officials held firm to the idea their work in the Philippines should prioritize "securing the loyalty of the inhabitants [of the Philippines] to the United States and implanting the ideals of western civilization among them."²⁵

The Beginnings and Organization of American Colonial Education in the Philippines

Three factors shaped the system of public instruction in the Philippines during the period of direct U.S. rule: the Philippines' prior experience with Spanish colonialism and its ensuing bid for independence, the United States' initial military occupation of the islands, and the idiosyncratic nature of American colonialism itself.

Historian Glenn Anthony May calls American colonial rule in the Philippines "second stage colonialism" in that it immediately followed the heels of Spanish colonial rule. Writes May, "The Americans inherited many problems which Spain had created in the colony, but they also benefited from Spain's accomplishments."²⁶ When the Americans arrived in the Philippines, they found an archipelago in possession of an educational system that, while not well-distributed, was nonetheless complete. There were public and private schools, schools for vocational training such as arts, trade, and normal, or teacher training, schools, and colleges. The islands even had a university, the University of Santo Tomas, which granted degrees in law, philosophy, and medicine, and which was (and is) the oldest university in Asia. The American colonial state benefited from this earlier system by providing it with a subject population familiar with western-style education and which associated education with power and prestige. It is significant that the Filipino elite in the late nineteenth century were known as the *gente ilustrada* or

²³ J.S. Furnivall, *Experiment in Independence: The Philippines*, ed. Frank N. Trager (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), 57, 61.

²⁴ Furnivall, *Experiment in Independence*, 57.

²⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1905), 3: 645.

²⁶ May, *Social Engineering*, xvi.

ilustrados, meaning “enlightened people” or “enlightened ones.” Elites were distinguished first and foremost by their education, and the mass of Filipinos understood that formal education contributed to socioeconomic mobility.

Although American colonial officials liked to denigrate Spanish colonial education, thanks to it, they did not have to start entirely from scratch. The Spanish educational system provided the United States with a corps of native teachers, an inventory of school buildings, and a population keen for public schooling. More importantly, that education had been available under Spain and that leading and ambitious Filipinos found it inadequate provided the United States with a counterpoint. It would take care to differentiate its educational institutions and methods from those of the former ruler. In this way, public instruction under the Americans could serve to win over Filipinos, who were set on their independence, to U.S. colonial rule.

American colonial education in the Philippines began with the archipelago’s military occupation. In both the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, American soldiers opened or re-opened schools as soon they gained control of a town or locality. They worked alongside native teachers and taught English to the local populace. With this subject, the military hoped to attract Filipinos to the re-opened schools and promote a good opinion of the United States. The strategy appears to have worked. In their recollections, Filipinos who were youths during the Philippine-American War tended to associate American soldiers with their first English word. Former President of the United Nations General Assembly Carlos P. Romulo was one such youth. Since his father and grandfather were revolutionaries, Romulo recalled hating American soldiers, “those blue-eyed devils,” until they began teaching English to the local children, Romulo included. Of this experience, he said: “I was very proud of the rapid way I learned, for none of the grownups I knew, not even my scholarly father, could read or write English!” Late in his life, Romulo insisted that it was through English language instruction that he “came to trust our enemies, to love them.”²⁷

When the Philippines transitioned from military to civil rule in 1901, the new government kept the military’s view that schools were paramount to reconciling Filipinos. *Puck* magazine pointedly recognized this strategy in its 1901 cartoon “It’s ‘Up to’ Them” (figure 1). The cartoon featured a colossal Uncle Sam presenting two choices before the Filipinos, who are dressed in different costumes that depict their “tribal” diversity. In his right hand, Uncle Sam offered a male American soldier ready with a rifle, and in the other a female American teacher bearing books and benevolence. The caption, “It’s ‘Up to’ Them,” followed by Uncle Sam’s lines “You can take your choice; I have plenty of both!” suggested that the Filipinos had no real choice in the matter; clearly, the teacher was the more attractive option, but she too represented submission to U.S. rule.²⁸ For the satirical *Puck*, the teacher, or the school, was no different from the soldier in the work of pacifying and civilizing Filipinos.

²⁷ Carlos P. Romulo, *I Walked With Heroes* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), 30. It must be noted that Romulo’s recollection is problematic. Having been born in 1898, he would at best have been four years old during the Philippine-American War, if we consider its duration to be from 1899-1902. Nonetheless, this same narrative of initially seeing American soldiers as enemies and then considering them friends once one learned English from them, can be found in other memoirs as well. Camilo Osias’s autobiography, *The Story of a Long Career of Varied Tasks*, has almost the same sequencing of events as Romulo’s memoir. See Camilo Osias, *The Story of a Long Career of Varied Tasks* (Quezon City, Philippines: Manlapaz Publishing Company, 1971), 68.

²⁸ The cartoon might also be suggesting that Filipinos had the semblance of freedom under U.S. rule in the same way that they had the semblance of choice between the teacher and the soldier.

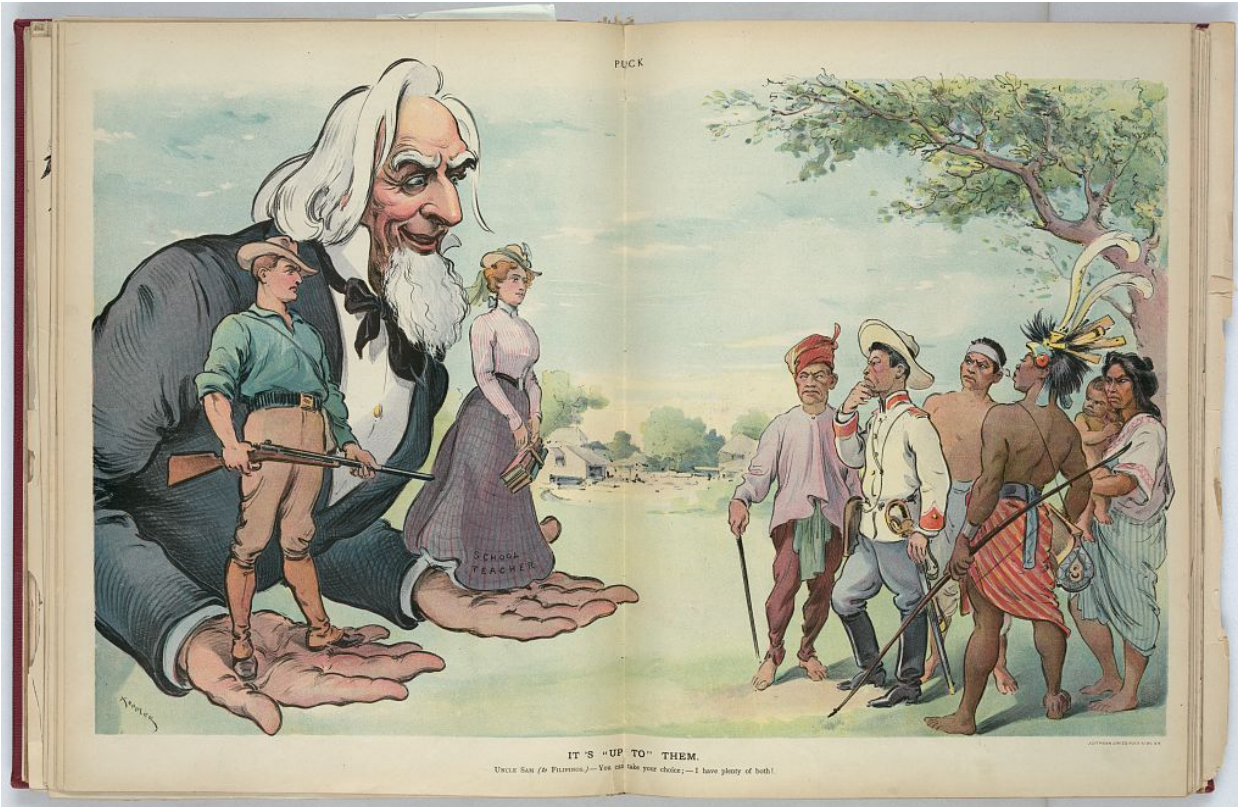


Figure 1. "It's 'Up' to Them," *Puck*, November 20, 1901. Cartoon by Udo J. Keppler. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-25583.

The military implemented the changes in the Philippine schools that would prove significant. One of the military's strategies was to differentiate education under the Americans from education under the Spanish. Under Spain, Philippine public instruction had been under control of the Church.²⁹ Aware that much of the Filipinos' grievances lay in animosity towards the orders, the U.S. military decided to secularize education.³⁰ The first superintendent of Manila schools, W.D. McKinnon, was a Jesuit priest and chaplain with the First California Volunteers. One of McKinnon's first acts was to remove courses on religion and replaced them with English classes, which was notable given his own background as a man of the cloth. Replacing religion with English was a bold statement about how the United States would conduct public instruction in the Philippines. The military's installation of the English language in the Philippine classroom in 1898 proved to be durable; for the next three decades, colonial authorities in the Philippines prioritized English language acquisition, making it not only a language that Filipinos had to

²⁹ Even if schools were not explicitly run by an order, local priests had authority over the public schools in each town. Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932), 67.

³⁰ Nonetheless, the military would still need to rely on some of the Catholic teaching orders as teachers. Mary Bonzo Suzuki, "American Education in the Philippines: American Pioneer Teachers and the Filipino Response, 1900-1935," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 71.

learn, but the language of instruction itself. This policy meant that Filipinos learned all of their course subjects, not only “English” but also history, civics, arithmetic, and geography, in a foreign language. The military’s school work in the Philippines also set several other important precedents: a heavy emphasis on industrial or vocational education, a commitment to secular public education, and a reliance on American teachers. These features would characterize the Philippine school system for the next thirty years. That they originated from the military should underscore American colonial education’s early beginnings as a strategy for pacifying Filipinos.

In March 1900, General Elwell S. Otis established a Department of Public Instruction and placed Captain Albert Todd of the Sixth U.S. Artillery in charge. That same month, the Second Philippine Commission, or Taft Commission, arrived in Manila to establish civil government over the islands. Consequently Todd supervised the islands’ educational system for only four months before Fred W. Atkinson took over as the first civilian General Superintendent of Education. During his brief tenure, however, Todd made several key recommendations that civilian government later implemented. Todd envisioned a public, compulsory (where practicable), secular educational system with literacy as the chief goal and English as the language of instruction. Todd also recommended the creation of more industrial schools for manual training as well as normal schools to train native teachers. The third component of Todd’s plan was the recruitment of American teachers to teach English.³¹

These recommendations found their way in the Taft Philippine Commission’s educational act, Act 74 (1901). Drafted by Atkinson, Act 74 established a Bureau of Public Instruction and provided for the following: 1) the use of English as the language of instruction; 2) the separation of religious instruction from the regular curriculum; 3) the establishment of normal, agricultural, and trade schools; and 4) the recruitment of one thousand American teachers to serve in the Philippines.³² As can be seen, Act 74 adhered closely to Todd’s recommendations. The act also detailed the school system’s organization. It would be a centralized system consisting of at first ten school divisions, later expanded to thirty-six, and which included the Mountain and Moro Provinces. It thus covered the entire archipelago, something which had not been achieved during Spanish rule. Each division would be under the direction of an American superintendent responsible for selecting the Filipino teachers who would work in local schools. The municipal governments were responsible for building, repairing, and maintaining schools within their jurisdiction, and for paying Filipino teachers’ salaries. The insular government, meanwhile, paid for the salaries of American teachers, textbook purchases, the bureau’s operating budget, and “insular” schools. These schools were not attached to a division or province as they provided specialized training for Filipinos from all over the archipelago. Institutions that fell under this

³¹ In total, Todd made seven recommendations: 1) implementation of the English language; 2) establishment of manual training schools; 3) schools under the direction of the government should use English as the language of instruction with Spanish and local languages used in amounts necessary to help students transition over to English; 4) recruitment of American teachers for English language instruction; 5) the establishment of a normal school for training native teachers; 6) the building of modern schoolhouses in larger towns; and 7) separation of church and state with regards to public instruction. See Fred W. Atkinson, “The Present Educational Movement in the Philippine Islands,” in “Education in the Philippine Islands,” United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1900-1901, Advance Sheets* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1902), 1323.

³² To accommodate Filipinos’ wishes for religious education to be made available while still maintaining separation of church and state, the Philippine Commission adopted the so-called Faribault Plan, which allowed for religion to be taught after school by a priest or teacher of religion. See *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 81-82.

classification were the normal, agricultural, and trade schools. The people of the Philippines paid for the cost of the entire system through taxation and customs duties; no money came from the United States.

The Bureau of Public Instruction (later renamed the Bureau of Education) made significant progress in the expansion of public instruction during the first decade of U.S. colonial rule. In 1903, the bureau reported 150,000 Filipino school children attending approximately 2000 public schools, all at the primary level as the bureau had not yet opened any intermediate or secondary schools. Ten years later, in 1913, the number of primary schools had increased to 2,595, and there were now 296 intermediate schools and 43 secondary schools. The bureau reported a highest monthly attendance across all levels of 349,454 students.³³ Eight years later, the number of primary and intermediate schools had more than doubled to 6,101 and 738, respectively. Student participation more than doubled too, with an average daily attendance of 778,882. Secondary schools saw a more modest growth, with the addition of 22 more high schools for a total of 65 across the entire country. In 1934, on the eve of Commonwealth rule, when the Philippines became self-governing though not yet independent, the archipelago had 7,560 elementary schools, which combined the primary and intermediate grades, 117 secondary schools, and a total enrollment of nearly 1.2 million students. In terms of numbers of schools opened and students enrolled, the American colonial educational system ostensibly achieved the goal of extending public instruction beyond what had existed at the end of Spanish colonial rule.

Besides the military, the divided organization of the American colonial state affected Philippine education.³⁴ The American colonial state, broadly speaking, was comprised of War Department personnel and officials based in Washington D.C. and American administrators working in the Philippines proper. These officials and administrators were primarily responsible for policies concerning the islands. However, certain aspects of Philippine affairs required congressional approval. Thus, the War Department, American administrators on the islands, and U.S. Congress all had a hand in making decisions about the Philippines, which led to policies at cross-purposes with one another and educational measures that could be abandoned with the appointment of new officials. During W. Cameron Forbes's term as governor-general, for instance, one thousand schools had to close as the business-minded Forbes prioritized road-building and economic development over education.³⁵

Most notably, ambivalence within the United States about formal overseas colonialism weakened the American colonial state's ability to execute its goal of democratizing the Philippines via education. Soon after it acquired the Philippines, the United States government went to work to keep the islands at arm's length. In contrast to Britain and France, which had colonial offices that formulated centralized policy, the closest thing the United States had to a colonial office was the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) in Washington, D.C., which was part of the War Department and which was especially created to handle Puerto Rican and Philippine civil affairs. Instead of devising policy, the bureau's main responsibility was to coordinate communication between the War Department and the insular government of the Philippines, the

³³ The Philippine Bureau of Education used monthly attendance because students dropped out mid-way through the year or often missed class. Monthly attendance thus served as a better measure of participation than enrollment. Again, schooling was not compulsory, although this had been a wish of the Philippine Commission. See Philippine Bureau of Education, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913), 55.

³⁴ May, *Social Engineering*, 124.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 116.

term for the American colonial government on the archipelago. That the metropolitan office was called the “Bureau of Insular Affairs” and the colonial government “insular” is fair indication of efforts to camouflage colonialism. In the end, what this division of authority and shrouding of colonial work meant was that Washington would not be involved in Philippine education, neither for policy nor for funding. This arrangement would hurt Philippine education as the insular government ultimately needed the financial backing of the United States mainland, whether through appropriations, the free entry of Philippine goods, or policies that encouraged U.S. private investment on the islands (which would stimulate economic growth), in order to fulfill its educational mission.³⁶ Financially, the Philippine public school system was at the mercy of Congress. Even though Congress had no direct legislative power over Philippine education, it did determine customs, duties, and tariffs on Philippine products. The schools were dependent on insular revenues, a large portion of which derived from Philippine exports to the United States. When Congress approved tariffs that hurt Philippine exports, insular revenues, and therefore schools, suffered. Ultimately, financing the Philippine school system would prove to be American colonial officials’ and educators greatest challenge.

As Washington distanced itself from the archipelago, much of the Philippines’ educational policy came instead from the insular government and the various appointed American officials in charge of education. However, as previously mentioned, the appointment of new officials and bureau chiefs meant that educational policy for the Philippines, despite the educational system’s highly centralized structure, was ad hoc, inconsistent, and often consisted of temporary measures. Nonetheless, throughout the period of American colonial rule, the educational system adhered to the recommendations originally made by Todd, especially his emphasis on English language instruction and literacy. It is to this policy that we now turn.

Furnishing a Common Language: English as a Language of Instruction

American officials and observers in the Philippines made much of Filipinos’ lack of a common language and used it to prove that they were not a nation. Upon arriving in the Philippines, American military personnel found an array of local languages, not one of which seemed to function as a single *lingua franca* for the whole archipelago.³⁷ Although Spanish had potential as language that could link Filipinos from different ethnolinguistic groups together, military and civilian personnel reported that only a small percentage of the population spoke it.³⁸

³⁶ Julian Go, “The Chains of Empire: State Building and ‘Political Education’ in Puerto Rico and the Philippines,” in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, ed. Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 196-201.

³⁷ Rosita G. Galang, “Language of Instruction in the Philippines During the Twentieth Century: Policies, Orientations, and Future Directions,” in *Journey of 100 Years: Reflections on the Centennial of Philippine Independence*, ed. Cecilia Manguerra Brainard and Edmundo F. Litton (Santa Monica, CA: Philippine American Women Writers and Artists, 1999), 98.

³⁸ According to Galang 2.4% of the Philippine population spoke Spanish at the start of U.S. rule. See Rosita G. Galang, “Language of Instruction in the Philippines During the Twentieth Century: Policies, Orientations, and Future Directions,” in *Journey of 100 Years: Reflections on the Centennial of Philippine Independence*, ed. Cecilia Manguerra Brainard and Edmundo F. Litton (Santa Monica, CA: Philippine American Women Writers and Artists, 1999), 100. Other scholars, such as Keith Whinnom, reported that no more than 10% of the population spoke Spanish in 1903. Recently, Mauro Fernandez has argued that the number of Spanish speakers in the Philippines in the early twentieth century has been underestimated, and that Whinnom based his estimate on the 1903 census of the Philippines. Fernandez points out, however, that the 1903 census did not ask respondents what languages they spoke, and that it admitted that a form of broken Spanish was spoken throughout the archipelago. Mauro Fernandez,

American colonial officials and educators hastened to offer English as a solution to the Filipinos' language problem. They contended that English could unify Filipinos by fostering communication throughout the archipelago. Additionally English, being the language of freedom-loving nations such as Great Britain and the United States, could impart an understanding of liberty and democracy. From American colonial officials and educators' perspective, English-language instruction accomplished the linked goals of political education and developing a new Filipino national identity.

In many ways the heart of American colonial education was English-language instruction. Throughout the entire thirty-year period of direct colonial rule, English was the single most important subject in the Philippine curriculum, and American administrators devoted plenty of time and resources to its instruction. In time, the American colonial state measured its success in the Philippines by Filipinos' ability to speak, read, and write English.

The decision to implement English-language instruction initially came out of necessity. The military taught English to weaken Filipino opposition to U.S. rule, and it continued to serve this function once civil rule began. However, English also was implemented to facilitate colonial rule itself. The Americans needed a language with which to communicate to Filipinos, and colonial officials concluded that it would be easier for Filipinos to learn English than it would be for Americans to learn Tagalog, Ilocano, or Visayan. The United States did not have experts on Philippine languages who could work on the islands and teach these languages to American personnel. Besides, colonial officials argued, it would be impractical for Americans working in the Philippines to learn the local languages because there were so many languages with few readily available teaching materials written in them. Teaching in the vernacular would have required printing a different set of textbooks for each language. Officials in Washington decided that the best course of action was to teach English. McKinley's letter of instructions to the Taft Philippine Commission, which was written by Elihu Root and formed the basis of the United States' Philippine policy, arrived at this conclusion. The letter asked that an attempt be made to first teach in the "language of the people" but then quickly went on to say that

In view of the great number of languages spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language.³⁹

By attempting to provide universal access to the English language, the United States differed from other colonial powers. American officials were proud of this difference, claiming that by offering English to all Filipinos, the United States had "cut loose from all established traditions."⁴⁰ However, the United States' language policy in the Philippines may also be understood as being consistent with Americanization efforts in the mainland, especially those

"The Representation of Spanish in the Philippines," in *A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language*, ed. Jose del Valle (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 368-9.

³⁹ William McKinley, "Instructions of the President to the Philippine Commission, April 7, 1900," in U.S. Philippine Commission, *Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Civil Governor, and the Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands, (1900-1903)*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904), 10.

⁴⁰ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904) 3: 674.

that pertained to immigrants and Native Americans. One difference, of course, is that Americanization on the mainland aimed to assimilate these populations into American society. In the Philippines, the English language policy's purpose was not to eliminate differences between Americans and Filipinos but to facilitate colonial rule and develop a native workforce for the colonial state. The insular government's early legislation reveal how the colonial state very much incentivized English and tied it to a range of colonial functions and legal-political processes. To be eligible to vote, work in the civil service, practice law, or serve as a judge, for instance, a Filipino had to be literate in English or Spanish.⁴¹

While English had the practical benefit of making colonial administration easier, colonial officials argued that English-language education was a necessary component of Filipinos' preparation for self-government. Officials claimed that Philippine languages had limited vocabularies, little to no literary production, and no access to modern thought or civilization. By contrast, English had a rich history and was the "language of free institutions" and of "business in the Orient."⁴² In 1902, David P. Barrows claimed that English, "the common language of business and social intercourse between the different nations from America westward to the Levant" and "without rival the most useful language which a man can know," would provide Filipinos with access to the "busy and fervid life of commerce, of modern science, of diplomacy and politics in which he aspires to shine."⁴³ Colonial officials maintained that it would enlighten and uplift Filipinos and bring them from a barbaric tribal state into civilized nationhood. It would also remove Filipinos' ignorance, provide them with "modern" consciousness, and transmit Anglo-Saxon values. Taft, for example, held that "by reading its literature, by becoming aware of the history of the English race" Filipinos would "breathe in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon individualism."⁴⁴ By learning English, they would have a true understanding of free institutions and democracy. Additionally, English would create a more egalitarian and democratic Philippine society by serving as a common language. The lack of a common language, Americans officials argued, had kept the majority of Filipinos ignorant and susceptible to the machinations of the ruling classes, who were able to communicate to one another because they could speak some language in common, such as Spanish. Wrote Barrows:

Knowledge of English is more than this—it is a possession as valuable to the humble peasant for his social protection as it is to the man of wealth for his social distinction. If we can give the Filipino husbandman a knowledge of the English language, and even the most elemental acquaintance with English writings, we will free him from that degraded dependence upon the man of influence of his own race.⁴⁵

⁴¹ For voting qualifications see U.S. Philippine Commission, Act 82, Section 6c, in *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the Philippine Commission during the Quarter Ending February 28, 1901* (Manila, 1901), 402; on civil service and court language requirements, see Bonifacio Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1968), 87-88.

⁴² U.S. War Department, *Special report of Wm. H. Taft, Secretary of War, to the President, on the Philippines, January 27, 1908* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1908), 24.

⁴³ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904) 3: 701.

⁴⁴ Senate Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate, 57th Cong., 1st sess., (1902), 1:333.*

⁴⁵ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904) 3: 701.

By becoming the common language of the Philippines, colonial officials envisioned English as the substance that would create a nation out of the thousands of islands of scores of tribes and dialects. English would allow Filipinos from various tribes and far-flung regions to communicate with one another, and in doing so, colonials hoped, create a sense of commonality. In 1911, Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson was confident that “With the progress now being made, English will be understood by the next generation generally throughout the islands, and with this common means of speech will come a community of thought and action which could not be brought about in any other way.”⁴⁶

American administrators frequently claimed that Filipinos desired knowledge of the language. In 1901 the Taft Commission reported that military officials had found the natives “eager to learn English, and the use of Spanish or the native dialects is generally deprecated.”⁴⁷ Colonial officials also maintained that Filipinos specifically called for English instruction. “His [the Filipino’s] request was for free, secular schools, open to all inhabitants and teaching the English tongue and the elementary branches of modern knowledge,” Barrows wrote in 1903.⁴⁸ So widespread was the desire for English among Filipinos that “opponents of English education” would “find no sympathizer among the Filipino people.” Barrows charged that criticism of the policy only ever originated from “academic circles and partisan periodicals of the United States” and “the Congressional halls of the nation.” The Filipino, he claimed “readily understood” the advantages of the English language.⁴⁹ Sharing their experiences of teaching Filipinos in private homes, Manila classrooms and barrio schools, American teachers corroborated the colonial administration’s claims. “I was a much wanted man,” recalled Russell Trace, explaining that soon after he was hired by a wealthy family to teach their daughters English, he “began to get calls on every hand.”⁵⁰ Another teacher recounted that “the people were very anxious to learn the new language,” and that “toward education they were eager to show their appreciation and loud in their praises of it.”⁵¹

Colonial officials were not mistaken in their view that Filipinos were attracted to English. As opportunities to learn Castilian, or even go to public school, had been limited during Spanish colonial rule, Filipinos welcomed the opportunity to learn English. Activity by the revolutionary government suggests that even the anti-American native elite were interested in learning English. The revolutionary government’s constitution had proposed an educational system wherein the secondary level curriculum included two required courses on English.⁵² According to Andrew B.

⁴⁶ U.S. War Department, *Special report of J.M. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President, on the Philippines* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1910), 12.

⁴⁷ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission* (Washington DC: GPO, 1901), 107.

⁴⁸ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904) 3:695.

⁴⁹ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904) 3:701.

⁵⁰ Russell Trace, “Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands,” in *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines* eds. Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 86.

⁵¹ Moses D. Flint, “My Experiences as a Teacher in the Philippines from 1900-1903,” in *Bearers of Benevolence The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines* eds. Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 97.

⁵² This very same constitution, however, mandated Tagalog as the language of instruction at the primary level. This decision was significant given that the leaders of the Malolos government came from and represented a variety of

Gonzalez, the secondary curriculum actually put more stress on English than Spanish. He suggests that this decision may have been motivated by the “realization that English would be an important world language in the future as the British Empire was then at its height.”⁵³

If the revolutionary government recognized that advantages were to be had with knowledge of the English language, so did the more common classes. Under U.S. rule, English *would* be the language of power: it was the language of the American colonial regime, and knowledge of English could provide one with access to influential officials, positions in the colonial administration, an understanding of the new rules and laws, and, for the entrepreneurial, even advantageous business connections. Upon the creation of a Philippine Civil Service, where one needed to know either Spanish or English, Taft noted that the Filipinos realized that “when they speak English they are enabled to secure more lucrative positions in the service. . . . The interest taken by Filipinos in acquiring English is further stimulated by the fact that only in this manner are the higher and more responsible clerical and other executive positions open to them.”⁵⁴

English, however, did not have a totalizing claim on Filipino lives. Most Filipino students discarded English as soon as they went home. English was a language to be used only in the schools, and it was learned in order to go to school and get a job. Vernacular languages, however, remained the medium by which Filipino students communicated with their families and with one another. When Filipinos from different linguistic groups met, they tended to use not English but Spanish or a major vernacular instead.⁵⁵ Notable for the continued use of Spanish was the Philippine Assembly, which was the lower house of the Philippine Legislature and which was comprised of elected Filipino representatives from throughout the islands.⁵⁶ Additionally, educated Filipinos of the older generation, who were at ease in Spanish, resisted the new language. For these Filipinos, that English was the language of official business was threatening, especially when it was required to practice a profession. When the insular government made a motion to phase out Spanish from the court system, for instance, Filipino lawyers protested.⁵⁷

Criticism about the English-language policy appeared almost as soon as it was implemented. As early as 1903, a few American teachers observed that using English as the language of instruction was perhaps not as effective as Barrows and Taft claimed. According to teacher and future philosopher Theodore De Laguna, Filipinos were indeed eager to learn English but their enthusiasm soon waned upon discovering the difficulties of the language. “When it became clear that the learning of English is an arduous and protracted task, the less ambitious class of children fell away from the schools in multitudes,” he wrote.⁵⁸ In De Laguna’s

linguistic backgrounds. See Andrew B. Gonzalez, *Language and Nationalism: The Philippine Experience Thus Far* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980), 17-18.

⁵³ Andrew B. Gonzalez, “The Social Dimensions of Philippine English,” *World Englishes* 23, no. 1 (2004): 7-8.

⁵⁴ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fifth Annual report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1905), 54.

⁵⁵ According to Mauro Fernandez, the number of Filipinos who spoke Spanish actually increased during American rule. Mauro Fernandez, “The Representation of Spanish in the Philippines,” in *A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language*, ed. Jose del Valle (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 369.

⁵⁶ Bonifacio Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1968), 85.

⁵⁷ Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule*, 85-89.

⁵⁸ Theodore De Laguna, “Education in the Philippines,” *Gunton’s Magazine* 24 (March 1903): 220-1.

assessment, the American public school system did not live up to the desires of either less affluent or wealthy Filipinos.⁵⁹ Children from more modest backgrounds left school entirely because learning English was an “arduous and protracted task” while those from wealthier families left to attend private schools that could better provide them with English-language instruction. The real problem of the English-language policy, De Laguna found, was that for less affluent Filipinos there was no practical economic incentive to learn the language. “In a few cities it might help many a boy to get employment. . . . Elsewhere it is important only for the governing class, affecting as it does, their commercial and political interests. But for the Filipino peasantry there is no motive for learning English and accordingly they will not and cannot learn it. A new language can only come to them with a new life; schooling cannot give it to them.”⁶⁰ Learning English, De Laguna suggested, would not change the Filipino peasantry’s socioeconomic future. Children from peasant classes would work in agriculture or animal husbandry, as their fathers did, and such work did not require English. The result was that English-language education served to reinforce divisions in Philippine society rather than minimize them, contrary to the colonial administration’s stated aims.

Twenty-one years later, Najeeb M. Saleeby, a Lebanese-American physician who became superintendent of Moro education in Mindanao, echoed many of De Laguna’s concerns and proposed the use of vernacular languages in the primary grades. One of the flaws of the language policy, Saleeby argued, was that Filipino school children reverted back to their native languages as soon as they stepped off school grounds. Additionally half of school-age children did not receive any instruction in the English language at all because there were not enough schools to serve the entire Philippines. Saleeby noted that the goal of the colonial government was to make English the national, common language of the people.⁶¹ However, given the numbers and the realities of Philippine life, such a goal could not be realized. Instead of becoming the Filipinos’ common language, Saleeby argued that English only hindered the Filipinos’ cultural and national development. In particular, it was failing to create a democratic Philippines, which was the colonial administration’s primary rationale for teaching all courses at all grade levels in English:

To insist upon English as the sole basis of public instruction defeats the very purpose for which the present system has been inaugurated and patronized. To give 10% of the school population an intensive English language education and to fail to give the majority . . . and the lay people an adequate knowledge of English . . . is both un-democratic and unjust. It at once creates a dividing line between these two well defined camps of citizens, placing in bold relief a high-browed English-speaking “ilustrados” class.⁶²

Like De Laguna before him, Saleeby found that English language education only deepened class divisions in the Philippines.

⁵⁹ I am interpreting the “less ambitious class of children” to mean children from less affluent backgrounds and the “intelligent class” to mean the wealthy. This interpretation is based on the sense that Filipinos from wealthier backgrounds would not let their children leave school, and De Laguna does not indicate that the “less ambitious class of children” attend school elsewhere. The implication is that they drop out of the system entirely. The wealthy class, on the other hand, leave the schools and start their own.

⁶⁰ Theodore De Laguna, “Education in the Philippines,” *Gunton’s Magazine* 24 (March 1903): 228.

⁶¹ Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The Language of Education in the Philippine Islands* (Manila, 1924), 13.

⁶² Saleeby, 29-30.

In 1924 the Philippine Legislature, perhaps sensing that the English-language project was not as successful as the early Philippine Commissions had hoped, mandated a national educational survey, with a Board of Educational Survey created to conduct the study. Paul Monroe, director of the International Institute at Teacher's College, Columbia University, served as the board's chairman. The board visited schools in thirty provinces all over the archipelago and administered tests to 32,000 pupils. While its report's overall tone was not as scathing as De Laguna's account and Saleeby's study, the board backed many of Saleeby's claims. Filipino children "stay in school on the average less than three years"⁶³ and were taught by "untrained and partially-educated teachers who themselves have never developed an adequate command of the language."⁶⁴ To make things worse, efforts to instill English were "combated constantly by the pervasive influence of the dialect with which they are surrounded in all of their out-of school hours."⁶⁵ In comparing Filipino school children's proficiency in English to that of American students, the board found that the average Filipino pupil lagged two or three years behind. It predicted that "on leaving school, more than 99 per cent of Filipinos will not speak English in their homes. Probably not more than 10 or 15 per cent of the coming generation will use it in their occupations."⁶⁶ English had thus failed to become the country's common language. Instead, the language policy created a society divided between those who knew English and those who did not. However, while English had been imagined as a means for fostering Filipino nationhood, in many ways its true purpose was less to create Filipinos out of the "variegated assemblage of tribes" than it was to create English-speaking Filipinos. It would be these Filipinos, the American colonial state imagined, who would run the Philippines.

The Teaching of Philippine History and Civics

If English, by serving as a common language, was thought to help knit Filipinos together, then the teaching of Philippine history and its companion subjects, civics and geography, would help Filipinos identify with the nation. Along the way, Philippine history would also teach the ideals of good citizenship and civic behavior. Teaching Filipinos about the Philippines, however, was no easy task. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, scholars in the United States knew almost nothing about the archipelago and its history. Moreover, if Americans were to teach Filipinos about their own history, they would have to address the Philippine Revolution and explain the early hostilities between Filipinos and Americans. In any history textbook, the revolution would have to serve as a capstone event that demonstrated Filipinos' political awakening, their patriotism, bravery, and their desire to be free from Spanish tyranny, but the subject uncomfortably touched upon the issue of independence. The American colonial state therefore needed to present Philippine history and civics in a way that cultivated Filipino aspirations for self-government but without challenging U.S. sovereignty.

The teaching of Philippine history began in 1902, the year that the United States declared the Philippine-American War over.⁶⁷ The Bureau of Education officially added Philippine

⁶³ Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 42.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁶⁷ Philippine Department of Public Instruction, *Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction, 1903*, in *Annual School Reports, 1901-05* (repr., Manila: Bureau of Printing), 497; Aniceto Fabia, *The Development of the Teaching of History, Civics, and Current Events in Philippine Schools* (Manila: Imprenta Dia Filipino, 1928), 3.

history and civics to the high school curriculum in 1904. In 1906, the Bureau extended Philippine history to the intermediate grades and added civics to the elementary curriculum in 1907. Between 1902 and 1906, three textbooks on Philippine history came out: Adeline Knapp's *The Story of the Philippines* (1902), Prescott F. Jernegan's *A Short History of the Philippines* (1905), and David P. Barrows's *A History of the Philippines* (1905). The first two texts were designed for the primary grades and the last for secondary students. Of the three, Jernegan's book was the one that most Filipino children encountered between 1905 and 1919, when assignment of the text was discontinued.

While each book covered the gamut of Philippine history from the pre-colonial past to the American present, the overwhelming focus was on the Spanish colonial period. Though unsurprising, given the wealth of Spanish colonial records, this emphasis made Philippine history derivative of Spain's and rendered Filipinos largely invisible. Students learned, for instance, that their country's first heroes were Spaniards such as Legaspi and Urdaneta, and they read more about Spanish colonial policy and foreign affairs than actual events that had transpired on Philippine soil. However, by focusing so much on the history of the Spanish Philippines, these colonial textbooks created associations between Philippine and Western European history. Jernegan and Barrows's textbooks showed students their country and people's links to the West. Students learned that the discovery of the Philippines was related to that of the New World and that their forefathers' Christian conversion was connected to the Reconquista and Counter-Reformation. By nesting the Philippines within a larger history of the West, the authors imbued the islands with world-historical significance. Barrows's *A History of the Philippines* explained, for example, that the Philippines' historical life began with European contact, and it was from this contact that "the history of the Philippines has become a part of the history of nations."⁶⁸ This placement of Philippine history within the history of Western civilization suggested that the Philippines's future would lie in an association with the West.

The early textbooks on Philippine history used the Philippines' Spanish colonial past as a contrast to their American present. The textbook authors did not hesitate in describing the ills of Spanish colonialism. Spanish royal governors had unchecked power and cared more about the colony's profits than the Filipinos' welfare. *Encomenderos* forced Filipinos to pay taxes beyond what was rightfully due, and Filipinos labored under slave-like conditions.⁶⁹ Despite their depictions of Spanish cruelty, American textbook authors nevertheless maintained that Spain left the Philippines better than she had found it. The friars, Jernegan's textbook declared, had provided "many things necessary to civilization," most notably Christianity and the rudiments of a Western-style education.⁷⁰ Thanks to Spanish development, material conditions improved: the Filipinos "progressed in social life and government, in education and industries, in numbers, and in wealth."⁷¹ In reading Jernegan's textbook, students learned that "civilization always brings some evils with it. Those who are not strong can not stand the freedom and the changes that it brings. Whatever losses the Filipinos suffered, there was much that they gained."⁷² In short, colonialism had its costs, but ultimately, the colonized benefited by it.

⁶⁸ David P. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1914), 14.

⁶⁹ Prescott F. Jernegan, *A Short History of the Philippines* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1905), 82.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁷¹ Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 14.

⁷² Jernegan, *A Short History of the Philippines*, 117.

Besides making colonialism acceptable by recasting it as “civilization,” colonial textbooks also naturalized it as part of Philippine history. According to them, colonialism was commonplace and there was no shame in being politically dependent. Civics primers such as Jernegan’s *The Philippine Citizen* explained that there were “about one hundred and fifty colonies in the world” and that “fully half the people in the world live[d] under a dependent form of government.”⁷³ Additionally, history textbooks suggested that the Philippines’s current political relationship with the United States was a logical extension of its long ties with the West. Colonial textbooks intimated that because of Spain’s three hundred years-long influence over the islands, the Filipinos were actually a western people. In 1915, the Bureau of Education championed this argument at the Panama-Pacific Exposition: “The Filipinos occupy a unique position among the peoples of the Orient. The centuries of western training they have had under the Spanish regime have made them a Christian people, the only Christian people in the Far East; have made western civilization and culture in all its branches the civilization and culture of the Filipinos.”⁷⁴

By claiming that Filipinos had western roots, colonialists could present U.S. rule not so much as foreign occupation as it was midwifery to help the Filipinos achieve their political destiny. American-authors narrated Philippine history as the story of Filipinos’ steady march towards “civilization and self-government.”⁷⁵ Building on the race-wave migration theory proposed by Ferdinand Blumentritt and J. Montano, their texts presented colonial rule—both Spanish and American—as an almost preordained stage in Philippine history. Race-wave migration theory held that the peopling of the Philippines occurred via three racial migrations or waves. The small, dark-skinned Negritos were the first settlers, followed by the taller, lighter-skinned Indonesians, and then finally the shorter but “civilized” Malays.⁷⁶ Through greater skills, intelligence, and physical prowess each successive wave overpowered the one previous until it dominated the archipelago. This meant that the majority of Filipinos originated from the last but most superior wave—the “civilized” Malays. Whereas during Spanish rule, Filipino nationalists and *ilustrados* had marshaled this theory to locate dignified indigenous roots, U.S. colonialists instead offered it as proof that from time immemorial the Philippines had relied on the arrival of peoples from distant shores. Spanish rule could thus be understood to represent a fourth stage in Filipinos’ evolution, wherein Spain improved the civilized Malays by introducing them to Christianity and Western modes of life. Americans in turn were the fifth and final wave that would perfect the Hispanicized Filipinos through free secular education and democracy.⁷⁷

Perhaps the most difficult piece of history that Jernegan and Barrows had to address was that of the Philippine Revolution. While a history of the revolution promoted Filipino national sentiment, it also had the potential inspire revolt. Textbook writers attempted to defuse this potential by incorporating the revolution into a narrative of failed Filipino uprisings that had begun in the mid-seventeenth century. While the authors acknowledged that Filipinos had reason

⁷³ Prescott F. Jernegan, *The Philippine Citizen*, 5th ed. (Manila: Philippine Educational Company, 1913), 17-18.

⁷⁴ Bureau of Education, *The Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: Marnell and Co., 1915), 58.

⁷⁵ Jernegan, *A Short History of the Philippines*, iii.

⁷⁶ For more on the race-wave migration theory, see Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., “Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 605-637.

⁷⁷ Paul Kramer also discusses the extension of the race-wave migration theory to include Spanish and American rule in *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 200-201.

to rebel, overall they regarded the revolts as misguided or false attempts to rise up against Spain. Jernegan, for example, dismissed the eighty-five-year-long Dagohoy rebellion (1744-1829) as a "retreat from civilization" while Barrows interpreted Apolinario de La Cruz's Tayabas (1841) revolts as evidence of Filipinos' "wayward" and "misdirected" enthusiasm.⁷⁸ The Philippine Revolution followed this pattern. The authors admitted that the revolution was a marked improvement over previous revolts in that it drew from Enlightenment ideas and was led by a "better class" of men. Nonetheless, they insisted, the revolution, led as it was by predominantly elite Tagalogs who used violence to compel other "tribes" and provinces to join their cause, was neither a truly democratic nor national movement. If anything, it actually showed how much more Filipinos had to learn about government and democracy.

Because of the Philippine Revolution's ambiguous legacy, American educators were chary of recommending many *katipuneros*, or revolutionaries, as national role models for young Filipinos. Instead they focused on intellectuals and propagandists—the *ilustrados* who had at first sought reforms from Spain. Conveniently for the U.S., many of the most prominent *ilustrados* were already dead by the start of colonial rule. American colonial officials and educators' preferred national hero was Jose Rizal, whose novels and martyrdom had already earned many Filipinos' reverence, and in whose writings they could find support for the colonial mission. Ignoring Rizal's acerbic views of foreign rule, Americans instead honed in on the Rizal that counseled political education and self-improvement. Jernegan, for instance, quoted Rizal as saying: "No man has given greater proof than I of desiring liberties for our country, and I still desire them. But I make the training of the people a promise, so that they by education and labor may attain a personality of their own and become worthy of those liberties."⁷⁹ Another oft-cited notable was Apolinario Mabini, a brilliant intellectual who helped draft the revolutionary government's constitution but who was also a paralytic. Although Mabini had served in Aguinaldo's revolutionary government and resisted swearing an oath of allegiance to the United States, his death in 1903 rendered him harmless. As non-combatants, Rizal and Mabini could not glorify battle; as intellectuals who spent long hours poring over their desks, they were ideal role models for students.

Despite its victory in the Philippine-American War, the U.S. colonial state remained vigilant of Filipino resistance. This concern can best be seen in civics textbooks' attempts to dispel the attraction of rebellion. *The Philippine Citizen*, for instance, warned students that it was easier to "rebel against a poor government . . . than to create a better one" and reminded them that political independence alone did not lead to personal freedom.⁸⁰ Moreover, Filipinos had no reason to rebel for they enjoyed great rights and privileges under the United States—the most that any political dependency could have. Finally, textbooks reassured readers that the United States intended to give Filipinos their independence as soon as they proved themselves capable of self-rule. Rather than direct their anger at the United States, the primer suggested, Filipinos were better off fighting the enemies that were within. Corrupt politicians, criminals, even the "lazy and shiftless," it argued, were all enemies of the state and "often more dangerous than conquering armies."⁸¹

⁷⁸ Jernegan, *A Short History of the Philippines*, 223; Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 263.

⁷⁹ Prescott F. Jernegan, "The Rights and Duties of Citizens of the Philippines," *Civico-Educational Lectures* No. 1 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), 15-16.

⁸⁰ Prescott F. Jernegan, *The Philippine Citizen*, 5th ed. (Manila: Philippine Educational Company, 1913), 10.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

Under American hands, Filipino national sentiment was to be fostered through a decidedly nonviolent form of patriotism. Students were instructed to ground their pride in the Philippines' natural beauty and rich natural resources and they were reminded that independence had to be earned and not won. In this way, civics education complemented another project of the colonial state, that of Philippine economic development. Channeling Filipinos' objections to foreign occupation, American textbook writers argued that the best way to defend the Philippines from foreign exploitation was for Filipinos to take control of their own economy by developing their islands' crops, crafts, and manufactures. True patriotism, Jernegan argued, was more than just "hatred of the enemies of one's country and the willingness to fight under the flag in defense of one's native land."⁸² It was a commitment to work for the country's progress and material development, too. Civics textbooks thus upheld hard work, thrift, and sobriety as criteria for patriotic behavior and urged students to seek useful vocations, such as farming, teaching, and engineering.⁸³

Like the Schurman Commission, colonial textbooks portrayed tribalism and factionalism as deeply entrenched qualities of Filipino society and stressed the need for Filipino unity. "Everything great in this world," Jernegan asserted, "has been done by the united efforts of people who spoke the same language and believed the same things."⁸⁴ To combat regionalism, American authors urged students to put the needs of the Philippines first. Barrows advised the student to "remember that his town or locality is of less importance, from a patriotic standpoint, than his country as a whole," and "that the interests of one section should never be placed above those of the Archipelago."⁸⁵

Despite these exhortations, the American colonial state could not produce Filipino unity through classroom lessons alone. Although the U.S. sought to create a democratic educational system, in truth it was class-tiered. The exigencies of peasant Filipino life prevented many children from attending, or completing more than a year or two of school.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, Filipino elites, suspicious of American schools' secularism and mass orientation, continued to enroll their children in the religious, private lyceums, atheneums, and *colegios* of the Spanish period.⁸⁷ English-language instruction, which educators believed would knit the Filipinos together by providing a common language, was uneven and poorly retained.⁸⁸ Moreover, textbooks kept reinforcing an image of Filipino tribalism, its failures, and its dangers without providing much of a positive counterbalance. The curriculum failed to provide students with a glorious past in which they could root Filipino identity. Nor were there many approved national heroes providing models for Filipino patriotism. The Bureau of Education claimed to promote Filipino national unity, but its school system recapitulated the tribalism discourse and the tripartite race

⁸² Jernegan, *The Philippine Citizen*, 12.

⁸³ George A. Malcolm and Maximo M. Kalaw, *Philippine Civics* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1919), 18.

⁸⁴ Jernegan, *A Short History of the Philippines*, 4.

⁸⁵ Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 24.

⁸⁶ Barrows admitted as much when explaining why the primary course in the Philippines was only three years long. See Philippine Bureau of Education, *Fourth Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1904), 11-13.

⁸⁷ Reo Matsuzaki, "Institutions by Imposition: Colonial Lessons for Contemporary State-Building" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011), 297-299.

⁸⁸ Barbara S. Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines: The History of English as the Medium of Instruction and the Challenge Mounted by Filipino" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 135. For a contemporaneous account of English language education during U.S. colonial rule, see also Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The Language of Education of the Philippine Islands* (Manila, 1924).

migration theory by dividing Filipinos into three different major groupings: Hispanicized Christian Filipinos, “Mohammedans” or Muslims, and the animist or “wild” Filipinos. Muslim Filipinos used textbooks written in Arabic, while animists were subject to the Christianizing efforts of American Protestant missionaries. High-ranking bureau officials saw nothing contradictory in this arrangement. To them, it was evidence of the American colonial state’s sensitivities to Filipino needs, and the bureau’s ability to tailor education to their colonial subjects. As time went by, the bureau also became more focused on furnishing Filipinos with a “practical” education, thus dedicating more and more of the curriculum to industrial education. With such a curricular emphasis, students found themselves encouraged to think more about basket weaving, coconuts, and corn than Filipino solidarity.⁸⁹

The colonial curriculum used the teaching of Philippine history and civics to supplant revolutionary nationalism with an official, colonial state-sponsored nationalism. This official nationalism called for loyalty to both the Philippines and to the United States, and it identified the good Filipino as a sober citizen who worked hard to develop his country. In presenting the history of the Philippines, colonial textbooks attempted to strengthen the ties between the Philippines and the United States, as well as the West in general. They promoted behavior that aligned with Protestant American values such as self-discipline, thrift, and industry, and they presented the exercise of these values as patriotic behavior.

While these narratives and lessons in values formation protected the American colonial state’s interests, they also resonated with currents within Philippine society that predated the United States’ arrival. The Philippine nationalism that emerged in the late nineteenth century was not anti-Western; as Vicente Rafael has shown, Filipino nationalism first emerged from Filipinos’ desire to be assimilated into Spain and to be recognized as equals by the metropole.⁹⁰ Whether their authors knew it or not, and they most likely did not, American colonial textbooks like Barrows’s *A History of the Philippines* could play to this search for recognition. History textbooks’ depiction of the Philippines’s march through time as one of progress and gradual political development also had the potential to resonate with Filipinos’ desire to be part of what they understood to be the modern world. Last, while self-discipline, thrift, and industry were important values within Protestant American culture, they were not exclusive to it. During the late 19th century, propagandistas like Rizal and Lopez Jaena as well as revolutionaries like Bonifacio and Mabini, were of the mind that Philippine society was in need of moral regeneration. Both propagandistas and revolutionaries thought the solution lay in individual self-improvement. The decalogues of revolutionaries Andres Bonifacio and Apolinario Mabini thus exhorted Filipinos to practice diligence and self-control. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fraternities, trade unions, and mutual aid associations, inspired by the propagandistas and

⁸⁹ On Filipino industrial education, see Glenn Anthony May, “The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009): 151-62.

⁹⁰ Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 13, 18. Rafael writes that Filipino nationalism did not “begin with the outright rejection of Spanish colonialism” (13). Filipino nationalists, instead, wanted instead “the assimilation of the Philippine colony as a province of Spain, restoring Filipino representation in the Spanish parliament, encouraging greater commercial activities, and securing equal treatment of the colony’s population regardless of race before the law” (18). They wanted to “be seen as Spanish patriots” (18).

revolutionaries, also called for the same behavior from their members.⁹¹ The values colonial schools promoted during the period of American colonial rule were not entirely foreign to Filipinos.

Conclusion

From the beginning, fostering Philippine nationalism was an integral component of American colonial education. The reason for fostering nationalism, however, had less to do with American benevolence than with the relative weakness of the American colonial state and the strength of Philippine nationalism prior to U.S. rule. This earlier nationalism, which had fueled the Philippine Revolution, had to be disarmed of its revolutionary overtones and transformed into what Resil Mojares has called a “benign, civic nationalism.” Opening schools and teaching English was intended in part to win Filipinos over to the United States, while Philippine history and civics courses upheld a form of Philippine nationalism that promoted loyalty to both the United States and the Philippines.

To be sure, supporters and executors of American colonial policy such as David P. Barrows maintained that U.S. rule was benevolent and that American colonial education was truly mindful of Filipino needs, desires, and aspirations. The insular government, after all, commissioned textbooks designed specifically for Filipino students and which taught them about their own history, their local surroundings, and their own national heroes. In short, the colonial curriculum seemed to confirm that the colonial state was fulfilling Taft’s promise of a “Philippines for Filipinos.” However, the colonial curriculum also had to serve the colonial state’s interest and preserve its power. Thus, although it acknowledged Filipinos’ aspirations for self-government, the colonial curriculum always stressed the “benevolence” of U.S. rule.

Some might argue that colonial education was simply conquest by other means. Such an argument, however, gives short shrift to Filipinos themselves and how they made meaning and use of American colonial education. The American colonial state expanded the public school system and made education accessible to more Filipinos than had heretofore been possible. Although they had reservations about the new American colonial education system, Filipino parents, who saw education as a form of social capital, sent their children to the new schools in the hopes that their children would not only be better educated than they but that they would also have better livelihoods. Filipino parents especially hoped that education would earn their children well-paying professional jobs that would take them out of the fields. They understand manual work to be difficult and backbreaking labor which provided very little by way of wealth and status. Consequently wanted something better for their children. The architects of American colonial education, however, had a different view. Crucial to Philippine economic and democratic development, they thought, was the need to instill in Filipinos the value of hard work and the dignity of manual labor. The next chapter looks at vocational education and the ways in which it functioned to teach good citizenship and patriotism.

⁹¹ Jim Richardson, *Komunista: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2011), 8, 27, 30-31.

Chapter 3

Industrial Education: Working for the Nation

If English literacy was the most important subject in the American colonial curriculum, second to it was manual training and industrial education. In the early 1900s, the Philippine Commission and the Bureau of Education created an archipelago-wide program of industrial education, one that surpassed that of the United States. In instituting industrial education, two lines of thought guided American colonial officials and educators. First, American colonial officials thought it a form of education especially suited for the Philippines and the Filipinos. Second was the question of the Philippines' economic development. While colonial officials understood the Philippines as being in need of economic development, the kind of policies they enacted reflected the United States' faith in the *laissez-faire* approach. American colonial officials thought that the key to Philippine economic development lay in American capital investment rather than direct state intervention such as mandates to produce certain crops or state-backed companies that would facilitate production, export, and sales. American dollars, they believed, would stimulate agricultural production. Thus, American colonial policy concentrated on developing human resources and on creating a skilled workforce that would help make the Philippines an attractive place for investment.

Similar to English language instruction, American colonial officials associated industrial education with Filipino patriotism and preparation for nationhood. In this case, however, touting industrial education as a form patriotic duty or preparation for service to the nation, functioned more as a way to attract Filipinos to industrial education and manual work itself.

This chapter looks at the system of industrial education, its failure to resonate with Filipinos, and its subsequent association with patriotism. Industrial education supported civics education by promoting a form of Filipino nationalism that was rid of revolutionary and anticolonial potential. Relatively few scholars have examined industrial education in the Philippines during the American colonial period, and their attention has thus far been on its failure to aid Philippine economic development or to attract or even educate Filipinos. As a 1925 educational survey found, the system of industrial education did little to prepare Filipinos for professions they would actually occupy. This chapter takes a different approach by looking at how the American colonial state treated industrial education as a form of citizenship education. It asks how industrial education worked to support the colonial state's, to borrow from Benedict Anderson, "official" nationalism. It was precisely because industrial education failed, whether in terms of economic development, Filipino employment patterns, and occupational aspirations, that it became linked to nationalism and patriotism.

An Education Fit for Filipinos

From the very beginning, American colonial officials and policymakers in the Philippines imagined that industrial education would serve as the foundation of the new public school system. By "industrial education," they meant training in manual work, such as light handicrafts, sewing, woodwork, and weaving, as well as vocations such as farming, carpentry, teaching, and accounting. Colonial officials believed that this type of education was especially suitable for Filipinos.¹ After all, as the racial imagery of political cartoons such as "School Begins" (figure 2)

¹ I use the term "industrial education" over "vocational education" as colonial officials and administrators typically used this term to describe training in manual arts, handicrafts, trades, domestic science, and agriculture. I reserve

shows, Filipinos were likened to Native Americans and African Americans—the very same groups that were sent to manual training schools in the United States. For the less advanced peoples of the world, so it went, manual training and industrial education was best.



Figure 2. “School Begins,” *Puck*, January 25, 1899. Cartoon by Louis Dalrymple. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-28668.

Americans’ assessments of Filipinos’ particular gifts and talents validated this common sense thinking about industrial education’s suitability. Military officials, American teachers, and other colonialists often described Filipinos as a childlike people who excelled in music, dance, mimicry, language acquisition, and handicrafts.² Reported the Schurman Philippine Commission, “[the Filipino] possesses remarkable patience and great manual dexterity. He is a natural musician, and, with his imaginative character, has a liking for art, but he has thus far shown himself to be an imitator rather than a creator.”³ And Filipino children, according to superintendent of education Fred W. Atkinson, had “a natural talent for the lesser mechanical arts.”⁴ That the Filipino had “manual dexterity,” a “liking for art,” and was a natural “imitator” made him a perfect candidate for manual training and other forms of industrial education.

This perception worked hand in glove with American colonialists’ perception that Philippine society’s class strata were fixed and that the Philippines would remain an agricultural

the term “vocational education” when referring to secondary or postsecondary school education in fields that prepared students for a specific occupation. In doing so, I follow Glenn Anthony May’s description of “industrial education” as a broader term that encompassed both manual and vocational training. See Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 89. I recognize, however, that the two terms were used interchangeably in the first third of the twentieth century.

² They were, in Fred W. Atkinson’s words, “childlike, curious, pleasure-loving, immature, strange unfathomable, elusive.” Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905), 285.

³ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1: 40.

⁴ Fred W. Atkinson, “The Educational Problem in the Philippines,” *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1902, 365.

country. While they thought that education should be transformative—that is, that it would civilize and uplift Filipinos—they did not think that it would radically change Philippine class structure. *Ilustrados* and wealthy classes would occupy the professional classes, serve in government, or become captains of industry, while the vast majority of the population would remain in farming, fishing, and cottage industries. Already, almost 58% of wage-earning men and 70% of wage-earning women worked in agriculture and manufacturing, respectively.⁵ “We take it for granted that small farmers—they and their children—will remain, and that in intensive farming lies the hope of their prosperity,” declared David Barrows in 1905.⁶ With such assumptions did the Philippine Commission recommend in 1900 the establishment of agricultural and industrial schools, “as it is believed that such institutions are peculiarly suited to the present needs of the people.”⁷ In this they received support from *ilustrados* and the Filipino elite. In a testimony before the Schurman Commission, Felipe Calderon disparaged the state of vocational education in the Philippines. The agricultural school, he claimed, had “not developed any men with any knowledge of agriculture to speak of” and its graduates did “not put their knowledge of agriculture into practical application” because the knowledge they received at the school was not practical to begin with.⁸ It was not just Americans who thought the majority of Filipinos needed a “practical” education, but the Filipino elite, too.

The architects of public instruction did not design the colonial curriculum with the thought of increasing Filipino upward mobility. Rather, the colonial curriculum more modestly aimed to create a literate Filipino peasantry that would be aware of its rights and duties. It also aimed to instill the values of hard work. In this manner, industrial education was also a form of moral education and citizenship training. American colonial education’s rhetoric constructed the good Filipino as one who worked and contributed to Philippine economic development. To work even the humblest of professions was patriotic. The bad Filipino, meanwhile, was one who did not work and who thought himself too high for menial labor. By refusing to work, he wasted his talents and education, and he did little to serve his country.

The most enthusiastic supporters of industrial education were those for whom it was not meant. American colonial officials, the Filipino elite, and high-ranking American and Filipino educators sang the virtues of industrial education, but its intended recipients’ enthusiasm for it remained lukewarm at best. For the common *tao* industrial education was useless, if not demeaning, and it was not what they considered “education” at all. By 1925, the Monroe Board of Educational Survey declared the system of industrial education outdated and out of touch with Filipinos’ actual needs and interests.⁹ It was one of the most disappointing features of the Philippines’ new “modern” public school system, and it was a complete failure on the part of the architects of American colonial education. To rescue industrial education, the Bureau of Education would present it as a means through which Filipinos could serve their country and help it develop.

⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1905), 2: 101.

⁶ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), 4: 407. Taken from the September 1905 Report of the Superintendent of Education.

⁷ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1: 41.

⁸ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 2: 265. Testimony of Felipe Calderon, questioned by Colonel Denby.

⁹ Board of Educational Survey. *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 59-62.

Ideology and Industrial Education

As Calderon's comments indicate, the Philippines already had institutions for vocational training prior to the start of American rule. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Spanish educational reforms led to the founding of several vocational and trade schools. These included four agricultural schools, a telegraphy school, and four arts and trades schools or *escuelas de artes y oficios*.¹⁰ They provided specialized occupation-specific training: arts and trades schools produced artisans and craftsmen while normal schools produced teachers. As they had with other institutions in the Philippines, American military and colonial officials, found these schools lacking. They deemed the schools' quality of instruction poor, the course offerings insufficient, and the number of schools available too few to educate an entire nation. The schools could only take in a few hundred students, and they tended to be located in or near Manila, making them accessible only to urban dwellers or to those who could afford to leave the provinces for the capital.¹¹ In its early reports, the military thus recommended the creation of more agricultural, manual arts, and technical schools. Indeed, for the military, industrial education was second only to English language instruction in priority. In 1900, Captain Albert Todd, the military official in charge of public instruction, made seven recommendations for Philippine education. The first was to inaugurate a "modern school system for the teaching of elementary English . . . at the earliest possible moment," and the second was to establish "industrial schools for manual training . . . as soon as a fair knowledge of English has been acquired."¹²

American rule would go beyond the Spanish's provision of vocational schools by creating a system of industrial education that not only expanded the number of technical, agricultural, and vocational schools, but one that introduced manual training in the primary grades. This emphasis on manual and vocational training was a notable feature of American education in the Philippines. No other colony had such a far-reaching system of industrial education. Colonial education in India, for example, was notoriously "literary," so much so that Indians demanded the creation of technical schools, and Gandhi himself designed a curriculum built around manual work.¹³ With the American Philippines, even the colony surpassed the metropole in implementing industrial education systematically.¹⁴ Whereas the Philippines had a system of industrial education in place as early as 1904, it would not be until the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 that the United States would even allocate federal funding for vocational education on the mainland.

As previously discussed, American colonialists considered manual training especially fitting for Filipinos. This thinking, as many scholars have noted, came from prevailing ideas about how to educate Native Americans and African Americans, as well as people with character

¹⁰ Frederick Fox, "Philippine Vocational Education: 1860-1898," *Philippine Studies* 24, no. 3 (1976): 265.

¹¹ Two agricultural schools were in Cotabato (Mindanao) and Negros (Visayas), while one arts and trades school was in Iloilo (Visayas). Of the eleven schools founded after 1850, five were in Manila proper, while three were in Pampanga and Rizal provinces. These provinces are within a day's travel of Manila.

¹² U.S. War Department, *Report of the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands on Civil Affairs* (Washington, GPO: 1900), 221.

¹³ Aparna Basu, "Policy and Conflict in India: The Reality and Perception of Education," in *Education and Colonialism*, ed. Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (New York: Longman, 1978), 63.

¹⁴ This was of course, due to the fact that Philippine educational system was highly centralized unlike in the United States.

defects, such as criminals and juvenile delinquents.¹⁵ Americans not only considered industrial education appropriate for the weaker mental capacities of “inferior” peoples, but they also thought it was rehabilitative: it built character and taught the dignity of labor. Native Americans, African Americans, and Filipinos especially needed to acquire a good work ethic as they were, in white Americans’ eyes, “lazy.” Native Americans, so it went, were “lazy” because they did not have a concept of private property that would have forced them to work the land. African Americans, meanwhile, were naturally “shiftless.” For their part, Filipinos were “indolent” because they had inherited the Spanish distaste for manual labor. Remarked an American division superintendent, “The Filipino people as a class, after years of Spanish rule, have the idea firmly embedded in their minds that manual labor is degrading and beneath their dignity.”¹⁶ Introducing manual work in the schools, then, would serve to de-Hispanicize Filipinos and teach them the American value of hard work.

The idea of “hard work” was central to Americans’ self-conception and sense of exceptionalism: the United States was a workingman’s republic, an egalitarian nation of butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers. Although other colonial powers like France and Great Britain considered manual work to have moral and practical benefits, no other country upheld manual labor as much as the United States, nor was this faith in work as widespread anywhere else. As Daniel Rodgers writes, whereas early European explorers and settlers imagined the New World as an Edenic paradise where the land was so fecund that none had to work, the Puritan settlers of the northern English colonies instead “fashioned a land preoccupied with toil.”¹⁷ Pride in rugged individualism, idolization of the yeoman farmer, and the Protestant work ethic, with its accompanying values of thrift and industry, all contributed to the American gospel of labor. From the American perspective, manual labor was not something to avoid or look down upon, nor was it only for “backwards” peoples but for everyone. “A man should have a farm or a mechanical craft for his culture,” Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured in 1841. “We must have a basis for our higher accomplishments, our delicate entertainments of poetry and philosophy, in the work of our hands.”¹⁸ The emphasis on manual training in the Philippines, then, came not only from American racial ideologies but also from Americans’ cherished notions of manual labor and hard work.

With such a high regard for manual labor, the United States was fertile ground for new ideas coming in from Europe about industrial education during the 19th century.¹⁹ Manual training appeared in American schools as early as the 1830s, and during the Civil War and

¹⁵ Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 89-93; Mary Bonzo Suzuki, “American Education in the Philippines: American Pioneer Teachers and the Filipino Response, 1900-1935,” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 103.

¹⁶ *Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902* in Philippines, Bureau of Public Schools, *Annual Schools Reports, 1901-1905*, repr. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 105.

¹⁷ Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1851-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 5.

¹⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Man the Reformer,” 1841 address given before the Mechanics’ Apprentices’ Library Association in Boston, *Emersoncentral.com*, accessed 11 August 2015, <http://emersoncentral.com/manreform.htm>.

¹⁹ Influences were Johann Pestalozzi, Swedish sloyd schools, Imperial Technical School of Moscow exhibit at Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. See Howard R.D. Gordon, *The History and Growth of Vocational Education in America*, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2003), 2-3, 10-12; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 23-27, 33.

Reconstruction, the manual and vocational training movement expanded significantly.²⁰ Between 1861 and 1868, several schools founded in the spirit of industrial education opened: Oswego State Normal School (1861) in New York, Worcester Polytechnic Institute (1868) in Massachusetts, and Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute (1868) in Virginia, which trained African Americans and Native Americans.²¹ The Morrill Act of 1862 also reflected this turn towards industrial education, as it designated the study of agriculture and the mechanical arts part of the land grant colleges' mission. Beginning in the 1880s, more and more Americans were beginning to think that schools should outfit students for a line of work, and by the turn of the twentieth century many powerful voices, from Jane Addams to the National Association of Manufacturers, advocated for some form of industrial education or vocationalism.²²

The implementation of industrial education in the Philippines thus occurred at a time when manual training and vocational education were in ascendance in the United States. It must be stressed, however, that in the United States, industrial education was most felt at the secondary and postsecondary levels. In the Philippines, as we shall see, industrial education and manual training was present not only in the secondary schools and higher, but in the primary and intermediate grades as well. All Filipinos who attended public school during the American colonial period were thus exposed to some form of manual training and industrial education.

Creating a System of Industrial Education

As it had with English instruction, the Taft Philippine Commission in 1900 adopted without hesitation the military's original recommendations to develop industrial education on the islands. Its orientation towards industrial education was apparent from the beginning, with its appointment of Fred W. Atkinson as first superintendent of education. Atkinson was previously a principal of a high school in Springfield, Massachusetts. Although the commission had appointed him upon the recommendation of Harvard president Charles Eliot, Atkinson's experience with the Massachusetts school system likely played a role in his appointment, too. In 1900, Massachusetts was a leader in industrial education: thirty-seven cities in the Bay State offered some kind of manual training in the primary grades, and Springfield, where Atkinson worked, had a mechanical arts high school.²³ Atkinson would have thus been highly aware of industrial education. At the very least, the commission thought that Atkinson should learn more about industrial education before he left for the Philippines. It instructed Atkinson to visit Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Tuskegee, and Hampton Institute—all schools for Native Americans and African Americans—so as to observe firsthand which practices could be applied to the colony.

²⁰ May, *Social Engineering*, 89; Suzuki, 93-94.

²¹ Gordon, *The History and Growth of Vocational Education in America*, 10. Cremin lists several manual training schools that opened in the 1880s in *Transformation of the School*, 27, 32, 34.

²² Harvey Kantor, "Vocationalism in American Education; The Economic and Political Context, 1880-1930," in *Work, Youth, and Schooling*, ed. Harvey Kantor and David B. Tyack (Stanford, CA; Stanford University Press, 1982), 15-16. Different advocates had different reasons for supporting industrial education. Addams, for instance, thought it would help factory workers understand their labor and feel less alienated. The National Association of Manufacturers, meanwhile, thought it would make American industry more competitive (in comparison to Europe) as well as mitigate labor unrest. See Kantor, "Work, Education, and Vocational Reform: The Ideological Origins of Vocational Education, 1890-1920," *American Journal of Education* 94, No. 4 (1986): 405, 413.

²³ May, *Social Engineering*, 89. Suzuki, 97; Atkinson was not the principal of the mechanical arts high school, however.

The tour left Atkinson convinced that Filipino education should be “an agricultural and industrial one, after the pattern of our Tuskegee Institute at home.”²⁴ Unfortunately, despite his insistence that “education in the Philippines must be along industrial lines,” Atkinson, an inefficient administrator, was unable to significantly increase the number of agricultural, trade, or industrial arts schools during his brief tenure.²⁵ When he left the Philippines in 1902, the Bureau of Education had only been able to open one trade school.²⁶

The appointment of the energetic and ambitious David P. Barrows as superintendent of education in 1903 promised real progress in the expansion and organization of public instruction. However, Barrows was less sanguine about industrial education than either of his predecessors, Atkinson and Bryan. A firm believer in liberal or “literary” education, Barrows considered basic literacy and arithmetic more important for Filipino self-development and nation-building than vocational skills. As May and Margold have noted, Barrows was a Jeffersonian who saw the Filipino as a peasant proprietor at heart rather than a wage laborer.²⁷ He also saw *caciquismo*—bossism or the rule of local strongmen—as the major obstacle to democracy in the Philippines.²⁸ Filipinos, according to Barrows, were prey to cacique control in part because they were ignorant, hence the need for education. Equipped with basic literacy and arithmetic skills, the Filipino peasant would be aware of his rights, know how to read contracts, discern among laws and measures, and consequently choose in his own best interest. To the charge that a literary education would only encourage Filipinos to leave farming, Barrows responded that it would actually make the Filipino a better farmer and consumer: “If he has his small home and plot of ground, the possession of English, the ability to read, the understanding of figures and those matters of business which affect him, and even the knowledge of other lands and peoples will not draw him from his country life and labor.”²⁹ It would instead raise the Filipino’s “standard of life and comfort,” and, Barrows explained, as it “increases his desires it will make him a better producer and a larger purchaser.”³⁰

Despite Barrows’s preference for a more academic education, pressure from above (Philippine Commission) and below (American division superintendents) forced him to incorporate manual and vocational training in the Philippine curriculum.³¹ In the 1904 Courses of Instruction, the first general course of study that Barrows designed, the superintendent acknowledged that there was “an increasing demand for instruction in agriculture and in handicrafts, in housekeeping, and in those subjects that fit the children for a better entrance into

²⁴ As quoted in H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 69.

²⁵ As quoted in May, *Social Engineering*, 97.

²⁶ May, *Social Engineering*, 93.

²⁷ May, *Social Engineering*, 98-99; Jane A. Margold, “Egalitarian Ideals and Exclusionary Practices: U.S. Pedagogy in the Colonial Philippines,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8, no. 4 (December 1995): 379.

²⁸ For more on Barrows’ understanding of caciquism and its effects in the Philippines, see Kenton J. Clymer, “Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man’s Burden in the Philippines,” *Pacific Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (1976): 503-504.

²⁹ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904), 3:702.

³⁰ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904), 3:702.

³¹ According to May, American supervisory teachers thought that Barrows should emphasize industrial education more in the curricula. The Philippine Commission also wanted to see more industrial education in the school system. May, *Social Engineering*, 104-105.

the practical life that confronts them.”³² The course of study accordingly suggested “instruction in the simple arts and industries” for boys and girls in Grade I, a “graded course in whittling” for boys in Grade II and “needle work, simple embroidery, etc.,” for girls. In Grade III, boys were to tend a school garden while girls were to take up sewing. The intermediate course, Grades IV, V, and VI, aimed “to give the child an actual practical fitting for life,” while the secondary courses, roughly equivalent to high school, directed the student “to the actual preparation for a useful calling.”³³ It was in this level that the curriculum became strictly vocational. Explained Barrows, “In the secondary courses the aim is to fit either the pupils for entrance into college or undergraduate university courses of the American type or to equip them with the necessary training to follow some one of several useful callings or life vocations.”³⁴ Students could choose from the following five courses or vocational tracks: 1) literature, history, and the sciences; 2) teaching; 3) commerce; 4) arts and crafts; and 5) agriculture. Table 1 summarizes the industrial education program proposed in the 1904 course of study:

Table 1. 1904 Course of Study

Primary	Intermediate	Secondary
Grade I: Boys and girls – Simple arts and industries	Grade IV: Boys - School garden Girls - Sewing, housekeeping, care of the home	Courses: Literature, history, and the sciences
Grade II: Boys: Whittling Girls: Needle work, simple embroidery	Grade V: Boys - Beginning agriculture Girls - Housekeeping, cooking, serving meals.	Teaching Commerce Arts and Crafts
Grade III: Boys - School garden Girls - Sewing, housekeeping	Grade VI: Boys - Tool work, carpentry, ironwork. Girls - Housekeeping, care of sick, diet.	Agriculture

Source: Bureau of Education, *Courses of Instruction for the Public Schools of the Philippine Islands*, Bulletin No. 7 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904).

Although Barrows did create a course of study that included manual and vocational training, the superintendent subordinated industrial education to academic instruction. Compared to later courses of study, Barrows’ prescriptions for manual work were very broad, and his academic bias showed through. Barrows treated industrial education, especially in the primary

³² Bureau of Education, *Courses of Instruction for the Public Schools of the Philippine Islands*, Bulletin No. 7 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 3.

³³ Bureau of Education, *Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education* September 1904 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 28; Bureau of Education, *Courses of Instruction for the Public Schools of the Philippine Islands*, Bulletin No. 7 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 4.

³⁴ Bureau of Education, *Courses of Instruction for the Public Schools of the Philippine Islands*, Bulletin No. 7 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 13.

and intermediate grades, as a complement to academic subjects. English language acquisition and literacy were still the main learning objectives of the primary course, and the purpose of manual work in these grades was to assist students' intellectual development and improve their manual dexterity. In this, Barrows adhered to progressive educators' theories on object learning, which held that children's cognitive skills benefited from manipulating physical objects. At the intermediate level, manual and vocational training fell under "science studies," which included the study of Philippine plants, animals, health, and hygiene as well as tool work, housekeeping, carpentry, and agriculture. Students would thus pair their study of agriculture or cooking with a study of plant and animal biology. Rather than providing occupational skills, Barrows instead saw the production of a "scientific" mind as science studies' chief end. Filipinos, he explained, lacked "exactness, especially in their mental processes," which when combined with their "reluctance to admit ignorance," caused Filipinos to appear dishonest and unreliable. Science studies would thus teach Filipinos reasoning, precision, and the desirability of accuracy. In this way, science studies had a citizenship component to it—it promised to discipline the mind and foster honesty.

Despite his misgivings, Barrows nonetheless created the foundations of a system of industrial education, one that touched many lives. If all public schools adhered to the 1904 course of study in its first year, then about 227, 600 primary school children received training in the manual arts in 1904, 311, 843 in 1905, and 375, 554 in 1906.³⁵ With the school age population at this time at 1.4 million, about a quarter of all school-aged children participated in manual work.³⁶ By 1907, 467, 253 primary school students, 17, 780 intermediate students, and 1, 643 secondary students were ostensibly receiving some form of manual and vocational training.³⁷ This was roughly equal to about a third of the school age population. While these proportions in relation to the total school age population may seem small, it is important to recall that school was not compulsory. The Bureau of Education expected only about a third of the total school age population to enroll during these years.

Industrial education became more prominent in the curriculum during the last three years of Barrows' tenure. In 1907, the Bureau of Education issued a new course of study. Written by acting superintendent Gilbert N. Brink while Barrows was away in the United States, the new course of study increased the amount of time devoted to manual work. In Grades I and II, for example, students spent as much time of their four-hour school day on handiwork as they did on arithmetic: 40 minutes. In Grades III and IV, they respectively spent 60 and 100 minutes of their five-hour school day on industrial work, which was more time than they spent on arithmetic and geography. For Grade IV students, the time allotted for industrial education surpassed even English—the most important subject in the colonial curriculum.³⁸

Barrows appears to have been displeased with the revised course of study when he returned. In the 1908 annual report he held ground on his stance: "To those who advocate 'practical instruction,' I reply that the most practical thing obtainable for men is a civilized community, and their most desirable acquisition is literacy. . . . Letters and industry may well be

³⁵ Suzuki, 121.

³⁶ School age population taken from Bureau of Education, *Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education* September 1904 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 68.

³⁷ Bureau of Education, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 89-90.

³⁸ May, *Social Engineering*, 105-106.

the program of the school to-day, but the training in industrial arts must not be given at the expense of the training in letters.”³⁹ Nonetheless, the Bureau of Education continued on the path of strengthening the industrial education program.

With the renewed attention to industrial education, the Bureau of Education decided to direct students’ manual work towards the construction of native handicrafts. The idea was that students could use their handicraft skills to earn a livelihood once they left school. The 1907 course of study emphasized preparing students to become “self-supporting citizens,” and admitted to placing great weight on the “commercial and industrial side.”⁴⁰ Brink expanded the primary course from three years to four and made it “complete in itself rather than a step preliminary to the intermediate course.”⁴¹ Hence, a student could leave school with only a primary education and still have useful skills with which to make a living. The industrial work in Grades III and IV thus focused on skills that could help students earn extra cash: sewing, cooking, masonry, pottery, weaving, rope-, broom-, and brush-making, furniture repair, and the construction of handicrafts such as fans, lanterns, and boxes.⁴²

The turn towards native handicrafts signaled a shift from manual work as education to manual work as production. Educators thought that Filipino children could make useful handicrafts, such as boxes, mats, and hats, and in turn sell them in their local communities or bring these items home. In turn the extra income and useful objects would improve their families’ standard of living. Early on, the Schurman Philippine Commission had found Filipinos to have few possessions and material wants, which to the commissioners were signs of backwardness. According to commissioner Dean C. Worcester, Filipinos’ home furnishings were “never abundant” except for an altar to saints, their stoves were nothing but “a heap of earth,” and “their bed a petate or palm-leaf mat.”⁴³ Worcester noted that Filipinos also often had to seek extra work to supplement their incomes. After a day’s work on their “little plot of ground or garden or that of their employers,” Filipinos spent the rest of their time “seeking what is needful for their nourishment and satisfying their daily necessities.”⁴⁴ It was thus crucial to increase Filipinos’ material wants and earning income. Even Barrows thought this important, despite his misgivings about industrial education. “The great need of Filipino national life is precisely in the direction of effort to acquire material benefits,” he wrote in 1904.

In seeking to increase Filipinos’ material wants, American colonial officials were not necessarily thinking of making Filipinos dependent on imported American goods. To be sure, there were American colonials, investors, and adventurers who recognized that the Philippines could serve as a market for American manufactures. In the realm of education, however, colonial policymakers stressed Filipino-made products for Filipinos. In 1907 the Bureau of Education

³⁹ Bureau of Education, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 15.

⁴⁰ Bureau of Education, *Seventh Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1907), 17.

⁴¹ Gilbert N. Brink, Revised Course of Study for Public Schools, Circular No. 51, s. 1908, June 10, 1907; File 2618-30; Box 287; Bureau of Insular Affairs, General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives at College Park, MD.

⁴² Gilbert N. Brink, Revised Course of Study for Public Schools, Circular No. 51, s. 1908, June 10, 1907; File 2618-30; Box 287; Bureau of Insular Affairs, General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives at College Park, MD.

⁴³ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 3: 381.

⁴⁴ U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 3: 381.

compiled information from division superintendents and teachers about local industries and materials to determine what kinds of products students could make and sell in their own communities: fans, baskets, and mats made of bamboo, bejuco, and abaca. Children were to learn how to make these objects and then share their products and knowledge with their parents. As the bureau explained,

These handicrafts are, and should remain, household industries in which all members of the family can participate during the spare hours of the day when ordinary occupations can not be followed. Every agricultural family is possessed of considerable intervals between the seasons of planting and harvest, when there is abundant leisure, and this leisure can well be employed in the braiding of hats, the making of mats and bags or the weaving of fabrics.⁴⁵ The idea was that in the off-season, the whole family would engage in a cottage industry producing the useful items and handicrafts that their children had learned how to make at school. In this way, they could increase their household incomes and earning capacities.

In late 1909 Barrows resigned from the bureau, after his dream of becoming a member of the Philippine Commission was dashed. Second Assistant Director Frank Russell White succeeded Barrows and served as director from 1910-1913. May has called White's three-year term "the triumph of industrial education." Unlike Barrows, White thought that Filipinos' education should be largely industrial rather than academic and adjusted curricula accordingly. Under his leadership, the bureau increased even further the amount of time spent on industrial work, and it also created new teaching materials dedicated solely to industrial subjects: bulletins or manuals on school and home gardening, hat-making, lacework, and housekeeping; public lectures on agricultural crops (namely corn and coconuts) and management; and a subscription magazine for teachers called *Philippine Craftsman*, which featured articles such as "Philippine Clay Work," "Some Problems in Industrial Supervision," and "Results from Domestic Science." Through such materials did the bureau seek to standardize industrial education across the archipelago; previously, White noted, each province "had to work out its own plans independent of assistance or supervision from headquarters."⁴⁶

An unusual innovation that White instituted at this time was that of involving the bureau in the sale of students' industrial work. This, he thought, would help students see the material and monetary benefits of their training. Glenn Anthony May has described this shift as the "commercialization" of Philippine industrial education.⁴⁷ White himself admitted as much: "So far as possible, the hand work of every school is being commercialized; instruction in the minor industries in every school will have in view the training of the pupil to make always a serviceable and salable article."⁴⁸ During White's term the bureau sold student work at its exhibit at the annual Manila Carnival.⁴⁹ In 1916, under Frank L. Crone's directorship, the Bureau of Education formalized the sales program by creating a General Sales Department that facilitated the export of students' work in the United States. Teachers collected students' handiwork and turned them over to the General Sales Department. Students received a share of the selling price of items that sold; if they had items that did not sell, these pieces were returned to them.

⁴⁵ Bureau of Education, *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 16.

⁴⁶ Bureau of Education, *Tenth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), 26.

⁴⁷ Glenn Anthony May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 152.

⁴⁸ Bureau of Education, *Tenth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), 28.

⁴⁹ May, "Business of Education," 156.

The commercialization of industrial education turned the school into a factory, students into workers, teachers into foremen. As they were now producing items for export, students had to adhere to strict quality standards and take care to make each item alike. Each basket that they made had to be an exact copy of their classmates' work. If they learned any skills, it was to follow instructions and to make the same item repeatedly according to one particular pattern. The bureau provided detailed instructions, patterns, and templates, and it prescribed the type of materials to use, their color, lengths, and measures. There was little room for independent design, and creativity was not rewarded. Teachers graded students' work according to their adherence to standards. In the spirit of scientific management, they noted on a form the amount of time students spent to make an item, the amount of material used, its cost, and value.

The emphasis on producing handicrafts for export also meant that students created less often those items that were useful and salable at the local level. Students still made fans, baskets, mats, and hats, but they made these in styles that Filipinos would not normally use nor buy. In this manner, industrial schoolwork lost some of its practicality. In its standardization and formulaic instructions, industrial schoolwork also lost its potential to actually educate students, to help them understand mechanical or scientific concepts for instance. Making export goods that had no relevance in their lives, students could not understand the object of their objects. Industrial education, by the mid-1910s, had moved squarely away from education and into production.

Crafting a Nation - Philippine Handicrafts and the Panama Pacific Exposition

The purpose of the sales program was as much to supplement Filipinos' income as it was to attract American investment in Philippine goods and light industry. Philippine Bureau of Education exhibits at the Manila Carnival, world's fairs, and expositions showcased student-made native handicrafts to stir up interest in finished Philippine goods. Philippine economic development was a high priority during Forbes's governorship, no doubt due to Forbes's background in business. Forbes, like Taft, Barrows, and many other American colonials, thought that the key to Philippine economic development lay in American capital investment. The insular government had no real economic plan for the Philippines beyond this.⁵⁰ American colonial officials assumed that the Philippine economy would be largely based on the export of cash crops, timber, minerals, and native handicrafts. There would be a domestic market as well for some of these goods, but in general the Philippines would be an exporting country. This myopic view was compounded by the fact that economic decisions about the Philippines ultimately rested with the United States Congress, and Congress, for the most part, paid little attention to Philippine economic issues beyond tariff legislation.⁵¹ The insular government had limited powers to formulate an economic plan for the Philippines; it could legislate on roads, schools, land sales, and corporations, but it could not actually launch a full-scale economic development plan. To the extent that it did create a plan, however, the insular government concentrated attracting American capital investment. Thus, they worked on improving infrastructure and creating a skilled workforce via industrial education. With a supply of good roads, railroads, and well-trained workers, all the Philippines had to do was wait for American capital to stimulate

⁵⁰ May, *Social Engineering*, 15-17, 129, 133-35.

⁵¹ Additionally, congressmen would vote first according to the interests of their constituents. A congressman from a sugar-producing state, for instance, would not vote in favor of Philippine sugar's free entry into the United States.

industry. This capital, however, never appeared, at least not in great sums. The Philippines was too far, and American investors preferred to place their money in Puerto Rico instead.⁵²

Similarly, in the area of handicrafts and Philippine goods, Americans seemed to have little interest. As the industrial education program became more elaborate during the mid-1910s, the Bureau of Education intensified its efforts to promote Philippine products to the U.S. market. One of its greatest marketing efforts was at the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. There the bureau had the largest exhibit at the Palace of Education. At 10,000 square feet, the Philippine educational exhibit was larger than that of Argentina, Uruguay, California, and Massachusetts. A wide assortment of crafts, textiles, and carpentry work were on display from baskets, hats, and embroidery to home and office furniture, picture frames, and trays. The bureau's visitors guide spoke glowingly of these items, highlighting the local materials that went into their making as well as the students' fine skills. Furniture pieces, for instance, were made of "such beautiful Philippine hard woods as ebony, camagon, acle, narra and tanguile, woods which are superior to the mahogany standard." Philippine lace and embroidery, meanwhile, revealed that Filipino schoolgirls were well versed in a variety of techniques such as Irish crochet, Cluny, filet, and tatting. Visitors, the guidebook reminded, could buy these items at the industrial sales department's table. In explaining the existence of an industrial sales department, the guidebook stressed that the sales of Philippine student handiwork was "not an experiment" but a "business proposition, where Philippine products in acceptable design and workmanship are sold in commercial quantities and at reasonable prices."⁵³ Last, the insular government issued a three-hundred-page report especially written for the exposition. Titled *The Philippines: Their Industrial and Commercial Possibilities, The Country and Its People*, the report promoted Philippine handicrafts as well as export crops and raw materials such as abaca, coconuts, tobacco, and timber.

The heavy promotion of Philippine goods was a response to the fact that American consumers were not buying these items in large quantities. A few department stores, such as Bonwit Teller and Wanamaker's had orders of Philippine-made lingerie, which was trimmed with Philippine schoolgirls' fine embroidery work.⁵⁴ But sales of student work, as May has shown, were never high.⁵⁵ Assistant Director Charles H. Magee thought that one of the reasons for the weak American demand for Philippine goods was that Philippine goods were not very distinct. That is, they did not have a particular design that immediately set them apart from the handicrafts of other tropical countries or colonies: "There has been in the past no design or color or form of manufacture that has been to this country unique; no secret process which give the Filipinos a clear advantage over other peoples." What made Philippine products "Philippine," Magee thought, were their materials—fibers and woods native to the islands—rather than design. Additionally, genuine Philippine products were made invisible in that they were often sold as

⁵² Julian Go, "The Chains of Empire: State Building and 'Political Education' in Puerto Rico and the Philippines," in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, ed. Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 196.

⁵³ Bureau of Education, *The Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco, CA: Marnell and Co., 1915), 19.

⁵⁴ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 95-96.

⁵⁵ May, "Business of Education," 156.

products from other countries. To confuse matters further, some countries, such as China, labeled their products as “Philippine.”

The hat weaves are as well known in other countries; embroideries in the designs in use in the Philippines have been made along the China coast to be shipped to the States and there sold under the name and with the advantage in price of Philippine embroideries, while true Philippine embroideries have been sold in the markets of the United States as European products; the Tagal braid which is used almost exclusively in the production of women's braid hats is made from the Manila hemp, manufactured into braid principally in Japan, though to some extent in Italy, Germany, and France; the fragrant Philippine tobacco is straggly to maintain its identity and to be known by its representative manufactured products in the United States; the finest Philippine hats have for decades been known on the market as Bangkok hats, this standard Philippine export taking its trade name from a city which hardly knows the industry, a trick of the early traders to keep secret the source of their profit.⁵⁶

Magee concluded that “something must be done . . . to preserve for these Philippine products their identity abroad by bringing something distinctly Philippine in makeup or design into the exported product.” The school designs, he explained, needed to be designed to have a distinctly “Philippine” look.

During the 1910s, then, the bureau’s industrial department researched designs that were suitably “Philippine” and which might appeal to a foreign market. They drew inspiration from motifs originating from the pagan Filipinos of the Mountain Province, from local flora and fauna, as well as from other cultures—Malaysian, African, and Native American.⁵⁷ In short, they invented “Philippine” designs, and students produced items that were not native or local to their everyday experience at all.

Despite the bureau’s research and development of several hundred basket designs, sales of student work remained low. After the Panama-Pacific Exposition, the bureau reported a sales revenue of only 45,000 pesos (\$22,500). The following year, sales increased to 197,000 pesos, but dipped down to 180,000 pesos in 1918. The bureau blamed World War I for the weak sales and subsequently had students reduce their output.

Industrial Education as Citizenship Education

Colonial officials and educators attached an assortment of expected outcomes to industrial education. Taft, for instance, thought that industrial education would mitigate Filipino challenges to American rule. The former governor-general was well aware that the ambitious program of public instruction in the Philippines could backfire against the Americans by creating an educated but rebellious populace. Industrial education would prevent this as it would not

⁵⁶ Charles H. Magee, Assistant Director for the Philippine Islands, “The Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition,” File 26602-9-A; Box 1094; Bureau of Insular Affairs, General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives at College Park, MD.

⁵⁷ For Malaysian design, *The Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco, CA: Marnell and Co., 1915), 8. For Native American and African design, see May, “Business of Education,” 159.

“promote idleness or create discontented and over-educated agitators,” he wrote in 1906.⁵⁸ Barrows, meanwhile, considered industrial education beneficial only insofar as it trained the body and created a scientific mind. Others stressed industrial education’s practical aspects and its ability to help Filipinos increase their earning potential.

Despite these differences, all agreed that insofar as it emphasized manual work and practical skills, industrial education brought moral uplift and taught the value of hard work. In the 1907 course of study, Brink claimed that industrial education cultivated the “habit of work” and “the removal of prejudices against all forms of manual labor.” It was his hope that the student should finish the primary course with “the habit of work definitely fixed and with the feeling that manual labor is eminently respectable and honorable.”⁵⁹

Instilling the habit of work among Filipinos was important to colonial officials in part because they sought to de-Hispanicize, and thereby Americanize, their new colonial subjects. During the early years of colonial rule, the Americans had a complicated collaborative relationship with Filipino elites. On the one hand, Taft, who intentionally cultivated relationships with Filipino elites, understood that the legitimacy of American colonial rule depended on *ilustrado* and provincial elite support. The American colonial state simply did not have enough manpower to maintain civil government on the archipelago without sharing power with local leaders. Officials thus relied on wealthy *ilustrados* like Trinidad Pardo de Tavera to act as informants and partners. On the other hand, colonial officials were also suspicious of Filipino elites, whose political ambitions they recognized and whose loyalties they questioned. Often, American colonials found fault with Filipino elites’ Hispanicized culture and European orientation. These Filipinos, colonial officials held, had received the worst traits of their former colonial rulers, the Spanish, precisely because they were the most Hispanicized. Americans’ characterization of Filipino elites turned “*ilustrado*” into a pejorative term that suggested a Filipino who was educated but superficial, who liked to theorize and engage in abstract debates but lacked practical ideas.⁶⁰ Bernard Moses’s comparison of *ilustrados* and local political leaders’ oratorical skills with that of Taft illustrates this regard:

Judge Taft’s style of speech was eminently suited to the work. It consisted of a series of clear logical statements, free from all oratorical extravagance. It was impressive because the mind of the listener was not confused by side issues or distracted by words that are used only for the sake of ornament.⁶¹

For Moses, the educated and elite Filipinos’ fondness for long-winded, flowery speech obfuscated their ideas and confused their listeners. They were also “glib talkers” who did not “know how cheap and unreliable talk might be.”⁶² Moses suspected that this type of oratory had

⁵⁸ William Howard Taft, “American Education in the Philippines: A Contrast to English and Dutch Colonial Policies,” *The Churchman*, October 1, 1904, 567.

⁵⁹ Gilbert N. Brink, Revised Course of Study for Public Schools, Circular No. 51, s. 1908, June 10, 1907; File 2618-30; Box 287; Bureau of Insular Affairs, General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives at College Park, MD.

⁶⁰ May, *Social Engineering*, 10.

⁶¹ Bernard Moses “The First Provincial Governments,” Bernard Moses Papers, BANC MSS C-B 994, Carton 1, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁶² Bernard Moses “The First Provincial Governments,” Bernard Moses Papers, BANC MSS C-B 994, Carton 1, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

ulterior motives, which were to so confuse and tire listeners so that the actual matters at hand were not taken up and resolved. The *ilustrado* also became somewhat synonymous with the cacique: the *ilustrado* cared not for the Filipino people as whole but rather for himself only. Of educated Filipinos, Taft declared that the majority were “nothing but the most intriguing politicians, without the slightest moral stamina, and nothing but personal interests to gratify.”⁶³

However, industrial education’s target audience was not the *ilustrados* or their children. Another program would be created for them. Instead industrial education was meant for the vast majority of Filipinos, those whom Barrows assumed would remain farmers and who were less Hispanicized than the *ilustrados*. Nonetheless, Americans considered these Filipinos in need of de-Hispanicization also. Again, American educators and colonial officials attributed the general population’s low regard for manual labor to Spanish colonial attitudes. Additionally, while the vast majority of Filipinos were not exposed to Spanish culture and education in the same way that *ilustrados* were, they nonetheless possessed Catholic values. As Hunt and McHale have argued, Americans considered Filipinos’ Hispanic-Catholic values inconducive to economic development and so sought to replace them with Protestant-secular values.⁶⁴ Catholic teachings glorified suffering and poverty, insisted that greater riches awaited man in heaven than on earth, and emphasized prayer and submission over direct action.⁶⁵ That Catholic societies tended to celebrate numerous holidays and did not place a high premium on sobriety also did not bode well for a strong work ethic. Industrial education, then, attempted to place Filipinos within an American-Protestant-secular value system.

Industrial education was in its own way a form of citizenship education. Civics, history, and geography textbooks supported industrial education by stressing work as a positive value. In Prescott F. Jernegan’s civics primer, *The Philippine Citizen*, Jernegan defined as enemies of the Philippines those who were corrupt and dishonorable, as well as those who were “lazy and shiftless.”⁶⁶ This definition of Filipinos’ true enemies as those who were corrupt, dishonorable, lazy, and shiftless was also a prescription for what the proper and patriotic Filipino should be: upright, moral, honest, and hard-working.

As discussed in chapter 2, American colonial rule substituted what Resil Mojares has called “benign, civic nationalism” for the revolutionary anticolonial nationalism that had fueled the Philippine Revolution and Philippine-American War.⁶⁷ Upholding hard work as a patriotic value was part of this benign, civic nationalism. In later years, both American and Filipino educators would stress hard work as a patriotic value. “Too often the idea of patriotism is confused with martyrdom or spectacular acts of bravery and heroism in unusual circumstances, mainly because the emphasis in teaching history has been upon the dramatic,” noted a Bureau of Education missive to teachers in 1928. What the Philippine needed instead were “honest, healthy, hard-working, clear-thinking citizens who will increase production and bring about economic progress.” This “should be duly emphasized and the ‘soldier of the soil’ honored for his

⁶³ As quoted in May, *Social Engineering*, 9.

⁶⁴ Chester L. Hunt and Thomas R. McHale, “Education and Philippine Economic Development,” *Comparative Education Review* 9, no 1 (February 1965):66.

⁶⁵ Hunt and McHale, “Education and Philippine Economic Development,” 66.

⁶⁶ Prescott F. Jernegan, *The Philippine Citizen*, 5th ed. (Manila: Philippine Educational Company, 1913), 12.

⁶⁷ Resil B. Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (March 2006): 11-32.

patriotism as much as is the man who dies on the battlefield.”⁶⁸ One might recall Taft’s words here and see this message as an effort to counter political unrest. Certainly in the 1920s the Philippines was not free from discontent. But the Bureau of Education was in part trying to encourage students to pursue vocational training in farming and the manual arts and trades. By this point, it was clear that Filipinos were unenthusiastic about industrial education; industrial course work had a participation rate of about 50% among enrolled students.

The failure of industrial education to resonate with its recipients can be seen in American and Filipino educators’ constant reminder that the Philippines needed people who worked in agriculture and other manual professions. Rafael Palma, the second Filipino president of the University of the Philippines urged Filipinos to work the land and develop their country as a way of protecting the Philippines from foreign domination: “So long as our fertile areas remain uncultivated and our mines lie undeveloped, they will always offer grave danger and will be a source of harm to us because we cannot stem the tide of greed and ambition of foreign countries and individuals who desire to exploit them for their profit.”⁶⁹ Therefore, he asserted, “the greatest service which we may render to our country” was to “appropriate her soil by fruitful labor.”⁷⁰ A high school textbook similarly told students to pursue manual professions rather than white-collar ones: “Avoid the more crowded occupations and professions. In our country there are already enough, if not too many, pharmacists, dentists, teachers, lawyers and doctors. We need people who know scientific farming and craftsmen who will engage in the industries.”⁷¹ A Filipino-authored civics textbook similarly focused on industries such as mining, farming, and fishing when it explained the importance of work to the Philippines development. Educators tried to appeal to Filipinos’ sense of patriotism to encourage their participation in industrial work and vocational trades.

Conclusion

Throughout American colonial rule, different ideas and expected outcomes were attached to Philippine industrial education. At various points, colonial officials, administrators, and educators thought that it would aid mental and physical development, teach Filipinos the dignity of labor, guard against political unrest, and create a skilled workforce. Some educators, like Barrows, thought that industrial education should support academic learning, while other educators, like White, thought that its first and foremost purpose should be providing students with occupational skills. These expectations and debates were not so different from those on the U.S. mainland. Where the colony differed from the metropole, however, was in the reach and systematization of industrial education.

The zigzag path of industrial education from education to production to education again highlights the inconsistency of American colonial policy in the Philippines. That colonial policy would be ever-fluctuating was almost built in. Educational initiatives and measures changed with the comings and goings of bureau chiefs and they lasted only as long as there was financial support. Governor-generals, the Philippine Commission, and later the Philippine Assembly, had

⁶⁸ As quoted in Aniceto Fabia, *The Development of the Teaching of History, Civics, and Current Events Philippine Schools* (Manila: Imprenta Dia Filipino, 1928), 7.

⁶⁹ Rafael Palma, “Our Country,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 9, no. 5 (October 1926): 30.

⁷⁰ Rafael Palma, “Our Country,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 9, no. 5 (October 1926): 30.

⁷¹ Paz Policarpio Mendez, Mauro Mendez, and Merrill S. Potts, *Philippine High School Readers, Book Two* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1932), 53.

a large influence on the direction of education through their ability to approve school legislation and funding. And while the school system was highly centralized, variations nonetheless emerged as local administrators and municipal governments were still responsible for executing the work of the school on a day-to-day level. Nonetheless, throughout the period of direct rule, the American colonial state remained committed to industrial education.

The history of industrial education reflects the mismatch between the design of American colonial education and the desires of its recipients. Architects of educational policy worked to tailor public instruction to Philippine conditions, but they concentrated on what Filipinos needed, confusing needs with wants. In the end, what Filipinos wanted was not an industrial education but an academic one. Education, to them, was a path to social mobility, a way to move up and out of farming or the manual trades and into white-collar work as clerks, secretaries, and teachers, or, at the upper end of the spectrum, as doctors, lawyers, and engineers. The American colonial state, however, designed an educational system that assumed that the masses would remain in their current occupations. The academic and professional education that many Filipinos desired was reserved instead for those whom the colonial state identified as the Philippines' future leaders. For them the state would create a different kind of "vocational" education, one that would prepare them to work in the colonial bureaucracy.

Chapter 4

Studying Abroad: Filipino Students in the United States

In July 1900, a month into his new position as Philippine Commissioner, Bernard Moses wrote to the president of the University of California, Benjamin Ide Wheeler. A professor of Latin American history at the university, Moses owed his Philippine assignment to Wheeler, who had recommended him to McKinley. The Philippines, he wrote Wheeler, possessed a “large number of eager and competent students” and he hoped that “some arrangement may be made by which from time to time, a goodly number of them may be sent to America.” Moses imagined that it would be “found advisable to render some of them assistance from public funds,” and he was convinced that sending Filipino students to the United States would help “the people of these islands to appreciate somewhat the civilization of the United States, and to mark the difference between America and Spain.”¹

Writing in the midst of the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), Moses was thinking about how to best win Filipinos’ hearts and minds. Military governor Arthur MacArthur had already identified education as part and parcel of pacification. For Moses, however, creating an American-style public school system in the Philippines was not enough for either the short-term goal of pacifying Filipinos or the long-term goal of preparing them for self-government. What was needed, he thought, was for Filipinos to be exposed to the United States firsthand so that they could witness the United States’ largesse and benevolence. In some ways, it was an admission of the weakness of the American colonial state. It was not enough to bring American institutions and personnel to the Philippines; the best way to truly educate the “little brown brothers” was to send Filipinos to the United States.

Three years after Moses wrote to Wheeler, the Philippine Commission realized the Berkeley professor’s vision of a publicly funded U.S. study program. On August 26, 1903, the commission passed Act 854, “An act providing for the education of Filipino students in the United States,” and set aside \$72,000 for the education of 100 Filipinos in the United States. Because they received a government stipend or “pension,” the students earned the moniker “pensionados” and Act 854 became known as the Pensionado Act.²

Act 854 had a large impact on Philippine-American relations in the twentieth century. It initiated a regular transpacific crossing that lasted throughout direct colonial rule (1899-1934) and the commonwealth years (1935-1946), and it produced a corps of U.S.-trained Filipinos that would later become influential in Philippine politics, education, science, and industry. They were the twentieth century’s first Filipino “immigrants” to the United States, and they inspired thousands of other Filipinos to strike out for the mainland.³ In 1900, only a handful of recently

¹ “Student from the Orient,” *Daily Californian* (Berkeley, CA), August 17, 1900.

² A note here about terminology. Although colonial officials and Filipinos referred to the program that Act 854 authorized as the “pensionado program,” and the students as “pensionados,” these terms were informal rather than legal terms or even proper nouns. In the Bureau of Education’s annual reports from 1903-1912, for example, the table of contents allude to this movement with the header “Filipino Students in the United States.”

³ Scores of Filipinos had already settled in the United States in the 18th and early 19th centuries. One of the earliest Filipino settlements in the United States was the St. Malo community in Louisiana, which descended from Filipino sailors who had jumped ship during the galleon trade. For more on the St. Malo community, see Fred Cordova, *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1983), 1-7. As nationals and temporary sojourners, Filipino students were not immigrants in the conventional sense. Many returned to the Philippines after completing their studies, especially if they were pre-World War I government students. After

arrived Filipinos were in the United States, almost all of them students. By 1930, the Filipino population had grown to 45,200.⁴ Though many of these migrants ended up in agricultural or service work, it was education that drew them to the United States. As one Filipino explained in 1930, “As early as my first school days, I have learned interesting and inspiring facts about the United States, especially its educational institutions. These facts have kept me dreaming of seeing this wonderful land.”⁵ In this way, Moses’ plan worked: Filipinos, in their pursuit of an American diploma, had been won over by the United States.

Or had they? In 1926, Dominador B. Ambrosio, a student at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, likened his peers in the United States to an earlier generation of Filipinos who had studied abroad: the *propagandistas* Jose Rizal, Graciano Lopez Jaena, and Marcelo H. del Pilar. They were the students behind the Propaganda Movement (1880-1895), a campaign that agitated for colonial reform in the Philippines and which had helped birth the Philippine Revolution (1896-1898). Alluding to the fact that the United States still had not set a date for Philippine independence, Ambrosio wrote, “Our situation is no different from those of Rizal and Mazzini. We are in the beginning of the twentieth century, but we have the heritage of the past, the example of the nineteenth.”⁶ Indeed the Filipino students in America, he declared, were more “ardent” and “dynamic” than the Spanish cohort because they could draw upon their experience. Ambrosio drew definite links between his generation and Propaganda Movement. And rather than appreciating “the civilization of the United States,” as Moses might have hoped, Ambrosio instead cautioned his countrymen against “mere admiration” and “hollow imitation of American ways and culture.”⁷ Clearly, Ambrosio did not embrace the United States unquestioningly and his sense of patriotism derived from an earlier nationalism, one that was anticolonial and revolutionary.

Ambrosio’s words highlight the success and failure of the education of Filipinos in the United States. Studying in the United States did fulfill Moses’ goal of acquainting young Filipinos with American civilization and culture, so much so that in the 1920s, students like Ambrosio feared that Filipinos were becoming too Americanized. But the students’ sojourn in the United States also sharpened Filipino identification, intensified nationalist feelings, and revived demands for Philippine independence.

This national consciousness, borne from temporary exile, was not unique to Ambrosio’s time. In fact, the very first Filipinos to study in the United States brought with them a nationalism that derived from the Propaganda Movement. They consciously emulated the

World War I the majority of students who arrived were self-supporting students. In general, it is the self-supporting students, rather than the government students, who became permanent settlers in the United States.

For more on the nexus of education and immigration, see Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte, “Unintentional Immigrants: Chicago’s Filipino Foreign Students Become Settlers, 1900-1941,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring 1990): 26-48. Posadas and Guyotte also discuss the influence of pensionados on later Filipino migration in “Aspiration and Reality: Occupational and Educational Choice Among Filipino Migrants to Chicago, 1900-1935,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 85, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 89-104.

⁴ John H. Burma, “The Background of the Current Situation of Filipino-Americans,” *Social Forces* 30, no. 1 (Oct 1951): 42.

⁵ As quoted in Emory S. Bogardus, “Filipino Immigrant Attitudes,” *Sociology and Social Research* 14, no. 5 (May-June 1930): 470.

⁶ D. B. Ambrosio, “Illustrious Sons Unite for Common Cause and Ideal,” *Filipino Student Bulletin*, March 1926, 3.

⁷ D. B. Ambrosio, “The Student Youth Movement in the Philippines,” *Filipino Student Bulletin*, November 1925, 1.

propagandistas and advocated for Philippine independence despite the fact that their families and futures were closely intertwined with the colonial state.

This chapter tells the story of the pensionado program, early Filipino student migration, and student politicization in the United States during the first decade of U.S. colonial rule. It looks at the development of a self-conscious Filipino identity and the emergence of what Benedict Anderson calls “long-distance nationalism” among Filipino students during the first decade of U.S. rule. Bombarded with official rhetoric about being their homeland’s “elect,” Filipino students were self-aware of their role as representatives. But what were they to represent? The civilizing mission of the United States or the Philippines’ capacity for self rule? As colonial subjects and designated future national leaders, they had to navigate between the demands made of them by the colonial state and the legacy of the Philippines’ interrupted nationalist movement. Filipino students in the United States understood their sojourn as an act of patriotism, a time of toil and exile that in turn made them better engineers, teachers, or doctors, better builders of the nation, better Filipinos. Displays of patriotism and advocacy for Philippine independence became a large part of what it meant to be “Filipino” in the United States.

Precursors to the Pensionado Program: Filipino Elites and American Education

Even before the pensionado program launched in 1903, a few Filipino students were already in the United States. They were the sons of wealthy pro-American Filipino elites such as the Lacson, Buencamino, and Roces families. Although now pro-American, these families had been involved in the revolution against Spain. Felipe Buencamino, Sr., was Aguinaldo’s *secretario de fomento* (secretary of development), and Aniceto Lacson was one of the leaders of the 1898 Negros uprising.

Aniceto’s nephew, Ramon Jose Lacson was one of the very first Filipino students in the United States. Born in 1883, Ramon attended the Ateneo Municipal, a Jesuit secondary school in Manila. At the age of fifteen, he graduated from the Ateneo and planned to complete his tertiary education in Spain. In the late nineteenth century, this practice was common among Filipinos who wanted to pursue a career in law or medicine. Only one institution in the Philippines, the University of Santo Tomas, offered post-secondary training in these professions. Filipinos who wished (and could afford) to become *licenciado* either had to go here or abroad. Thanks to improved economic conditions in the Philippines in the mid-1800s and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, more Filipinos were opting to go to Europe from the 1870s on. Education was a mark of status, and if one could obtain a European or Spanish degree, so much the better.⁸ Unfortunately for Ramon Jose Lacson, the year that he graduated from the Ateneo was 1898. The United States had just stepped into foray between the Philippines and Spain, and the Lacsons would have to change their plans for Ramon’s education.

Fortunately for the Lacsons, they had befriended the Americans early on. In November 1898, Ramon’s uncle Aniceto led 8000 Filipinos to expel the Spanish *guardia civil*—a force of about 75 men—from Negros.⁹ The Filipinos declared Negros a republic and Aniceto its first president. The Negros Republic, however, was short-lived. When American troops landed on

⁸ For more on secondary and tertiary education in the late Spanish colonial Philippines, see Michael Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 28-30.

⁹ Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., “Masonic Myths and Revolutionary Feats in Negros Occidental,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (September 1997): 294.

Negros in February 1899, Aniceto and his fellow *hacenderos*, outnumbered and outarmed, raised the U.S. flag.¹⁰ Aguinaldo loyalists and peasants who had assisted the *hacenderos* in the 1898 uprising began to attack the plantations. The planters then turned to American soldiers for protection, thus cementing a partnership between the Negrense planter class and the United States.

It was shortly after this call for troops that William D. McKinnon, chaplain of the First California Volunteers, the regiment sent to help the planters, became acquainted with the Lacson family.¹¹ McKinnon, a Jesuit priest, was interested to learn that young Ramon Lacson had intended to attend a Jesuit university in Bilbao. He urged the Lacsons to send Ramon not to Spain but to the United States instead, specifically to his own school, Santa Clara College (now Santa Clara University). McKinnon was not only able to convince the Lacsons, but the Aranetas as well, another well-to-do *hacendero* family who also happened to be close associates of the Lacsons. One of their members, Juan Anacleto Araneta, co-led the Negros rebellion with Aniceto. In late August 1899 Ramon Jose Lacson, Jaime Araneta, and Jorge Araneta (sons of Juan) arrived in San Francisco along with the returning First California Volunteers.¹²

Confident, articulate, and athletic, Ramon Lacson thrived academically in the United States. Barely fluent in English when he arrived, he reportedly learned the language with “such facility that at the end of his first year he won in competition the gold medal given for a paper in English on Christian doctrine.”¹³ After graduating from Santa Clara with a master’s degree in 1901, Ramon headed east to pursue his doctorate at yet another Jesuit institution, Georgetown University. In 1903, at the age of 20, he received his Ph.D., the youngest person to do so in the school’s history. Afterwards, Lacson stayed on another year to earn his law degree.

The American press lauded Lacson’s achievements.¹⁴ At a time when news of fighting between Americans and Filipinos appeared almost daily, Lacson’s success in American universities offered another view of U.S. occupation—that of the benefits that Filipinos received under this new arrangement. Appearing only a few days, pages, or columns away from coverage of the Philippine-American War, a story about Lacson contrasted sharply with reports of violence and trouble in the archipelago. Emphasizing the fact that Lacson’s father was one of the first Filipinos to welcome Americans, news stories about the young prodigy also signaled Filipinos’ willingness to partner with the United States.¹⁵ Rather than forcing “civilization” down Filipinos’ throats, perhaps via water cure, the United States was instead giving Filipinos what they were looking for—a modern education.¹⁶

Although newspapers depicted Lacson as an example of a Filipino who had embraced American education and America itself, a close look at Lacson’s institutional affiliations reveals

¹⁰ John A. Larkin, *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 119.

¹¹ McKinnon had also been the superintendent of schools in Manila after Dewey captured the city.

¹² “Notes of the Celebration,” *San Francisco Call*, August 25, 1899. This article refers to the Aranetas as John and George.

¹³ “Orientals and Latinos Win Triumphs Over Anglo-Saxons,” *Washington Times*, June 12, 1904.

¹⁴ “Signal Honors Won by Young Filipino,” *Washington Times*, June 14, 1903.

¹⁵ The *St. Paul Globe*, for instance, described Lacson’s father, Rosendo as “one of the first native rulers to recognize American sovereignty. It is through his influence that the American army encountered little opposition in Occidental Negros.” “Filipino Youth is Marvel in American University,” *St. Paul Globe*, July 12, 1903.

¹⁶ A predecessor of waterboarding, the water cure was a form of torture used during the Philippine-American War, in which American soldiers forced *insurrectos* to drink massive quantities of water.

that Filipino elites were uncertain about what the United States had to offer. By selecting Jesuit schools, Lacson pursued the same kind of education, or one comparable at least, to the one he had in the Philippines and the one that he would have received in Spain. According to the *Washington Times*, Lacson “was urged to go to Leland Stanford University, but Washington had a fascination for him; he knew that the Jesuits who had educated him at home, had a university here.”¹⁷ The Lacsons’ wariness of non-Catholic institutions was not out of place. When the Philippine Commission organized the educational system in 1901, many Filipino parents, from the common *tao* to the *ilustrados* held back from sending their children to the new public schools out of fear that Protestant American teachers would proselytize to them.¹⁸ To address this concern somewhat, the Philippine Commission prohibited the teaching of religion, but this did little to assuage Filipinos.¹⁹ Despite the anti-clericalism of nineteenth-century Philippine nationalism, the majority of Christian Filipinos remained devoutly Catholic. For them, the enemy was not religion nor the Church itself, but rather the corrupt orders. In their view, an education could not be called proper or complete without religion.²⁰

Ramon Jose Lacson’s educational path in the United States demonstrates American education’s still weak hold over Filipino elites at the turn of the century. On the one hand, we might interpret sending Ramon to the United States as a show of faith by the Lacson family, a buy-in into the new American regime. On the other hand, the Lacsons’ loyalty to the Jesuits suggests that old preferences still held sway. At a time when European universities were considered superior to their younger American cousins, elite families like the Lacsons tried to secure the same Spanish-style education for their children in the United States by placing them in Catholic institutions. Indeed, Lacson’s own remarks about the American takeover indicate that he did not accept American education wholeheartedly. Lacson defended the Philippines’s old system, stating that “education in the islands [was] not far behind that of Europe,” and named a few Catholic colleges and universities.²¹ These centers of learning, he declared, “existed before Harvard was founded. And though they cannot boast of one-tenth the number of Harvard graduates, they can boast that their graduates can pass any examination that Harvard ever required.”²² It was an attempt to create parity between the Philippines and the United States and to alert Americans that the Philippines was not as backwards as they thought.

¹⁷ “Orientals and Latinos,” *Washington Times*.

¹⁸ *Tao*, meaning “human” or “person” in the Tagalog language, was term also used to refer to ordinary folk. *Ilustrado*, meaning “enlightened,” referred to educated Filipinos in Philippine society, typically those who had gone to university.

¹⁹ The primary reason for this prohibition, however, was Secretary of War Elihu Root’s conviction that separation of church and state was essential in the Philippines. McKinley’s instructions to the Taft Philippine Commission had also called for “real, entire, and absolute” separation between the two.

²⁰ Filipino Catholics’ as well as the Catholic Church’s clamor for religious education was so great that the Philippine Commission adopted the Faribault Plan when it wrote Act 74 in 1901. The Faribault Plan, so-called because it was modeled after the compromise on religious education reached in Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota, allowed for the teaching of religion after school hours by a priest or minister. In the Philippines, religious classes could be offered but they were not mandatory, and parents first had to request such classes as well as grant consent for their children to attend.

²¹ These were the Colegio Real de San Jose, the University of San Ignacio, and the University of Santo Tomas. The Colegio Real de San Jose was, in essence, a seminary and the University of San Ignacio ceased operations when the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in 1768. The University of Santo Tomas, in Lacson’s time, was a true “university” in the sense that it provided more than just religious education; it granted professional degrees, too. That said, the University of Santo Tomas was heavily Dominican, and therefore, religious.

²² “Filipino Student Wins Honors,” *Wichita Daily Eagle*, October 10, 1903.

If Ramon Jose Lacson's academic track was a case of Filipino elites testing out the promise of American universities, then the Buencamino brothers' American education was a loyalty oath to the United States writ large. The brothers' father, Felipe Buencamino, Sr., served in Aguinaldo's revolutionary government and was captured by the Americans in early 1900. After swearing an oath of allegiance to the United States, Buencamino was free by early April. Upon his release, he wasted little time in befriending several influential Americans, including the newly arrived Bernard Moses.

Buencamino and Moses met in July 1900, when Buencamino spoke before the Philippine Commission. An opportunist, Buencamino went out of his way to court Moses. He made sure relatives in Apalit, Pampanga hosted Bernard Moses and his wife Edith when the two visited the province. In Apalit, Buencamino's mother-in-law and daughters rolled out the red carpet for the professor and his wife. At a table sparkling with crystal and silver, the Moseses ate from French porcelain monogrammed in gold until they "were stuffed as if for the slaughter."²³ The rich spread impressed Edith Moses, but she was also quick to judge the Buencaminos' extravagant display of hospitality as obsequious flattery. "We spent quite half an hour in hearing how greatly the honor of our visit was appreciated," she noted archly in a letter.²⁴ The hospitality, however, was part of a strategy to enlist the Moseses on Felipe Buencamino Sr.'s side.²⁵

Immediately after the Apalit trip, the idea of sending Buencamino's youngest sons to the United States emerged. On Moses's first day back at work, Felipe Buencamino Sr., and his father-in-law Flaviano Abreu, a banker, appeared at his office with a letter from military Governor-General Arthur MacArthur asking Moses to advise Buencamino on the matter of educating his sons in California. "At first I was at a loss what to recommend," Moses wrote in his diary, "but finally concluded that the best thing to do would be to send the boys to President Wheeler, leaving with him the determination of the particular school in which they should be placed."²⁶ Buencamino boarded his sons, fifteen-year old Felipe Jr. and twelve-year old Victor, on a ship for San Francisco a month later.

It is unclear whether Felipe Sr. concocted the plan to send his sons to the United States himself or whether he was acting on a suggestion from MacArthur. Either way, his decision seems to have been motivated by an anxiety to prove his new allegiance to the United States. Edith Moses described the elder Buencamino as "coming into notice as a friend of the Americans" at this time, adding that this caused "his enemies to call him a turncoat."²⁷ Over the previous two decades, Buencamino's loyalty had changed several times over. As a student in the 1880s, he had criticized Spanish rule, which landed him in colonial prison. Perhaps cowed by this experience, he was on the side of the Spanish when revolution broke out in 1896. This decision, however, landed him a second imprisonment, this time by the revolutionaries. Like his capture four years later, this imprisonment sparked yet another change of heart, and Buencamino promptly joined the revolution. Now, in 1900, he was an ally of the Americans.

²³ Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1908), 65.

²⁴ Moses, E., *Unofficial Letters*, 64.

²⁵ Despite Buencamino Sr.'s best efforts to win Bernard Moses over, Moses was less than impressed with the former revolutionary, finding his "bubbling enthusiasm" obsequious and irritating.

²⁶ Bernard Moses, Diary entry from August 7 1900, Philippine Diary, Volume 1, 308x.M911 di v.1, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

²⁷ Moses, E., *Unofficial Letters*, 62.

In his later years, Felipe Buencamino, Sr., insisted that he had sent his sons to the United States so that they would not be seduced by insurgents' "patriotic words."²⁸ His son Victor, however, was convinced that his father had been forced to send them away, and that he and his older brother were in fact collateral to guarantee their father's loyalty to the United States.²⁹ American authorities did indeed suspect Felipe, Sr. of radical tendencies. The elder Buencamino regularly associated with union leader Ramon Diokno, the socialist Isabelo de los Reyes, and Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, founder of the nationalist Philippine Independent Church. Up to 1908 the Information Division of the Philippine Constabulary monitored his movements.³⁰

On September 25, 1900, the Buencamino boys, their grandfather Flaviano, their adult cousin Jose Abreu, and their friends, three brothers from the Roces family, another wealthy, mestizo Manileño dynasty, arrived in San Francisco on the *Grant*. Thirteen Americans had died during the crossing, most of them from dysentery, and the Buencaminos nearly killed themselves when they blew out the flame in their gas lamps and slept with the gas still running. In the end the Filipino party arrived safe and sound. As the Buencaminos and Roceses were under Wheeler's guardianship, the Berkeley campus greeted their arrival with fanfare. The *Daily Californian* described Jose Abreu as a "prince of the Islands" while the Roces brothers were "sons of a wealthy pro-American family." It also mentioned that Victor and Felipe Jr.'s father had served in Aguinaldo's cabinet.

For Berkeley students, their school's association with the young Filipinos gave their thirty-year-old land grant campus some worldliness and national significance. "By the coming of five Filipino youths to enter a Berkeley Academy in preparation for the University, we are reminded once more of the advantages which this institution derives from its location by the Golden Gate and from having one of the Faculty a member of the Philippine Commission. Even the presence of a number of students from the islands will lend a cosmopolitan tinge to college life," the campus paper declared. "These are almost the first Filipinos to come to this country since the war with Spain, and certainly the first to come to California to be educated," it continued, unaware that fifty miles south, Ramon Jose Lacson was working on his master's degree.³¹

At the turn of the century, the movement of Filipino students to the United States was at best a trickle. Besides Berkeley, the University of Michigan, George Washington University, and a few private boarding schools and preparatory academies enrolled Filipino students. San Francisco remained an important site for Filipinos, however. As the first point of disembarkation for those arriving from the islands, the Bay Area had a burgeoning Filipino expatriate community in the early 1900s. A handful of privately funded Filipino students followed the

²⁸ Quoted in Larry A. Lawcock, "Filipino Students in the United States and the Philippine Independence Movement, 1900-1935," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 81.

²⁹ In his memoir, Victor wrote of American colonial officials' suspicions of his father: "You really can't blame them for not being too trusting, especially on people like my father who might just have been feigning loyalty. They had to guard against double-agentry, which was the prevailing name of the game. So what could be a more sure-fire device for guaranteeing a suspect's loyalty than to hold his children as hostages?" Victor Buencamino, *Memoirs of Victor Buencamino* (Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1977), 29-30.

³⁰ Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 180.

³¹ "Filipino Youths Come to Study," *Daily Californian*, September 27, 1900. The *San Francisco Call* also observed that American universities seemed to derive status from hosting Filipino students: "It appears that no institution in the East regards itself as a real live institution unless it has at least the prospect of several Filipino students on its rolls." "A Demand for Filipinos," *San Francisco Call*, November 30, 1900.

Buencaminos and Roceses to Berkeley; by early 1904, Wheeler's office was managing the finances of four other Filipino youths.³² Looking at the chain migration of these students, it is clear that family networks and close association with colonial officials mattered. These families, the first to cooperate with the United States, sent their sons away for political reasons: a desire to prove loyalty to the United States and strengthen the new partnership.

By the 1920s Filipinos would come to equate an American university degree with social mobility. At the very beginning of U.S. rule Filipinos, particularly elites, were still testing the possibilities of American education. Filipino elites turned to American education to preserve their place in the ruling class. Colonialists like Taft and Moses understood that the United States' success in the archipelago depended on native elites' participation in the educational system. However, Filipinos still had a strong preference for private, Catholic, and European-style schooling. Colonial officials tried to steer them away from the old system by incentivizing Americanization, most notably by making knowledge of English a requirement for civil service positions.³³ Nonetheless, elites continued to send their offspring to private schools in the Philippines, to universities in Europe (though now England and not Spain was the preferred destination), and even to Japan. The American administration in the Philippines would have to create a public program to bring in more Filipinos to the United States.

The Pensionado Program – An Overview

While Moses and McKinnon could persuade a few prominent Filipinos to send their children to the United States, the institutionalization of such a movement would be necessary to increase the number of Filipinos studying in the new colonial metropole. The Roceses, Lacsons, Aranetas, and Buencaminos might have had the financial resources to send their sons abroad, but many Filipinos did not even if they were members of the educated elite, the *ilustrados*, or the traditional office-holding class, the *principalia*. According to Michael Cullinane, these categories denoted status but not necessarily wealth in late nineteenth-century Philippine society.³⁴ The Lacsons and Buencaminos not only had deep pockets but also the right association with the right Americans. Their interlocutors, McKinnon and Moses, were both Spanish-speaking educators with institutional connections to broker the Lacson and Buencamino offspring's schooling in the United States.

³² Balances of Filipino Boys' Ledger, January 21, 1904, Records of the Regents of the University of California, 1868-1933, CU-1, Box 35, Folder 20, The Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

³³ Reo Matsuzaki, "Institutions by Imposition: Colonial Lessons for Contemporary State-Building," (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011), 285, 301.

³⁴ Michael Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 12, 19-20, 32. The *principalia* included *governadorcillos* and *cabezas de barangay*, positions of municipal authority, as well as clerks, secretaries and other lower-level bureaucrats. The *ilustrados*, meanwhile, included intellectuals like Apolinario Mabini, an *indio* born into poverty, as well as Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, a well-heeled mestizo. *Governadorcillos* or "little governors" were in charge of a municipality and performed administrative and judicial duties such as collecting taxes and imposing the *polo* or mandatory labor service required of natives. *Governadorcillos* served a term of two years. They came from and were elected by the *cabezas de barangay* ("heads" of the *barangay*, *barangay* being the smallest political unit in the Philippines; it roughly corresponds to a small geographic settlement containing several families), who descended from the traditional *datus* or *barangay* chiefs. The position of *governadorcillo*, and later, *capitan municipal*, was largely administrative; while it provided prestige and status, its main benefit was that it exempted the officeholder from certain taxes or the *polo*.

In 1901, noting that “many parents have already enrolled their sons in American schools,” the Philippine Commission floated the idea of using insular funds to send promising Filipino youths to the United States.³⁵ “In no other way can young Filipinos, whose ancestors have been physically and intellectually removed from contact with modern life, acquire a thorough knowledge of Western civilization,” asserted the commission.³⁶ While the United States could send American teachers and American methods to the Philippines, there was no substitute for education on the mainland. Why? The first reason had to do with the state of educational facilities in the Philippines, particularly at the tertiary level. While the archipelago possessed a university, the University of Santo Tomas, both Americans and *ilustrados* found this institution lacking. For the Americans, the University of Santo Tomas was a Dominican friar-controlled school that contradicted their goal of secular education for Filipinos. Additionally, they had no control over this institution. For the *ilustrados*, the University of Santo Tomas offered a limited education in that the Dominicans were obscurantist in their teachings, and the school could only offer a few degrees, such as philosophy, medicine, and law. These lean offerings explain why so many late-nineteenth century *ilustrados* had decided to complete their education in Europe, where better facilities and more course offerings were available.

The second, and more important, reason for sending Filipinos to the United States lies in Moses’s 1900 letter to Wheeler: “to mark the difference between America and Spain.” One of the American colonial state’s goals was to not only train Filipinos for particular kinds of work in the colonial bureaucracy, but to *Americanize* them, to expose them to Anglo-Saxon values, and to pull them away from their Spanish roots. In this way, the true target of the pensionado program was the *ilustrado* class, the most Hispanicized Filipinos. Although American colonial officials needed *ilustrados* to legitimate U.S. rule, they did not fully trust them save for a few figures like Pardo de Tavera. So many of the collaborating *ilustrados* had been in the revolutionary government, and their political ambitions were palpable. Anti-Spanish sentiments also informed American colonial officials’ view of *ilustrados*. Moses, for example, found *ilustrados* like Felipe Buencamino Sr. and Pedro Paterno ingratiating, vain, and overly fond of flowery speech. This perception was in keeping with other United States stereotypes of elite Spanish and Latin American men. Although Buencamino and Paterno *were* flamboyant figures, Moses and his peers nonetheless saw their traits as peculiar to the *ilustrado* class and proof of Filipinos’ superficial westernization under Spain. Last, American officials firmly believed that a Hispanicized culture could not support a true democracy. The pensionado program sought to create a new class of educated Filipinos—a pragmatic, technocratic, Americanized corps for the twentieth century that would replace the Hispanicized *ilustrados* of the nineteenth century. It would create the American *ilustrado*.

Partido Federal, a political party composed of affluent pro-American *ilustrados*, eagerly backed the Philippine Commission’s proposal to send Filipinos to the United States.³⁷ In fact, the *federalistas* wanted an even larger program with twice as many students.³⁸ Partido Federal’s

³⁵ United States, War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903. Reports of the Philippine Commission*. Part 1. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1901),148.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Partido Federal may best be described as a political grouping. There were no elections at this time (1901), so Partido Federal did not function like a conventional political party in the sense that it did not have political candidates. It did however seek to influence American colonial policy through appointments, and it quickly gained the ear of American colonial officials like William Howard Taft.

³⁸ Lawcock, 87.

founder, Pardo de Tavera, was the foremost *ilustrado* to endorse American education. Modernizing elites like Pardo de Tavera, though themselves Hispanicized and educated under the Spanish system or in Europe, saw in American education the key to Philippine development.³⁹ Many of the *ilustrados* who became *federalistas* did not think the Philippines was ready for independence nor did they have much faith in Aguinaldo's government, even if they were once part of it. These *ilustrados* found American rule more liberal than Spanish colonial rule, and they realized that they could have a hand in shaping the Philippines as they wanted under the United States.⁴⁰ A U.S. study program fit in with their goals of modernization and rule by the educated elite.

The Philippine government sent students to the United States from 1903-1940, but the pensionado program is best understood as having occurred in three waves. These waves were characterized by initial large injections of students followed by an immediate decline. The first wave spanned from 1903-1912 and peaked in the first three years of the program. A total of 209 pensionados went to the U.S. during this period, but 102 of the students came in 1903, the first year. The following year, 1904, the insular government appointed forty-three students and in 1905, thirty-nine. After 1905, less than ten students were designated as pensionados each year. Table 2 shows the number of Filipino students sent by the insular government to the United States between 1903 and 1912.

Table 2. Philippine Government Students Sent to the United States, 1903-1912

Year	Number of Students
1903	102
1904	43
1905	39
1906	7
1907	5
1908	8
1909	2
1910	2
1911	1
1912	2

Sources: 1903-1911 data from Bureau of Education, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), 29; 1912 data from Bureau of Education, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1912), 23.

³⁹ Barbara S. Gaerlan, "The Pursuit of Modernity: Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera and the Educational Legacy of the Philippine Revolution," *Amerasia Journal* 24, no. 2 (1998): 91-92. Interestingly enough, Pardo de Tavera at first wanted to educate his children in Paris, where he himself had studied. He eventually sent his sons to the Taft School in Watertown, CT in 1904.

⁴⁰ Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics*, 53, 58-60.

In 1908, the University of the Philippines opened its doors, and the Bureau of Education began directing students here instead, creating what became known as “insular pensionados.” It severely cut back on the number of students sent to the United States. After 1912, the insular government stopped sending Filipino undergraduates to the United States and switched to funding graduate students instead.⁴¹ This program sent over a hundred students in 1919, but, as with the first movement, numbers dwindled in subsequent years due to decreased funding.⁴² In general, the pensionados of this second wave already worked in the colonial bureaucracy or were connected with the colonial government prior to selection.⁴³ Some, like Silverio Apostol, assistant director of the Bureau of Agriculture, were even alumni of the first pensionado wave. The Philippines’ transition to commonwealth status in 1935 marks the beginning of the third iteration of the pensionado program. In reality, this was a continuation of the old program, just under new hands. All in all, according to best estimates, about 500 Filipinos went through the U.S. pensionado program between 1903-1940.⁴⁴

Throughout its duration, the pensionado program depended on yearly appropriations and authorizing legislation. Consequently, the amount of money and students it provided for varied annually. As the first piece of legislation concerning the education of Filipinos the United States, however, Act 854 (1903) laid down the program’s basic selection criteria. Candidates had to take a qualifying examination, be between 16 and 21 years old, “of good moral character,” and “sound physical condition.” Thirteen appointees would study “agriculture and the useful mechanical arts and sciences,” and twelve would take courses in “special instruction, approved by the Civil Governor, as they may elect.”⁴⁵ Clearly, colonial officials envisioned the pensionado program as a way to prepare Filipinos for professions that they thought necessary for Philippine economic development, in this case agriculture and the mechanical arts.⁴⁶ The civil governor,

⁴¹ By 1911, Director of Education Luther B. Bewley declared that “the [pensionado] movement has not been distinctly successful and its continuance is not recommended, except with a change of policy.” Bewley blamed the first pensionados’ poor educational preparation in the Philippines and the early selection process, based on political considerations, for the students’ weak academic performance in the United States. Bureau of Education, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), 30. In the end, between Moses’s time and Bewley’s, the expected result of the pensionado movement had changed from pacification and winning Filipino loyalty to creating a colonial workforce.

⁴² Numbers for these years remain murky. Lawcock reported that 114 students came in 1919, while Aquilino B. Obando cited 130 in his thesis. See Lawcock, 260; and Aquilino B. Obando, “A Study of The Problems of Filipino Students in the United States,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1936), 8.

⁴³ Not a few self-supporting Filipino students (those who went to the United States on their own and without government support) grumbled that the 1920s official government students received their appointments because of bribes and political connections. Leonilo de Leon, “The End of Political Pull,” *Filipino Student Bulletin*, December 1925, 4. Emily P. Lawsin also discusses this in “Pensionados, Paisanos, and Pinoys: An Analysis of the Filipino Student Bulletin, 1922-1939,” *Filipino American National Historical Society Journal* 4 (1996), 33C.

⁴⁴ Lawsin, 33C. Lawsin takes this number from Catherine Ceniza Pet, “Pioneers/Puppets: The Legacy of the Pensionado Program” (BA thesis, Pomona College, 1991), 14.

⁴⁵ United States, Bureau of Insular Affairs, “Act No. 854,” 668.

⁴⁶ While the act does not specify what the courses in “special instruction” were, it is likely that they were in professional, fine arts, or government-related degrees like architecture, drawing, law, or medicine. In surveying data on pensionados from 1906, a few students stand out: Ramon Nakpil, a member of the famous Nakpil family of artists, who studied lithography in Pennsylvania; Honoria Acosta (later Honoria Acosta Sison), first Filipina doctor and the lone pensionada at Women’s Medical College in Philadelphia; and George Sunico, who trained in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington DC. No other pensionados were taking such courses or studying at these institutions.

William Howard Taft, could also personally choose twenty-five students. An educational agent appointed by Taft would choose the schools each pensionado was to attend and provide each student with \$500 a year to cover educational expenses.⁴⁷

Although the American colonial state sought to democratize education in the Philippines, the pensionado program was an elite program from the beginning. It was meant to attract native elites to American colonial education *and* it was also meant to advertise the U.S. colonial state's "success" in the Philippine Islands. That Taft could personally select twenty-five pensionados is a testament to these aims. Although Act 854's requirements appeared egalitarian, in practice the program favored students from the better families of a town or village. The act did not target children of super elites like the Lacsons, Roceses, and the Buencaminos, but rather what might be considered the yeoman and gentry class of Filipinos: local notables and respected figures in the community. Camilo Osias, a 1905 pensionado, was the son of a farmer whose income was so modest that the Osiases did not employ any servants. However, Osias's father was also an *escribiente* (clerk) for the local justice of the peace, and his mother, Gregoria, knew how to read and write. Their education distinguished them from the common *tao*. Additionally, despite requirements that limited candidates to public school graduates, in 1903, a public school education still required some financial resources.⁴⁸

Besides built-in requirements that skewed selection in favor of the "better" class of Filipinos, colonial authorities also took extra steps to ensure that children from respectable families were chosen for the first pensionado cohort. They waived the competitive examination requirement in favor of recommendations from provincial governors and American school superintendents. According to William A. Sutherland, the educational agent who oversaw the students and who was Taft's Spanish-language secretary at this time, this was done because the commission wished to send Filipinos to the United States right away. However, political considerations were the larger reason. Taft's strategy in the Philippines was to build a strong relationship between leading Filipinos and the colonial administration. In keeping with this strategy, Taft changed the governors' and superintendents' instructions such that they were to consider each student's social status when making their pick. Initially, they were to give no weight to the student's social background, but, recalled Sutherland, Taft "scratched out the word 'no' before the word 'weight' in a draft of the instructions" as he "saw the importance of this, particularly with those first boys going over."⁴⁹ Choosing children of local notables helped American officials curry favor with a rising class of Filipinos. Additionally, once in the mainland, the students' respectability would allude to the United States' good work in civilizing the islands.

To further secure native elites' cooperation with the United States, Act 854 contained several stipulations that bound appointees, the next generation of Filipino leaders, to the colonial state. Government students had to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States, promise to return to the Philippines, and make a full-faith effort to find employment in the Philippine Civil Service. The loyalty oath was more than a routine government requirement. Although in 1903 the Philippine-American War had been declared over for a year, ensuring Filipino loyalty was

⁴⁷ United States, Bureau of Insular Affairs, "Act No. 854," *Acts of the Philippine Commission* (Washington DC: GPO, 1904), 668.

⁴⁸ Posadas and Guyotte, "Aspiration and Reality," 93.

⁴⁹ William A. Sutherland, *Not By Might: The Epic of the Philippines* (Las Cruces, NM: Southwest Publishing Co., 1953), 28.

still a concern. Even if the pensionados only perfunctorily swore their allegiance, the colonial administration could at least hold them to their oath if they engaged in any anticolonial activities. The service component, meanwhile, indicates the large extent to which the pensionado program served to train a colonial bureaucracy. Unlike the design of the Philippine primary and secondary curricula, which focused on citizenship training and the provision of economic, literacy, and arithmetic skills with which the common Filipino could become self-sufficient and thus independent in his political or voting decisions, the aim of the pensionado program was less the creation of civil society than the production of civil servants. The pensionados would return to the Philippines equipped with the knowledge and skills necessary to operate the American-style mechanisms of the colonial bureaucracy.

The training of Filipinos in the United States and their placement in the colonial bureaucracy have been seen as liberal moves on the American colonial state's part, and to an extent they were as such opportunities were rare under Spain. Certainly American colonial officials considered the program a testament to the United States' benevolence. In reality however, the pensionado program was a response to problems that they were having in the Philippines: that of legitimizing U.S. rule and manning the colonial state. The pensionado program helped attract Filipinos to the American colonial state by incorporating them in it. While there were ample opportunities for Americans in the Philippines, the process of recruiting, transporting, and managing an American labor force had significant financial and administrative costs. American employees commanded higher salaries, and their problems often created headaches for the colonial administration.⁵⁰ American teachers, for instance, suffered from homesickness and isolation, protested assignments in far-flung provinces, and complained about their pay.⁵¹ Many did not renew their contracts or found ways to terminate them early. There was more than one American teacher who, a year into service, became suddenly engaged to a sweetheart back home and used the pending marriage to return home early. By 1902 the Bureau of Education was already looking for ways to reduce its dependence on American teachers. The pensionado program was designed in part to alleviate such labor issues.

The insular government rolled out Act 854 swiftly. Within a month after the passage of Act 854, the first cohort of students was ready to leave for the United States. All in all, colonial authorities selected 102 youths between sixteen and twenty-five years old from thirty-seven provinces. All but one came from the Christian parts of Luzon and Visayas, and the one student who represented the Moro Province (Muslim-dominated Mindanao) was also Christian.⁵² The first cohort was all male, but the following year's class of pensionados included five Filipinas, and the year after, three.⁵³ Based on these demographics, it is clear that the pensionado program was primarily meant for those members of Filipino society *ilustrados* and colonial officials alike considered the most "civilized" and capable: those who were Christian and Hispanicized.

⁵⁰ David P. Barrows, while superintendent of education, reported that Americans in the Philippines earned "about forty per cent more than Filipinos." *Philippine Review*, March 1907, 4.

⁵¹ Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 87. Kimberly Alidio discusses a few of these problems in "When I Get Home, I Want to Forget: Memory and Amnesia in the Occupied Philippines, 1901-1904," *Social Text* 59 (Summer 1999): 105-122.

⁵² This student was Ramon Alvarez, the son of Vicente Alvarez, a general who led the revolution in Zamboanga.

⁵³ The reason behind the extremely small number of *pensionadas* largely lay in Filipino parents' reluctance to send daughters abroad without a relative to chaperone them.

The pensionados left Manila on October 10, 1903, and arrived in San Francisco on November 9, a “chilly, drizzling day.”⁵⁴ While Manila newspapers had bid the students a hearty adieu a month earlier, the American press’s welcome was lukewarm. The *San Francisco Call*, a Spreckels-family backed paper that was critical of Philippine annexation, presumed that American taxpayers were footing the bill when in fact it was insular funds, sourced from Philippine revenues, that paid for the students’ transport and schooling. The *Call* reported that the students were “here as wards of Uncle Sam, at whose expense they crossed the Pacific and from whose pocketbook they may draw at the rate of \$500 a year until such time as they have acquired the kind of an education with which the average American boy is armed for the battle of life.”⁵⁵ The *San Francisco Call* questioned the wisdom of the program.⁵⁶ In the early 1900s, it was not yet common for the average American to have a college education, and it thus seemed unfair to the *San Francisco Call* that the United States should educate a people who were not even American.

All the pensionado cohorts during these early years (1903-1908) disembarked in San Francisco and from there, headed to schools in the Midwest and East Coast. Currently the archival record has not revealed exactly how pensionado schools were chosen or the pensionados assigned to them, but the program did rely on scholarships from participating schools. Most likely, Sutherland and the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) canvassed American colleges, universities, and training institutes to see if there were any interested in participating in the program. Colonial authorities had used this method to recruit American teachers to work in the Philippines. It is also possible that a few of the participating schools approached the Bureau of Insular Affairs first. The student’s intended course of study seems to have determined the school she or he attended. Camilo Osias, for example, picked his course of study (pedagogy), which then led Sutherland to assign him to the Western Illinois State Normal School.⁵⁷ However, it is not inconceivable that sending families, if they were prestigious enough, had a hand in determining where their sons and daughters went, too.

What the archival record does reveal is that almost all of the institutions that the government students attended between 1903 and 1906 were in the East Coast and Midwest. Illinois and Indiana had the highest concentration of pensionados, while California, Colorado, and Missouri had the lowest. As the superintendent of Filipino students, Sutherland, was based in Washington D.C., having the students placed in the East Coast and Midwest perhaps made it easier for the Bureau of Insular Affairs and Sutherland to monitor students. Racial considerations likely played a role in determining the students’ geographic distribution as well: the East Coast and Midwest would have been preferable to colonial authorities than the yellow peril-plagued western states. To be sure, racism was one reason why no pensionado attended a school in the South that year. Due to black-white tensions in the South, the Bureau of Education purposely

⁵⁴ Sutherland, 29.

⁵⁵ “Here as Wards of Uncle Sam,” *San Francisco Call*, November 10, 1903.

⁵⁶ In a 1900 editorial, the *Call* protested Bernard Moses’s proposal for educating Filipinos in American universities. The paper declared that “we can hardly placate an angry and subjugated people by educating a few students” and that “we have at home about as many boys and girls to educate as the taxpayers of the State can well afford.” “Educating Filipinos,” *San Francisco Call*, September 28, 1900.

⁵⁷ Camilo Osias, *The Story of a Long Career of Varied Tasks* (Quezon City, Philippines: Manlapaz, Publishing Co., 1971), 78. This question as to how pensionados were assigned to their schools is an area that merits further study.

avoided sending Filipinos there.⁵⁸ Table 3 shows the number of Philippine government student by state as of 1906.

Table 3. Philippine Government Students by State, 1906

State	Number of Students
California	1
Colorado	1
Illinois	42
Indiana	34
Iowa	14
Kansas	6
Massachusetts	4
Michigan	7
Minnesota	2
Missouri	1
Nebraska	6
New Jersey	6
New York	15
Ohio	7
Pennsylvania	15
Washington, DC	11
Wisconsin	6
TOTAL	178

Source: "List of The Government Filipino Students in the United States," *The Filipino*, January 1906, 42-45.

Curiously, schools with the most obvious ties to the colonial state, the University of California and University of Michigan, did not receive pensionados. The reasons are unknown. Both universities had sent faculty to serve on the Philippine Commission and Bureau of Education, and both had also sent the most teachers to the Philippines.⁵⁹ This fact made the Berkeley campus quite confident, when the first pensionados arrived, that it would "have a number of them."⁶⁰ Although some of the 1903 pensionados did visit the Berkeley campus,

⁵⁸ In his memoir, Sutherland recounts having to remove a group of students from a southern university "on account of race discrimination." Sutherland, 32.

⁵⁹ Among the 500 American teachers who arrived on the *Thomas* in 1901, twenty-five and twenty-one were alumni of the University of California and University of Michigan, respectively.

⁶⁰ "Ninety-Eight Come from Philippines on Board Steamer 'Korea,'" *Daily Californian*, November 9, 1903.

where Bernard Moses took them on a tour, as of 1907, the only Filipino students the University of California could claim were private students like the Buencaminos.

In general, no more than a handful of government students attended any one school. Thirty-nine of the forty-five schools had six or less pensionados, and of these, twenty-two had three or less. The school with the most pensionados was the University of Notre Dame, which offered generous scholarships to Filipino government students, thanks to American Catholics' intervention.⁶¹ Besides the twelve male government students on its campus, there were also two pensionadas at nearby St. Mary's Academy. Overall, however, the pensionados formed a very small and distinct community on their campus.

In 1906, with the three largest cohorts now in the mainland, 178 pensionados attended forty-five schools. Over half were at four-year liberal arts colleges and universities, while a little under half (eighty-three) attended schools that trained for specific vocations, such as business, agriculture, or normal schools (teacher training schools), demonstrating again the pensionado program's emphasis on creating a colonial workforce. This does not mean, however, that students who attended four-year colleges or universities had a purely academic or non-vocational education, as these schools also offered courses in mining, agriculture, or engineering. Additionally, majors in the liberal arts were also pathways to careers in education and law, fields with plentiful employment opportunities in the Bureau of Education and Bureau of Justice. Table 4 summarizes the enrollment of Filipino government students.

⁶¹ All in all, twenty-four students were enrolled in Catholic schools or universities in 1906. Despite colonial authorities' insistence on secular education for Filipinos, they could not ignore the force of the Church in the United States. Shortly after the launch of the pensionado program, American Catholics noted—and protested—the absence of Catholic universities from the list of pensionado schools. In response Taft, now secretary of war, instructed Bureau of Insular Affairs Chief Clarence R. Edwards to negotiate with Catholic organizations and schools. Notre Dame University offered generous scholarships for government students. This deal with Notre Dame suggests that schools were selected in part due to cost (the availability of scholarships made sending Filipinos to Notre Dame less of an issue for colonial officials who believed strongly in secular education) as well as schools' own seeking out of pensionados. It is not implausible, either, that some pensionados' families or their influential friends may have lobbied colonial officials to assign students to a school like Notre Dame precisely because it was Catholic. See Lawcock, 103-105.

Table 4. Type of Schools and Number of Filipino Government Students Enrolled, 1906

School Type	Number of Students
Agricultural College	22
Business College	5
Four-Year College or University	93
Government Bureau or Agency	2
High School	2
Manual Arts*	6
Medical College	1
Normal School	34
Technical/Industrial Arts School	13
TOTAL	178

Source: "List of The Government Filipino Students in the United States," *The Filipino*, January 1906, 42-45.

*The manual arts school was a high school.

Pensionados as Representatives of the United States and the Philippines

Pensionados were part of a colonial campaign to sell empire to a critical American audience. The best example of this is their participation at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. Pensionados served as guides and escorts at the Philippine Exposition, explaining the Philippine exhibits to fairgoers. However, their most important function was to serve as the embodiment of the "civilized" Filipino—one who was made so by the United States.⁶² The Philippine Exposition had an elaborate ethnological display of numerous non-Christian Filipino ethnolinguistic groups: animists such as the Negritos, Igorots, and Bagobos, as well as Muslims such as the Maranao. These groups represented the "primitive" or "uncivilized" Filipinos. Though not part of a formal display themselves, the pensionados, in their Western-style suits and with their English language skills, became to fairgoers the image of the "civilized" Filipinos.

From the moment they were chosen, each pensionado was made aware that he or she represented the Philippines and the Filipino people. As unofficial ambassadors of both the Philippines and the colonial state, it was important that the students exhibited discipline, diligence, a good disposition, and health; hence Act 854's requirements of "good moral character" and "sound physical condition." The students were to be "model" Filipinos, the best

⁶² Much has been written about the Philippine Exposition at the 1904 World's Fair. Some selected works include Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Jose D. Fermin, *1904 World's Fair: The Filipino Experience* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of Philippines Press, 2004); and Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). Kramer also discusses the fair in an earlier article, "Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905," *Radical History* 73 (Winter 1999): 74-114. Kramer provides an extensive analysis of the St. Louis World's Fair in the chapter "Tensions of Exposition," in *Blood of Government*, 229-284.

and brightest of their people. The moral and physical requirements worked as much to guarantee that the appointees were hardy enough to weather a new climate as to allude to the United States' good work in the islands.

To ensure that the students displayed the desired traits, colonial authorities closely monitored them. Contrary to the *San Francisco Call's* assertion that the pensionados could withdraw from their \$500 allowance at any time with ease, the students had to obtain Sutherland's approval for disbursement and only certain kinds of expenses were eligible. Students could apply their funds towards course textbooks but not writing supplies; medical care but not optometry or dental work; prescription medicine but not tonics or toiletries. Sutherland used this power of the purse to control student behavior. For instance, he refused to give pensionados their \$2 monthly laundry allowance if they did not find summer work. Sutherland also wrote quarterly reports on the progress of each pensionado and issued regular circulars reminding students of their duties and responsibilities. Almost always, Sutherland, the son of a Methodist missionary, advised work and thrift. "It is the duty of the pensionados to live in a plain and economical manner, from the standpoint of the government and even for their own good," wrote Sutherland in 1906.⁶³ Students could not act on their own without considering how their behavior cost the government financially or otherwise.

As Sutherland's message shows, students were made to understand that their actions were not just individual but *national*. According to official rhetoric, they were their country's elect, sent to the United States to bring progress back to the Philippines. In circular after circular, Sutherland impressed upon the students that it was their duty to the Philippines to work hard in the United States. A year before the first cohort was set to complete their studies and return to the Philippines, Sutherland asked each student to "look over your life in this country. Have you always had a proper appreciation of the seriousness of your mission here? Have you always been true to your highest ideals? You can not make excuses to yourself." He continued, turning the students into a Moses in the wilderness: "You are sent out as chosen from your people, to bring back to them the light that is to guide their feet along the path they are to tread, to lead them upward and onward."⁶⁴ A year before the first class of pensionados was to return to the Philippines, he entreated his charges thus: "You still have time in this country to do much. If you have wasted your time in idleness or pleasure-seeking, turn right square around and get down to work. . . . You have great opportunities, your responsibility is just as great."⁶⁵ In his closing, Sutherland challenged the students to comport themselves in such a way that countrymen back home would not consider pensionados "spoiled by their stay in America" and of becoming "what so many accuse the 'ilustrados' of your race being," but instead as having "added strength to

⁶³ William A. Sutherland, Filipino Students Circular No. 8, February 5, 1906; Students, Circular Letters to, File 14383-7, Box 714; Bureau of Insular Affairs, General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives at College Park, MD. Sutherland explained that the Philippine government was not currently in good financial shape and that students had to make every effort to save their country money.

⁶⁴ William A. Sutherland, Filipino Students Circular No. 9, February 5, 1906; Students, Circular Letters to, File 14383-8, Box 714; Bureau of Insular Affairs General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives, College Park, MD.

⁶⁵ William A. Sutherland, Filipino Students Circular No. 9, February 5, 1906; Students, Circular Letters to, File 14383-8, Box 714; Bureau of Insular Affairs General Classified Files, 1898-1945, Record Group 350; National Archives, College Park, MD.

their character; unselfishness to their ambition; a feeling of dignity to their labor; and patriotism to all their efforts.”⁶⁶

Sutherland’s words must have placed enormous pressure on the students and made them conceive of themselves as “chosen.” The pensionado program fostered a self-conscious Filipino identity. As foreigners in the United States, the students’ primary identity became that of a “Filipino.” Their physical features marked them as an Other and their classification as “Filipino” in the metropole made them so. If Jose Rizal and his contemporaries had appropriated the term “filipino,” formerly used to refer to the archipelago’s Spanish creoles or as an adjective meaning “Philippine,” the early pensionados were the generation that had to fully live that term.⁶⁷

Sutherland’s circulars have a nagging quality that suggests that not all was going as planned in 1906. The pensionado program faced criticism in both the United States and the Philippines, mainly to do with cost, and Sutherland, despite his exhortations, could not completely control his charges. He fretted that they were wasting their time in “pleasure-seeking” rather than studying. To be sure, pensionados participated in all of what American college life had to offer, curricular and extracurricular, as well as the amusements available in their city or college town. But perhaps the reason for Sutherland’s concerns have to do more with the students’ academic performance than gallivanting. The early pensionado cohorts had their prodigious alumni—University of the Philippines (UP) president Jorge Bocobo, senator Camilo Osias, first Filipina doctors Honoria Acosta Sison and Olivia Salamanca, and UP College of Education dean Francisco Benitez, to name a few—but the first appointments were dictated by political considerations rather than academic capability. If the later assessments of the Bureau of Education are to be trusted, many of these appointees were not prepared for American college work and, apparently, did not complete their degrees. We can also only imagine how the pensionados’ youth, language skills, and distance from home added to their difficulties. A comparison of the design of the first pensionado program to the second supports these contentions: the second wave pensionados were older and better educated in the sense that they had completed college and at least a decade of American-style education in the Philippines.

Whatever their academic preparation and performance may have been, the pensionados took seriously the idea that they were their homeland’s chosen representatives and future leaders. “All and each one of us ought to feel from the very bottom of our hearts that our country as it is now needs our help; that we were sent to the States, not for the mere benefit of our own selfish interests, but in order that we may be a help for the betterment of our country and countrymen,” declared government student Francisco A. Delgado.⁶⁸ Another pensionado, Geronimo Huising, wrote, “We left our loved home and families for the purpose of making ourselves well educated, in order that when we shall afterward enter society we may be more distinguished men and women in our sphere, and that we may be more helpful and more useful to our fellow countrymen.”⁶⁹ Delgado and Huising wrote for two opposing student journals, the former an official government student bulletin managed by Sutherland, the other a magazine backed by the Anti-Imperialist League, but both nonetheless constructed their sojourn in the United States as a

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ In Rizal’s time, calling one’s self “Filipino” was still relatively new; most people identified by their province or ethnolinguistic group: Tagalog, Bicolano, Ilocano, or Cebuano. By the mid 1900s, however, “Filipino” as a term used to identify one’s self was becoming more and more common.

⁶⁸ Francisco A. Delgado, “Our Duties and Obligations,” *The Filipino*, March 1906, 17.

⁶⁹ Geronimo Huising, “The Purpose That Should Govern Us,” *Filipino Students’ Magazine*, June 1905, 20.

patriotic and sacrificial act; they were leaving the comfort of home and laboring themselves for the greater good, not just individual self-betterment.

In so doing, the early pensionados interpreted their education abroad in the same way that the *propagandistas* had in Spain. Among them, Rizal was the foremost to see education abroad as the means to national regeneration. Study was for Rizal, according to Schumacher, a “necessary means by which a Filipino patriot must love his country and promote her progress.”⁷⁰ In this way, a metropolitan education, for Rizal and his contemporaries, as well as for the Filipino students in the United States, was education for the *patria*.

The pensionados not only interpreted their education abroad the same way as the *propagandistas*, but they also identified themselves as the heirs of the *propagandistas*, holding Rizal as their role model. Rizal, for them, was the quintessential *estudiante extranjero* (foreign student), a polyglot polymath who was at once a novelist, ophthalmologist, historian, artist, and teacher. Every December 30, the anniversary of Rizal’s death, both pensionados, and privately-funded Filipino students in the United States, celebrated the Filipino martyr-hero’s life through various Rizal Day activities: the reading of his *Último Adios*, orations extolling Rizal’s achievements, the performance of native music and dances.⁷¹ At these celebrations, which Americans could attend, students asserted Filipino’s aspiration for independence. At this time the pensionados were only about seven to ten years removed from Rizal’s execution. He was not a historical artifact to them but a figure who was alive and well during their early youth, and in some ways, even more alive and well now; the Spanish’s execution of Rizal by firing squad had only turned him into a Christ-like figure.

What was different for the pensionados, however, was that unlike Rizal or any of his peers, their education abroad was part of a colonial state-sponsored program. Rizal, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and others, had left for Spain to flee colonial authorities in the archipelago.⁷² The pensionados, on the other hand, were sent by colonial authorities. They were there to represent the *American* Philippines. Besieged with official colonial rhetoric about duty and nation on the one hand, and conscious of a strain of anticolonial nationalist thought on the other, Filipino students had to decide what their role would be in the United States and what exactly they were representing. In the end, as the next section discusses, they decided to champion the Philippines, her national dignity, capacity, and equality with the United States, again, much as the *propagandistas* had with Spain. They would find their outlet through a small magazine called the *Philippine Review*, which was founded by the privately funded Filipino students at Berkeley.

⁷⁰ John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895*, rev. ed. (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 39.

⁷¹ Filipinos began celebrating Rizal Day in December 1898, in the wake of the Spanish-American War. Although it was republican government president Emilio Aguinaldo who officially declared December 30 Rizal Day, the American colonial administration quickly took advantage of this death anniversary and promoted Rizal as a Filipino national hero as well. His earlier writings, which cautioned against revolution and counseled education and in which his stance on separation or independence were ambiguous, made him a “safe” national hero. That said, it must be noted that Filipinos already regarded Rizal as something of national hero prior to U.S. occupation, and even prior to his death. See Ambeth R. Ocampo, *Rizal Without the Overcoat* (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 1990), 2-3.

⁷² We might also add that the *propagandistas* were older, on average, than the pensionados. While Rizal and Lopez Jaena left for Spain in their early twenties, del Pilar arrived in Barcelona at the age of thirty-nine. The pensionados, on the other hand, ranged from their late teens to their early twenties.

The Philippine Review

In 1904 Ponciano Reyes, a law student at the University of California, and Felipe Buencamino Jr., now also at the university, decided to start a magazine to showcase their compatriots' literary and artistic talents and keep one another abreast of Philippine affairs.⁷³ Called *The Filipino Students' Magazine* and later renamed *The Philippine Review*, it was the first Filipino-produced periodical in the United States.⁷⁴ Besides featuring some of the earliest English-language literature by Filipinos, the magazine also served as the nucleus of a growing expatriate Filipino community. Moreover, it became a means through which the young Filipinos began to express themselves politically in the new colonial metropole. This was significant as the Philippine-American War had only been declared over two years earlier. During the war American colonial authorities had tried their best to stamp out any forms of Filipino revolutionary nationalism, first through military pacification and then through censorship.

The *Philippine Review* ran from 1905 to 1907, the latter being the same year that Buencamino graduated from the University of California, and also the same year that many of the first pensionados returned home. Despite its short run and student staff, the *Philippine Review* was a sophisticated—and transnational—enterprise. The chief officers of the magazine, besides Buencamino, were Jaime Araneta, Hector Luzuriaga, and Vicente Legarda, all sons or kin of prominent pro-American elites.⁷⁵ They raised capital by selling magazine shares in both the Philippines and the United States and, most notably, by partnering with the Anti-Imperialist League. They had an advertising manager in the United States, a Berkeley student named W. H. Murray, and also a business agent in the Philippines. By January 1905, this agent had reportedly secured 500 subscriptions. The first issue would not even come out for another three months.

According to Lawcock, the Filipino students at Berkeley, in need of cash to fund the magazine, contacted the Anti-Imperialist League for financial support.⁷⁶ Established in 1898 to protest American designs on the Philippines, the Boston-based Anti-Imperialist League included among its members prominent politicians, intellectuals, reformers, industrialists, and labor leaders such as Grover Cleveland, William James, Mark Twain, Jane Addams, Andrew Carnegie, and Samuel Gompers. They were led to the league by different reasons: the conviction

⁷³ According to Lawcock, Reyes was the son of seditious playwright Severino Reyes. See Lawcock, 108. Lawcock speculates that the call for the magazine may have emerged at a Rizal celebration in early January 1905. See Lawcock, 108.

⁷⁴ For clarity, I refer to the magazine as the *Philippine Review* but cite it as the *Filipino Students' Magazine* for the years it used this name.

⁷⁵ It must be noted that Vicente Legarda, nephew of Philippine Commissioner Benito Legarda, was not a student, but a professional naval architect working in San Francisco. Legarda was educated in Scotland and had already been living in San Francisco for several years when the *Philippine Review* was founded.

⁷⁶ Lawcock, 109. The league already had a history of working with eminent (and eloquent) Filipinos in their campaigns. One notable example is the revolutionary/republican Sixto Lopez, who toured the U.S. and spoke at Anti-Imperialist League events in 1899. Another possibility for the connection may lie in the Berkeley Filipinos' association with Americans in the Bay Area through a self-started organization called The Manila Club. Little is known about the non-Filipino members of this club; it included a Mr. and Mrs. John J. Newell, their daughter Lillian, who married Jaime Carlos Araneta, the Scottish wife of Vicente Legarda, Mary Frances Lockhart, and two sisters, Mary and Amy Gallagher. From what I can gather, it appears that a few of the Berkeley Filipino students boarded with the Newells. Various accounts have listed John J. Newell as an "assistant superintendent of the Contra Costa Water Company" (*San Francisco Call*, February 20, 1906), teamster, plumber, foreman, and fireman, the last perhaps being a typo of "foreman" (Berkeley City Directories, 1900-1911). It is difficult to tell whether this occupational background would make him more or less likely to be an official member of the Anti-Imperialist League.

that taking the Philippines betrayed the United States' democratic principles, a commitment to non-intervention and pacifism, and concerns about protecting American industry and labor. Some joined less out of concern for the Filipinos' welfare than out of fear that possession of the Philippines would enable another Asiatic group to enter the United States on the heels of the Chinese and Japanese. Despite its prominent membership and a massive propaganda campaign, the league was unsuccessful in stopping the transfer of the Philippines from Spain to the United States in 1898. Its goal now was to convince the American public to grant independence to the Philippines.

The Anti-Imperialist could not have had a better opportunity to campaign for Philippine independence than in the early 1900s. Despite the signing of the 1898 Paris Peace Treaty, in which Spain surrendered her remaining colonies to the United States, the status and future of the Philippines was still ambiguous. The treaty had only brokered the Spanish cession of the Philippines; it did not make the Philippines an incorporated annexed territory like Hawaii, which would have opened up the possibility of statehood. During the early years of U.S. rule, different pro-American *ilustrado* factions in the Philippines pushed for varying degrees of incorporation with the United States. Some advocated for annexation and eventual statehood, seeing in this the path to security, stability, and modernization, while others wanted autonomy: the Philippines would be a possession or dependency of the United States, but Filipinos would largely be in control of Philippine affairs. The United States, meanwhile, promised to prepare Filipinos for self-government, but whether self-government meant autonomy or independence was unclear. For Filipinos who hung on to this promise, the question was when would self-government, however defined, take place. The early 1900s was thus a time of great uncertainty about the Philippines' future and Filipinos' role in running it, and the Anti-Imperialist League could use this uncertainty to push for Philippine independence. It scored a huge success during the 1900 presidential election when the Democratic Party included Philippine independence in its platform. Though the Democrats lost, the re-election of McKinley only strengthened the league's resolve to continue campaigning for Philippine independence. One of the ways it did this was through the *Philippine Review*.

Written in English and Spanish, the *Review* targeted readers in the Philippines and the United States, Filipino and non-Filipino alike, and it contained news items, educational articles, short stories, poetry, and humor. Its bilingual format betrays the extent to which Spanish was still the intellectual and literary language for many Filipinos at this time. Indeed, the students were rather conscious about their English and apologized in advance for any grammatical errors in their first issue.⁷⁷ Although the students were more voluble in their Spanish-language pieces, they still delivered expressive editorials and multi-page articles and prose fiction in English. In late 1907 the *Review* switched to an all-English format, signaling the ascendancy of English among the young educated elite.

The magazine's writers included both privately funded and government students, Filipinos and Americans. As the pensionado program was heavily publicized in the Philippines, the Filipino students at Berkeley most likely learned about the government students from news back home, their families, official announcements, and student directories. With editorial staff in Berkeley and contributors in Wisconsin, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other eastern and Midwestern states, the *Philippine Review* required great coordination. At times, responsibility for an issue shifted from one set of students to another. The last issue of the *Review*, for instance,

⁷⁷ "To Our Readers," *Filipino Students' Magazine*, April 1905, 4.

was a women's number produced by pensionadas in Pennsylvania and Indiana with support from the Berkeley office, and in 1907, editorial responsibilities transferred from the privately funded students in Berkeley to pensionados in Chicago.⁷⁸ The magazine thus connected Filipino students scattered throughout the United States, many of whom found themselves in very small Filipino communities on their respective college campuses. Filipinos from different regions, language groups, and class backgrounds could interact with one another through the magazine. For the official government students, the pensionado program had already facilitated this cross-regional contact what with the debriefing in Manila, passage to the U.S., and, for the 1903 cohort at least, summer school in Santa Barbara and work at the 1904 World's Fair. Government and non-government students at this time could also encounter each other at regional Filipino student conventions. In 1907, for instance, about thirty-five Filipino students from the Midwest met at a convention held at the University of Chicago.⁷⁹ These networks, as well as the shared experience of being in the United States, drew both pensionados and private students together, and they began to form the first "national" Filipino student body.

From the very beginning, the *Philippine Review*, which touted itself as the "official organ of Filipino students in America," had political potential. The students, many of whom were born during the height of the Propaganda Movement in the mid-1880s, were well aware of the history of Filipino journalism and anticolonial protest. The *propagandistas* founded newspapers such as *Revista del Círculo Hispano-Filipino* (1882), *España en Filipinas* (1887), and, most famously, *La Solidaridad* (1889) to lay out the colonial ills of the Philippines and to campaign for reform. During the Philippine-American War, journalism also played an important role in Filipino anticolonial resistance, especially through the paper *La Independencia* (1899-1900), the "organ of the Filipino people" (*Organo del Pueblo Filipino*) according to its masthead. Of the Berkeley students, Felipe Buencamino, Jr. had very close ties to this history of journalism and anticolonial protest. His cousin, the aforementioned Jose Abreu, wrote for *La Independencia*. It is significant, then, that in its inaugural issue the editors right away declared that the *Philippine Review* would not discuss politics as "we do not believe ourselves competent in matters not pertaining to our immediate school studies."⁸⁰

By "politics" the students meant critical discussion of American occupation and Philippine independence. The students' avowal to avoid politics was not unwarranted. Back in the islands, colonial authorities were vigilantly suppressing expressions of revolutionary nationalism. In 1901, the insular government passed a sedition law that declared any kind of advocacy for Philippine independence, verbal or written, as treason. The government also outlawed the word *kasarinlan*, the Tagalog word for independence.⁸¹ The declaration of war's end in 1902 relaxed some of the sedition law's stricter provisions and soon after it was no longer illegal to advocate for independence. Nonetheless, the sedition law remained in force.⁸² With it, colonial authorities arrested a number of Filipino playwrights who wrote nationalist, satirical,

⁷⁸ The issue advocated for the education of women in general, and the sending of Filipino girls to America more specifically. The latter issue was directed at Filipinos in the Philippines who were reluctant to send daughters abroad.

⁷⁹ "Second Convention," *Philippine Review*, March 1907, 3.

⁸⁰ "Our Purpose," *The Filipino Students' Magazine*, April 1905, 3.

⁸¹ Paul A. Rodell, "Philippine 'Seditious Plays,'" *Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1974): 93.

⁸² Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics*, 74.

and anti-American plays between 1902 and 1905.⁸³ A journalistic venture like the *Philippine Review* was thus quick to assure observers of its benign, non-political nature. This was in itself, however, a political tactical move: by claiming to avoid “politics,” the students hoped to gain the trust of Americans as well as avoid trouble with colonial authorities and university administrators.

In an editorial titled “Our Purpose,” the students of *The Philippine Review* affirmed that the magazine’s mission was purely educational. They hoped that the magazine would serve as site for the exchange of knowledge, and declared that the magazine’s stories and features would be confined to the branches of knowledge that students were pursuing. If a student was studying agriculture, for instance, he might write about irrigation or how to increase crop yields. An engineering student, similarly, might write about building roads and bridges. Besides facilitating the exchange of knowledge, the students claimed that it was also the *Review*’s “purpose to bind more closely the relationship between Americans and Filipinos.”⁸⁴ The result was an image of the young Filipinos as serious students with goodwill towards the United States and a genuine interest in Filipino-American friendship—the model colonial subject-student.

To show their good intentions and allegiance to the United States, the students dedicated their first issue to President Theodore Roosevelt. For good measure, they even placed his image on the frontispiece. The dedication on the adjacent page read: “With all sincerity and no mean token of respect, we dedicate this our humble effort to Theodore Roosevelt, President of Our United States.”⁸⁵ The dedication announced the students’ submission to the United States, but it was also an act of claiming: Roosevelt was not the president of *the* United States, but *our* United States. It reminded the reader that Filipinos were American subjects, and it also subverted the metropole/colony relationship, or, at the very least, suggested reciprocity. It was not just Americans who now possessed the Philippines, but Filipinos who possessed the United States as well.

Roosevelt’s image was an outward display of allegiance, a way to disguise or mitigate the fact that the magazine was in league with American anti-imperialists. This first issue dedicated to Roosevelt contained editorials introducing the magazine and its mission, a short story, articles on agriculture, engineering, education, and Jose Rizal—the last two written in Spanish by two government students--and a humorous piece about the strange English phrases students encountered, such as “that’s swell!” The issue revealed the students’ attachment to the Philippines, their eagerness to assert Filipinos’ achievements and capacity, as well as some pointed remarks about the hypocrisies of American life, but, as the students had promised, there was no discussion of Philippine “politics” or independence.

In the second issue, however, June 1905, the students began testing the possibility of using the magazine to discuss “politics.” The issue’s cover (figure 3) featured a prominent Uncle Sam pointing a Filipino manual laborer, a literal builder of the nation, towards the Statue of Liberty. Towering over the Filipino, Uncle Sam’s height and size parallels the asymmetric power relationship between the United States and the Philippines, and, with his star-spangled top hat and tailcoat and his striped trousers, personifies a masculine America. In the image we see Uncle

⁸³ Known as the “Seditious Plays,” these works included Juan Abad’s *Tanikalang Ginto* (1902), Juan Matapang Cruz’s *Hindi Aco Patay* (1903), and Aurelio Tolentino’s *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (1903). For his play, Tolentino was arrested, sentenced to two years in prison, and fined \$2000. See Rodell, 96.

⁸⁴ “Our Purpose,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, April 1905, 3.

⁸⁵ “Dedication,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, April 1905, 7.

Sam clapping his hand on the laborer's shoulder, urging, perhaps even commanding, him to go to the United States. We can read the laborer as a stand-in for the students, whom colonial officials had assured were the Philippines' future nation-builders, and the way to the Statue of Liberty, lying at a distance over a body of water with a clipper nearby, as an analogy for the student's own educational journey in the United States. Overall, the cover was an overt symbol of colonial tutelage and its proposed end result: freedom.

And yet the students may have been saying something completely different. Although Uncle Sam is the largest figure on the cover, he has his back turned to us and our eye is drawn not so much to him as to the exchange between him and the Filipino laborer. The face we see best is the sideways profile of the Filipino. In the background, what is in sharper detail is the Philippine side on the left, rather than the American side on the right. The lines of the Statue of Liberty are faint, covered by haze and fog. In this way, the emphasis is more on the Philippines than the United States. Moreover, the image anticipates a journey: Uncle Sam is pointing to the Statue of Liberty and the laborer is looking over in that direction as well, caught in a moment of instruction, of being told what to do, but also caught in a moment of contemplation. In this case, agency lies in the Filipino—he must decide whether to go to the United States, and ultimately, he is the one who has to undertake the journey himself. Finally, as Uncle Sam is a masculine personification of America, paternalistic and commanding, so is the Statue of Liberty a feminine or Mother America. Welcoming and nurturing, she is the patroness of the tired, poor, and huddled masses. In short, she is patroness to the world's underdogs, with which the Filipino students might have identified. The cover, then, presents the two sides of the United States: that which was coercive and also that which was liberating. The former was the most present in Filipinos' daily lives at the turn of the century. America, as Uncle Sam, is literally in the Filipino's face. Lady Liberty, on the other hand, is a vague but discernible hope peeking through haze and fog. That hope could be realized if one went on that journey across that vast ocean, and to the metropole itself. Read this way, the image then suggests that it would be in the bosom of the colonial power that Filipinos would find the means through which to liberate their country.

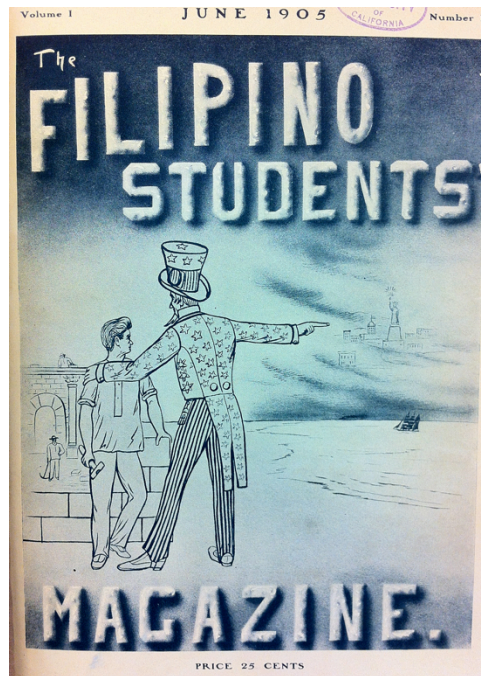


Figure 3. Cover of the June 1905 issue of the *Filipino Students' Magazine*. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

If the cover was open to both pro- and anticolonial interpretation, then the textual content of the June 1905 issue was not. In this second issue, the students laid bare their relationship with the Anti-Imperialist League by including an address to “the Filipino students in America” written by Erving Winslow, secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League. This address decidedly broke the students’ rule of abstaining from politics. In it, Winslow urged government students to not consider themselves “bound by a debt of gratitude” to Uncle Sam. His use of the term “debt of gratitude” no doubt resonated with the majority Tagalog-speaking students’ understanding of *utang na loob* or, literally, “debt of the inside.” This cultural concept describes the deep sense of indebtedness Tagalogs express towards those who provide assistance. This sense of indebtedness is accompanied by a felt need to reciprocate. In Tagalog culture, *utang na loob* informs one’s sense of self and honor, her ties to others, and her place in a community. The pensionado program, in particular, would have produced feelings of *utang na loob*, especially as the students were receiving scholarships not only from the Philippine government, but from American universities as well.

Whether he knew it or not, Erving Winslow assuaged students’ *utang na loob*. The United States, Winslow reminded them, was not actually spending any money on their education; they were paying for it themselves, or at least their taxpaying countrymen back home were. Nor should the students heed the oath of allegiance they made before leaving the islands. “It is not morally competent to the United States to require any oath to obey its sovereignty unless as that sovereignty is limited and defined by the Constitution of the United States,” Winslow insisted. As the 1902 insular cases had found that the U.S. constitution did not apply to

the Philippines, the loyalty oath was therefore invalid.⁸⁶ Consequently, the students had “no obligation . . . to deny the aspiration of independence which exists in every true Filipino heart, nor to slacken in the pursuit of all peaceable methods of promoting it.” In essence Winslow told the students that it was perfectly right and legitimate for them to champion independence.

Winslow’s address is important not only because it gave the students permission to advocate for Philippine independence, but also because it constructed independence as part of their identity. Winslow coupled “aspiration of independence” with the “true Filipino heart,” equating Filipino-ness with independence: the “true Filipino” desired independence, not just autonomy or self-government as a colonial dependency. This equation would impact Filipino students’ self-fashioning during their American sojourn. By the 1930s, being “Filipino” in the United States became closely tied to independence advocacy and to promoting Filipinos’ capacity and readiness for self-rule.

Winslow’s article struck a chord with the students, who made sure to translate it into Spanish. The contents of the English section did not always make their way to the Spanish section. Clearly, the students wanted Winslow’s words accessible to readers back home and to compatriots still more comfortable reading Spanish. In the issue’s opening remarks, they acknowledged that Winslow’s article might “seem improper to some” given that he was a member of the Anti-Imperialist League, but they were publishing it “without agreeing or disagreeing with it.”⁸⁷ They explained that the article was one of “general interest” rather than politics and that it was relevant for Filipino students as it was dedicated to them. Nonetheless, nearly every issue of the *Review* after June 1905 up to its last included at least one piece from the Anti-Imperialist League that reaffirmed Filipinos’ right to self-government and the necessity of Philippine independence.

It is not too surprising that the *Review* published so many of its members’ writings, since the league was a sponsor, but what is surprising is that so many of the *Review*’s founding members came from families holding influential positions within colonial government. Vicente Legarda’s uncle, Benito, was a Filipino member of the Philippine Commission, as was Hector Luzuriaga’s father. Felipe Buencamino Sr. served on the civil service board, and Gregorio Araneta, kinsman of Spanish editor-in-chief Jaime Araneta, was the Bureau of Justice’s solicitor general. Despite their families’ deep involvement in the colonial administration, these students partnered with anti-imperialists, seemingly untroubled by the contradictory aims of the Anti-Imperialist League and their families.

Why did the sons of collaborating elites collaborate with the Anti-Imperialist League? Was it a case of sons rebelling against their fathers? Were Hector Luzuriaga, Felipe Buencamino Jr., and Jaime Araneta disappointed in the older generation’s abandonment of the revolution, or were they simply engaging in some youthful rebellion? Perhaps a more valid question is: were these sons even rebelling at all? A look at the Philippines’ political atmosphere in 1905 suggests the negative.

⁸⁶ The 1902 Insular Cases determined that the U.S. constitution did not apply to unincorporated U.S. territories like Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. Although the citizens of these territories owed allegiance to the United States, they were not protected by the U.S. constitution or have U.S. constitutional rights. See Lanny Thompson, “The Imperial Republic: A Comparison of the insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898,” *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 4 (2002): 535-574.

⁸⁷ “On Partisanship,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, June 1905, 7.

According to Cullinane, the collaborative partnership that Taft had perfected between American officials and pro-American *ilustrados* during his term as civil governor was deteriorating at this time. Taft's departure in late 1903 to serve as U.S. Secretary of War had brought in a new governor, Luke Wright, who was less interested in courting *ilustrados* than Taft had been. Wright's focus on opening the Philippines to American investors, coupled with his open racism, alienated *ilustrados*. New political currents were also underway. Although the pro-American Partido Federal was still the leading Filipino political coalition at this time, dissent within its ranks and the emergence of new political groupings threatened Partido Federal's dominance. These changes made independence a more and more attractive option to collaborating elites, whether out of disillusion with the colonial administration or pressure to compete with political rivals waving the flag of independence. Among the students, Felipe Buencamino Jr. was one who would have felt these political changes personally. His father had joined Partido Federal but was never popular among the leading *federalistas*. In late 1902, after a failed trip to the United States in which Buencamino Sr. ruffled the feathers of pro-annexationists like Pardo de Tavera by asking Congress to grant Philippine independence, the elder Buencamino broke away from Partido Federal. In 1905, then, collaborating elites were not as pro-American as they had been. The sons, rather than rebelling against their fathers, were promoting what their fathers could not, or at least, not as openly. Being in the United States, thousands of miles away from home, gave the students greater leeway to question American colonial rule.

The Anti-Imperialist League served as a mouthpiece for the students and offered them protection. Under cover of the league's writings, Filipino students could broadcast arguments for Philippine independence without being accused of "politics." It was not they who wrote the articles, after all. "We are restricted by our rules from publishing articles on political matters, but these only apply to the students," they pointed out in regards to the appearance of Winslow's address.⁸⁸ School administrators, however, were not fooled. In February 1906, Wheeler admonished editor-in-chief Ponciano Reyes: "While the study of politics as a study of governmental mechanism and usages is highly desirable, I cannot believe that supreme attention to politics in the other and more common sense of agitation, is the best field for the Filipino students of today."⁸⁹ Instead, their "principal interest" should be "economic and social questions."⁹⁰ This recommendation conformed to American colonialists' view that adequate social and economic development was a prerequisite for self-government, a view that supported an indefinite date for Philippine self-government.

Rather than responding with an editorial of their own, the students relied on league members to defend their right to advocate for Philippine independence. In 1907, they published an article by Haskins, who instructed the students to "pay no heed to the advice of those Americans who bid you avoid questions of politics and devote your whole attention to agriculture and commerce."⁹¹ Although Haskin's article was addressed to the students, it may well have been directed to Wheeler.

⁸⁸ "On Partisanship," *The Filipino Students' Magazine*, June 1905, 7.

⁸⁹ Letter from Benjamin Ide Wheeler to Ponciano Reyes, February 1, 1906, *The Filipino Students' Magazine*, March 1906, 29.

⁹⁰ Letter from Benjamin Ide Wheeler to Ponciano Reyes, February 1, 1906, *The Filipino Students' Magazine*, March 1906, 29.

⁹¹ David G. Haskins, "How the Filipino People Serve Their Country," *The Philippine Review*, March 1907, 8.

Using the Anti-Imperialist League as a shield may appear a timid strategy, but it is a strategy of the weak. The students, most born in the mid-1880s, had lived through turbulent times. They grew up during revolution and war and saw leaders of the short-lived Philippine Republic serve in the American government. Even recalcitrant revolutionaries like Aguinaldo and Mabini had submitted to U.S. rule. It was a confused political environment, with loyalties switching sides many times over. Now they were in the United States—designated leaders of the Philippines, yes, but also foreigners in a foreign land. Their numbers were small, they were scattered, and they were speaking and writing in a new language. In this light, it makes sense that the students leaned so on the Anti-Imperialist League. The league provided ready English-language content with which to fill the *Review*, and the students may have believed that the league members' clout gave them some protection from school or even colonial authorities. The students took great stock of the fact that league members were men with "experience and position in life;" they saw their youth and foreign origins as handicaps to credibility with an American audience, and they turned to more established public figures in the belief that *Americans* could persuade Americans best.⁹² Joining forces with the Anti-Imperialist League was a politically shrewd move. And given the recent history of political repression in the Philippines, a bold one.

It is doubtful that the Bureau of Insular Affairs was unaware of the Berkeley Filipino students' ties to the Anti-Imperialist League and the government students' participation in the magazine. However, a chiding letter from Wheeler aside, neither the university nor the bureau ever stopped the *Philippine Review*. Nonetheless, Sutherland did try to mitigate the anti-imperial stance of the *Philippine Review* by starting a student magazine of his own in 1906. Known as *The Filipino*, it, like the *Review*, was a bilingual quarterly with educational articles about the Philippines that presented the islands in the best light as possible. However, it was much more conservative than the *Philippine Review*. Although *The Filipino's* editorial staff was composed of Filipinos, the preponderance of articles stressing "honesty" and "industry" reveal Sutherland's guiding hand. The themes of its articles were also patriotic—they spoke of Rizal, for example—but they did not speak of self-government or independence as the *Review* did. Instead, it reminded readers that "whatever may come as a result of the political development of the Philippines . . . there is great work to be done before the time will come when Filipinas is ready to ask, nay, demand, her great boon of the American people."⁹³ Students, rather than engaging in politics, were to keep their head down and work hard. *The Filipino* only lasted a year, and during its brief life, more government students wrote for the *Review* than Sutherland's magazine.⁹⁴

The *Philippine Review's* partnership with the Anti-Imperialist League gave Filipino students permission to advocate for Philippine independence. This is what the "true Filipino" did, after all. But they did so indirectly. Instead, they engaged in a politics of recognition, one wherein they emphasized the Philippines' state of "civilization" to counteract charges of Philippine backwardness. In doing so, they hoped to show that Filipinos were capable of self-government.

⁹² "On Partisanship," *The Filipino Students' Magazine*, June 1905, 7. Ironically, this was the same belief that league members held about the students. League members had sought the Filipino students because they saw them as ideal spokespersons for the "Philippine question."

⁹³ "Get Together," *The Filipino* 1, January 1906, 3.

⁹⁴ Lawcock, 121.

One of the ways that this politics of recognition manifested itself was through images rather than text. Shortly after occupation, photographs of various Filipino tribal types, taken by the colonial state for surveying and ethnological cataloguing purposes, proliferated. Featuring bare-breasted women and loin-clothed men, these images reached Americans through the public lecture circuit, magazines, memoirs, and postcards. These “pictures and views,” the *Review* protested, were “always the worst that can possibly be found. Scenes showing groups of naked savages, Igorotes [*sic*] eating dog meat and such other things not to be seen in the more civilized parts of the Islands, are what they mostly represent as the principal portion of the Filipino people.”⁹⁵ Students blamed such images for misconceptions about the Philippines.

To correct these misrepresentations, the students filled the *Review* with images and articles that purported to give the facts. The June 1905 issue included a set of photographs showing scenes of the “real” Philippines, featuring the Puente Colgante, the Walled City of Manila (Intramuros), and a clear, even path with trees and lampposts on either side. These images presented an orderly and modernizing Philippines rather than the Philippines of palm trees and huts that many Americans saw in the stereographs and views. The Puente Colgante, a steel suspension bridge completed in 1852, was the first of its kind to be built in Southeast Asia. Such an engineering feat intimated the Philippines’ relatively high level of development.⁹⁶

However, the greatest focus of the students’ campaign against misrepresentation was the image of the Igorots, an “uncivilized” ethnic group. Igorots and other “tribal” or animist, pagan, or non-Christian Filipinos, such as the Bontoc, the Tinguianes, the Mangyan, and sometimes even Muslims, were a sore point for Filipino students because of the 1904 World’s Fair. There, the Philippine Exposition’s greatest attraction was the Igorot Village, which exhibited Igorot “dog-eaters” and a live canine-cooking demonstration. These “savage” Filipinos captured the American public’s imagination, much to the dismay of the Filipino students and *ilustrado* dignitaries at the fair. As Paul Kramer notes, fairgoers were unable to understand the differences between animist ethnic groups such as the Bontoc and Igorot with Hispanicized, Christian Filipinos like the Tagalogs, Ilocanos, and so forth. To them the “civilized” Filipinos—such as the pensionados working at the fair--were formerly like the Igorots.⁹⁷ The *Review* remarked bitterly on this conflation.

Once in a while we meet somebody who mistakes us for Japanese or Chinese, but when we explain to him that we belong to the same nationality as Aguinaldo of whom he has heard so much, he would stare at us in vacant wonder, . . . He learns that this gentlemanly mannered young man goes to the University—one of the most famous in the States—he [the Filipino student], who was, [the American] thinks, exhibited at the St. Louis World’s Fair as a naked savage . . . Wonderful! [the American] exclaims, how the hand of Uncle Sam made in a few months such a perfect type of gentleman!⁹⁸

⁹⁵ “Wrong Ideas about Filipinos,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, June 1905, 6.

⁹⁶ Of course, these images concentrated on the most developed parts of the country, such as Manila, rather than the rural parts of the Philippines. When the *Review* did publish images of the rural Philippines, editors selected nature scenes, such as waterfalls and rivers, largely devoid of human construction, and which emphasized the lushness and beauty of the tropics.

⁹⁷ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 269-271.

⁹⁸ “Wrong Ideas,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, December 1906, 2.

Besides this conflation of Igorots and “civilized” Filipinos, which offended the students, the Igorot Village also opened up an old wound. In 1887 Spanish colonial authorities had also displayed Igorots in a sensationalistic exhibit at the *Expocisión de Filipinas*, generating much protest from Rizal and his compatriots in Madrid.⁹⁹

For the Filipino students, “civilization” meant education, discipline, and familiarity with western culture and mores, if not the actual possession of those western-originating cultural forms and mores, such as religion (Christianity) and language (Spanish). Students thus emphasized these aspects of the Philippines. Informational articles about the Philippines disclosed that Filipinos had a university before the Americans did (a point which Ramon Jose Lacson had also made), that the vast majority of Filipinos were Christian and therefore civilized, and that Igorots were like American Indians—minority inhabitants in no way representative of the Filipino nation. Indeed, Igorots and other “uncivilized” types could not even be considered Filipinos. Here then we see the students defining “Filipino” to refer to those like them: Hispanicized Christians from the lowlands of the Philippines and where Christian conversion had taken deepest root. In distancing themselves from “uncivilized” Filipinos, the students enacted what Kramer refers to as nationalist colonialism: an internalization of imperial rhetoric that upheld “civilized” Filipinos as the rightful rulers over the “uncivilized.”¹⁰⁰

As a discourse, “civilization” was a tool of colonial rule that both the Spanish and American regimes employed, and it was a discourse that educated Filipinos were engrossed with from the late 19th through the early 20th centuries. During the late Spanish colonial period *ilustrados* had also been obsessed with proving Filipino “civilization.” In the American period, civilization was the currency of the day in debates about independence. Expansionists and colonialists had justified annexation on the grounds that Filipinos were still too backwards to govern themselves, and “civilization” became the criterion by which independence would be granted. Filipinos thus had a political stake in proving their people’s “civilization.”

The students’ emphasis on Filipino civilization was an attempt to bring parity between the Philippines and the United States. As Benedict Anderson has found, this equalization is a common strategy among anticolonial nationalists.¹⁰¹ We can see this attempt to equalize relations in their satirical pieces. In an English humor item entitled “Who Were the Original Dog-Eaters?” a 1903 government student, unnamed, proposed that it was actually starving American soldiers who introduced dog-eating to the Igorots. The story goes that Igorots did not eat dog meat until the Americans arrived and that they wanted to be Americanized so badly that they copied the soldiers when they saw them cooking canine meat. In a few short sentences, the author of this piece mocks colonial tutelage, though at the expense of the Igorots, who remain ignorant

⁹⁹ This display of the “primitive” Igorot, the Madrid colony charged, was not only exploitative but also an attempt to set back claims of Filipino civility and equality with the Spanish. See John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895* rev. ed. (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 72-77. Schumacher sees the Igorot scandal as a catalyst for compatriotism and argues that it prompted the Filipino students in Spain, the Madrid colony, to regard non-Christians as fellow Filipinos. Other scholars, however, have interpreted the Madrid colony’s protest as one rooted in a sense of ethnoracial superiority rather solidarity. Paul Kramer, in particular, sees in this episode the beginnings of Filipino nationalist colonialism, wherein Hispanicized Filipinos held themselves above, and therefore best fit to rule over, the “lesser” animist and Muslim peoples of the Philippines. See Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 69-73.

¹⁰⁰ Kramer, 73. This construction was not restricted to the students’ thinking; many *ilustrados* of their parents’ generation held this bifurcated hierarchy as well.

¹⁰¹ Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2006), 18.

savages, and turns the table on the United States. The student author flips the role of civilized and savage, making Americans—soldiers, no less—the dog-eaters. Igorots, meanwhile, represent a lesser type of Filipino, one who adopts all things American unquestioningly. In the backdrop of this story stands the invisible figure of the narrator, a government student who does not consume dog meat or adopt American practices simply because they are American. The student is not a savage, but neither is he a colonial puppet.

As the dog-eater piece indicates, Filipino students questioned Americanization. Their resistance lay in their Spanish and European cultural orientation; for centuries, Spain had been the center of power, urbanity, and knowledge. For all his condemnation of Spain, Rizal nonetheless still found young urban centers of the United States provincial compared to the grand old cities of Europe when he went through North America in 1888.¹⁰² The *Review* even argued that the pensionado program should not only fund study in the U.S., but Europe or even Japan as well. “Professional careers and trades are better learned, in some respects in foreign countries other than the United States. For instance: Germany, France, England, Japan, etc. Why should we not have government students in those countries as well as here in America?”¹⁰³ Certainly, the students’ skepticism towards Americanization also lay in the fact that they did not see American culture as an entirely good thing. In their Spanish-language writings, students were critical about American culture and society, especially its racism.¹⁰⁴ In one dialogue, for instance, a student recounted writing to his grandmother about being called “Jap, Johnny, Charlie, and Igorrot, and worse, black nigger.” Besides speaking to the racialization that Filipino students experienced, this dialogue reveals the students’ strong self-identification as “Filipino” and insistence to be recognized as such.

At the same time, however, the students believed that the United States had something to offer and that adopting certain “American” practices and attitudes was worthwhile. In a fictionalized Spanish dialogue called “Chico y Chapo,” two students discuss their summer plans. The first student, the happy-go-lucky Chico, declares that he will enjoy his summer vacation and live off his grandfather’s money, stating that it is dishonorable for him to work and take on a lowly summer job given his family’s social standing back in the Philippines. Chapo, more sober, responds with, “Don’t you know that here in America, the students from the most rich to the poorest work during their vacations?” Chapo would have made Sutherland proud. It is a new century, he tells Chico, and they must Americanize themselves. Chico retorts that summer employment for students is an American practice, not a Filipino one, and that he wants to preserve his Filipino-ness. Chapo counters by asking if Chico’s Filipino-ness will earn him money. He then avers that work is honorable and that it strengthens people: “Because I worked lifting boxes, now I am strong and fortified. Not like you, Chico.” Work, Chapo concludes, is the emblem of progress in all civilized nations and epochs. By happily and dutifully finding a summer job—a so-called “American” practice—Chapo has become a better Filipino, not only physically but also morally and mentally, for it is such an attitude towards work that will help the Philippines progress.¹⁰⁵

What is striking about Chapo is how this character subordinates “American” practices and perspectives to serve the Philippines. Americanization had the potential to weaken native

¹⁰² Ambeth R. Ocampo, *Rizal Without the Overcoat* (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 1990), 4.

¹⁰³ “Education of Filipinos in Foreign Countries,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, December 1906, 2.

¹⁰⁴ “Entre Tres,” *Filipino Students’ Magazine*, June 1905, 42. Translation mine.

¹⁰⁵ “Chico y Chapo,” *Filipino Students’ Magazine*, April 1905, 43-44. Translation mine.

culture—to make one lose his Filipino-ness—but it could also strengthen the Philippine nation, so long as one chose what he wanted to adopt from America carefully. This attitude, of selectively adopting certain practices, values, or forms of knowledge from the United States, characterized Filipino students’ understanding of the colonial relationship as well as American education itself. Although they were critical of the United States, they also found promise in it. Through careful selection of which American practices could serve the Philippines, the students, sought to “localize” American culture and knowledge and direct it towards Philippine progress and independence. They did not see the West or the United States as somehow being inherently anti-Filipino. Part of what had made modernizing Filipino elites so “modern” was their open attitude towards the West and their desire to engage with the world outside of the Philippines. Moreover, Filipino students in the United States understood the West as part of Philippine heritage and what made their country exceptional; no other Asian nation or country could lay claim to being “the only Christian nation in the Orient” for example. Finally, if ever there was a model for the successful marriage of westernization and Asian nation-building, Filipinos had to look no further than Japan. Indeed, in both colonial officials’ tracts and in students’ writings, the case of Japan was often cited as a model for the Philippines.

The subordination of American knowledge to Philippine progress was most apparent in students’ educational articles, those that were supposed to be most absent of politics and through which students shared what they learned in school. With titles like “Irrigation and Drainage in the Philippines,” or “Electricity from Water Power,” these writings seem at first like dry scientific treatises. While these pieces did provide technical information on constructing better irrigation systems and harnessing hydroelectric power, they were much more concerned with adapting techniques or technologies to the Philippines so as to strengthen the native economy. “In considering the great possibilities of the profitable agricultural products of the Philippines,” student Antonio Taizon wrote, “the chief points that we must look upon for its improvement are irrigation and drainage.”¹⁰⁶ Taizon stressed the links between irrigation and economic development. Without explicitly calling for independence, he reminded readers that a strong Philippine economy—a criterion the United States deemed necessary for Philippine self-government—would contribute to national development.

Other educational articles were more overt in their politics. In “Filipino Youth and the Engineering Profession,” recent Harvard graduate Jose P. Katigbak urged his compatriots to enter the engineering profession, as “the whole material progress of today is either directly or indirectly due to engineering work.”¹⁰⁷ For Katigbak, it was essential for Filipinos to take charge of engineering projects in their homeland. “Somebody, however, may remark that all these works could be carried out exclusively by American engineers of whom there are an abundant supply,” Katigbak wrote. “I hope this remark will not come from a Filipino. The moment we play in our country the role of an inert body and have imbued in our midst the idea that everything should be run exclusively by the Americans, that moment we had best abandon all our hope for future independence.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Antonio M. Taizon, “Irrigation and Drainage in the Philippines,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, April 1905, 16.

¹⁰⁷ Jose P. Katigbak, “Filipino Youth and the Engineering Profession,” *The Filipino Students’ Magazine*, April 1905, 8. Katigbak, born 1879 in Lipa, Batangas, was the son of Mariano Katigbak, a friend of Jose Rizal’s. JP Katigbak also attended schools in Europe before going to Harvard.

¹⁰⁸ Katigbak, “Filipino Youth and the Engineering Profession,” 11.

Katigbak heeded his own advice when he returned to the Philippines. He first took a position as transitman for the Bureau of Public Works and later became Manila's assistant city engineer. Upon his death, the Manila municipal board renamed a street after him.¹⁰⁹ To a certain extent, Katigbak fulfilled the American colonial state's goals of transforming *ilustrados* into Americanized technocrats. Katigbak was the nephew of Mariano Katigbak, a friend of Rizal's, and he had studied in Europe before pursuing postgraduate study at Harvard. These *ilustrado* and nationalist credentials were combined with an American training that then enabled to Katigbak to work in the colonial bureaucracy. Nonetheless, Katigbak, by his own biography and political beliefs, carried on the legacy of 19th-century Philippine nationalism into the twentieth.

Conclusion

The *Philippine Review* ceased publication at the end of 1907. By then, the first pensionado class of 1903, also the largest, had returned or was preparing to return to the Philippines. Many of the founding members of the magazine at Berkeley had also left, diplomas in hand. Despite outlasting its competitor, Sutherland's *The Filipino*, the *Review* was quickly forgotten. Compared to *propagandista* periodicals like *La Solidaridad*, the *Review*, whose circulation in the Philippines was never wide, had little impact in stirring up revolutionary nationalist fervor in the homeland. By then, the locus of the Filipino revolutionary strain was in the labor, agricultural, or peasant sectors, and not the educated, bourgeois milieu of the *Review* writers.

Revolution, of course, was not the aim of the *Review*, but rather the legal granting of independence, one mediated with American voters and Washington, D.C. Both the Filipino students and American Anti-Imperialist League members saw the *Review* as a vehicle for persuading American voters to convince Congress to grant the Philippines independence. Articles directed to Filipinos, whether in the United States or in the Philippines, on the other hand, were meant to keep Filipinos from being complacent with its status as a colony of the United States. From the Anti-Imperialist League's perspective, Filipinos needed to show the American people that they desired independence or else the issue would fade from public view. From the students' perspective, the *Review's* articles equally served to demonstrate their aspirations for independence and to urge their countrymen to take ownership of Philippine affairs and participate in their country's development. American education was necessary for such participation, and in this way, American education became a patriotic act.

In producing the *Review*, both private and government students were self-consciously emulating the *propagandistas* and the Propaganda Movement. The *Review* thus represents a continuity of Filipino student nationalism from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. As it had been for the *propagandistas*, studying abroad stirred up nationalist feelings among pensionados and private students. The need to demonstrate Filipino capacity for self-government and desire for independence became particularly keen once students were in the United States, where they were marginalized. In the metropole, students became, in both an official and unofficial capacity, became representatives of the Philippines and the Filipino people. Independence politics was an integral part of the Filipino student experience in the United States. Independence was an issue that drew scattered students together, that gave a

¹⁰⁹ American Society of Civil Engineers, "Memoir of Jose Petronio Katigbak," in *Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers* (New York: American Society of Civil Engineers, 1917), 1803-05.

public and “civilized” face to the relatively small Filipino student body, and which gave meaning to their stay in the United States.

Although the *Review* folded in 1907, its rhetoric and mission to organize Filipino students and demonstrate Filipino capacity and civilization to an American public lived on in later magazines. In 1912, another group of Filipino students at Berkeley started *The Filipino Student*, which, like the *Review*, aimed to be the “official organ of the Filipino students in America.” As the Filipino student population in the United States increased, due mainly to the influx of self-supporting students in the 1920s, more journals also appeared. During this decade, the Filipino students at the University of Chicago founded *The Triangle* and pensionado and future statesman Carlos P. Romulo established *The Philippine Herald* in New York City. When the *Philippine Herald* ceased publication after Romulo returned to the Philippines in 1922, the *Filipino Student Bulletin*, another New York-based periodical, took its place and ran until 1939. Such periodicals continued the *Review*’s mission and rhetoric. The *Review* effectively set the pattern for how Filipino students in the United States would exercise their patriotism and participate in independence politics.

By the time Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie, or Philippine Independence Act, in 1934, a generation of U.S.-educated Filipinos was in leadership positions in the Philippines’ colonial bureaucracy. What did they do with their American training and education once in the Philippines? How did they envision the Philippine nation after independence? It is to them that we now turn our attention.

Chapter 5 **Returning Home: U.S.-Educated Filipinos and the Colonial Bureaucracy**

In the September 1930 issue of the *Philippine Journal of Education*, editor-in-chief Francisco Benitez reflected on his pensionado experience and what happened to him and his peers when they returned home. Benitez wrote that at first they looked and acted very Americanized, but “it did not take long before they were again absorbed by the fundamental ways of their people” and by “national consciousness.” Supposedly the pensionados realized that “while they were better equipped on account of their American training to be leaders in the new social environment of the country, their leadership would not be followed if they departed too greatly from the normal behavior and temper of the people.” Benitez also stated that although he and his peers had spent years away from home, their sojourn did not diminish their loyalty to the Philippines or change them fundamentally. Instead, the pensionado’s studies abroad had “just made him determined to utilize and use his training to bring the same blessings [found in the United States] to his own people.” Finally, the pensionado had become a better Filipino in the United States because he had to assert and prove himself there. By competing “successfully with his own American classmates,” the pensionado “came to realize that his people was not doomed by nature to perpetual inferiority. On the contrary, he had a feeling of exultation; he had a part to play in the future of civilization, especially in the Far East.”¹

Benitez’s recollections and assertions display the complex place of returning pensionados in the Philippines during the mid-1900s to 1910s. Pensionados returned with noticeable Americanisms that irked their fellow countrymen, so much so that they had to ingratiate themselves to them to be accepted back into the fold. To a large degree, Benitez’s essay was a defense of the returning pensionados, whom Filipinos viewed with some distaste. The essay was an attempt to prove that pensionados, though now filled with American ideas and knowledge, were still Filipinos at heart. Their time away had not lessened their loyalty to the Philippines.

At the same time, Benitez displayed a certain arrogance when he described his peers as being better equipped to lead their country on account of their American education. Benitez was quite sure that those who had been trained in the United States like him had a part to play in the uplift and development of the Philippines. It would be figures like him, he thought, who would make the Philippines a shining beacon in Asia. Assuredly Filipino but with American knowledge and expertise, pensionados would make the Philippines land where East and West met and merged in harmony.

The understanding of the pensionado as the Philippines’ nation builder and their confidence in their abilities to lead their country is the topic of this chapter. While several scholars have studied the pensionado movement and focused on the students’ experiences and activities in the United States, relatively few have followed them back home. This chapter thus examines the lives and careers of pensionados and other U.S.-educated Filipinos once they returned to the Philippines. They had been groomed by the American colonial state to be the future leaders of an independent but U.S.-friendly Philippines. How did they re-assimilate into Philippine society and what faced them upon their return? If the point of the pensionado program had been to train them to work in the colonial bureaucracy, how did this work continue to shape them? In particular, this chapter pays special attention to Filipino educators and

¹ Francisco Benitez, “The Pensionado System: A Part of the Policy of Benevolent Assimilation,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 13, no. 4 (September 1930): 149.

intellectuals involved in curriculum design and educational policy as schools were the one of the most powerful, if not the primary, colonial nation-building institution in the archipelago. It first places these returning Filipinos in context by looking at their place in the colonial bureaucracy and how they formed the forefront of a new urban, if not urban-oriented, middle class. The colonial bureaucracy, this chapter argues, equipped Filipino civil servants with a modern, bureaucratic, problem-solving ethos and an optimistic sense of being the Philippines' nation-builders.

It is worth looking at the experiences of returning pensionados for currently two narratives about pensionados stand. Within American studies, pensionados are first and foremost colonial subjects who become cultural brokers, pioneers of the nascent Filipino American community, and proud patriots.² Within Philippine nationalist historiography, however, pensionados are, by contrast, collaborators and elites. The pensionado is a tool of the colonial state, who, having received his training in the U.S., is the highest expression of the "miseducated" Filipino.³ This chapter attempts to trace the nuances and complexities of what it meant to be a U.S.-trained Filipino. As chapter 4 has shown, Filipinos who studied in the United States, facing racism and the misrecognition of their people, talents, and people, defended Filipino dignity and advocated for independence. They understood their time abroad as service to their nation. It cannot be denied, however, that many of the first Filipinos to study in the United States, whether sponsored by the government or not, came from predominantly elite backgrounds, though certainly there were exceptions. Nonetheless, even if a few pensionados did come from a modest background, studying in the United States and being a pensionado made them elite.

Pensionados and the Colonial Bureaucracy

By 1910 the first three cohorts of government students (1903, 1904, and 1905) were back in the Philippines. Their timing was fortunate as the undergraduate pensionado program turned out to be short-lived. With the opening of the University of the Philippines in 1908, colonial authorities began sending just one or two students a year to the United States, and in 1912, they largely abandoned the undergraduate U.S. study program. Had these students been born a decade later, it is likely that they would have been sent to the University of the Philippines instead as insular pensionados.

These first government students' timing was also fortunate in that they came home at the right time. The Philippines that they returned to was modernizing. New institutions, infrastructure, and industries hungry for a skilled workforce were being built. The newly opened University of the Philippines needed instructors, the expanding railroads and bridges needed civil engineers, and the young government laboratories needed scientists and technicians with the

² See Kathleen Camille Saldana Andal, "The Filipino Pensionado Experience: Educational Opportunity at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1901-1925" (master's thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2002); Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte, "Unintentional Immigrants: Chicago's Filipino Foreign Students Become Settlers, 1900-1941." *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring 1990): 26-48; and Dorothy Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

³ Renato Constantino's "The Mis-Education of the Filipino" in *The Filipinos in the Philippines and Other Essays* (Quezon City, Philippines: Filipino Signatures, 1966) is the best example of this view of American colonial education in the Philippines. Another critical view of pensionados is Noel V. Teodoro's "Pensionados and Workers: The Filipinos in the United States, 1903-1956," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 8, no.1-2 (1999): 157-178.

latest expertise. As per the terms of their scholarship, the pensionados were obliged to take the Philippine civil service exam and find work in the colonial bureaucracy. There were plentiful positions to be had in the Bureau of Education, which perennially bemoaned the lack of “qualified” native teachers, as well as the Bureaus of Health, Agriculture, Science, Public Works, and Justice. Within these bureaus pensionados served as teachers, scientists, clerks, and assistants.

Although they were now home and back in the circle of friends and family, the pensionados did not simply shed their “pensionado” identity upon their return. Homecoming receptions were held in their honor, and newspapers announced their return, where they had studied, and where they were to work. The fact that they had been selected by the government to study in the United States and that they had spent significant time abroad distinguished them from other Filipinos. Certainly, observers saw them as a breed apart. One pensionado’s daughter explained that the returning students came back sporting mannerisms that “appeared queer and artificial” and that they were derisively called “American boys.”⁴ One such “American boy” was Camilo Osias, who earned this appellation when he continued to sport the woolen suits he had worn in the United States in the Philippines.⁵

As Osias’s experience and Benitez’s essay suggest, Filipinos did not always welcome returning pensionados with open arms. In September 1908, the satirical Spanish and Tagalog weekly *Lipang Kalabaw*, which was founded by writer Lope K. Santos, a critic of Americanization, published a commentary that lambasted the figure of the returning pensionado. Titled “Snake in the Jungle” (*Ahas sa Kagubatan*), the piece appeared precisely when the government students were starting to come home. It was thus one of the earliest critiques of the pensionado.

“Snake in the Jungle” targeted a pensionado who had returned home only to reject his homeland.⁶ The piece left the pensionado unnamed, but its tone suggests that the figure was well known at the time. According to the author of “Snake in the Jungle,” the pensionado no longer wanted to be with his countrymen and no longer loved his country despite the fact that it was his countrymen who paid for his education.⁷ He had returned home with an overbearing sense of superiority and threatened to betray the Philippines by seeking to change “the soul of our nation” through “knowledge gained from books.”⁸ For the author of “Snake in the Jungle,” the pensionado’s book knowledge and American education actually made his expertise dubious. The pensionado may have studied in the United States, “the land of federalism,” but, it is implied, with no real love or loyalty for his country, he was not qualified to lead the Philippines.

⁴ Celia Bocobo Olivar, “The First Pensionados: An Appraisal of their Contributions to the National Welfare” (Masters thesis, University of the Philippines, 1950), 82-83, quoted in Roland Sintos Coloma, “Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling Under United States Rule, 1900-1910” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 133.

⁵ Roland Sintos Coloma, “Disidentifying Nationalism: Camilo Osias and Filipino Education in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Revolution and Pedagogy: Interdisciplinary and Transnational Perspectives on Educational Foundations*, ed. E. Thomas Ewing (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 29.

⁶ The archival record has so far not yielded who this returned pensionado was, but he appears to have been fairly notorious. In his biography of pensionado Jose Abad Santos, Ramon C. Aquino also makes reference to a similar, if not the same, pensionado. See Ramon C. Aquino, *Chief Justice Abad Santos, 1886-1942: A Biography* (Quezon City, Philippines: Phoenix Publishing House, 1985), 20. Given Francisco Benitez’s comments, I wonder if he might be the pensionado mentioned by *Lipang Kalabaw*.

⁷ Sugigi, “Ahas sa Kagubatan,” *Lipang Kalabaw*, September 12, 1908, 10. Translation mine.

⁸ Sugigi, “Ahas sa Kagubatan,” *Lipang Kalabaw*, 11.

If outsiders saw pensionados as a distinct figure in Philippine society, the pensionados, too, recognized themselves as such. They must have understood themselves as part of the Philippine elite early on; one need only recall Sutherland's reminders of how they were their country's future leaders, the Philippines' chosen sons and daughters. The shared experience of having been appointed and of having studied and lived in the United States produced a sense of commonality. They had undergone a type of exile and experienced its attendant contradictions: praise from some Americans and discrimination from others; the supposed future leaders of the Philippines, they nonetheless worked as waiters and guides in St. Louis; sent abroad to be Americanized, their time in the United States instead produced a sharpened Filipino identity. These shared experiences, as well as new ones yet to be had in the Philippines, formed a generational solidarity that would endure throughout the American colonial period and after.⁹

The required government service strengthened solidarity as the returning pensionados also entered the colonial bureaucracy at the same time. Thus, although they were no longer formally in school, they had, in a sense, moved on to yet another school, the civil service, where they would learn a particular way of working, of organization, and of problem-solving.

The colonial bureaucracy physically brought the former pensionados closer to one another. Pensionados who had attended schools in different states in the U.S., for example, could now work in the same office in Manila. A few even lived together. Former pensionados Jorge Bocobo, Martin P. De Veyra, Mariano de Joya, Pedro Tuason, Carlos Barreto, Liborio Gomez, Juan Hilario, and Alfonso Ponce Enrile all boarded at the same house in Intramuros when they started working in Manila. Private students, too, continued their friendships with the pensionados. The Berkeley Filipino students behind the *Philippine Review*, for instance, formed the Philippine Columbian Association, a social and athletic club for U.S.-educated Filipinos. According to Victor Buencamino, whose older brother Felipe Jr., founded the *Philippine Review*, the name "Columbia" was intentionally "chosen to indicate that membership was to be limited to Filipinos who had studied in the United States."¹⁰ Privately-funded students like Ponciano Reyes, the Buencamino brothers, and the Roces brothers were members, as were pensionados like Francisco and Conrado Benitez, Jorge Bocobo, Mariano de Joya, and Francisco Delgado.¹¹

Many from this generation of pensionados made a life-long career out of public service, rising through the ranks of the colonial bureaucracy and creating names for themselves. The career of Camilo Osias demonstrates this trajectory.

After receiving his bachelor's degree and completing graduate coursework at Teachers College, Camilo Osias returned to the Philippines in 1910. His first assignment was teaching high school in his home province of La Union, in the capital town of San Fernando. After a few months in San Fernando, Osias was promoted to supervising teacher in the nearby town of Bacnotan. In less than year, then, Osias went from teaching to supervising, a significant promotion at a time when most supervisory roles went to Americans. In 1913, Osias relocated to Manila to serve as academic supervisor of the city schools; in this position Osias worked on curriculum design and planning. Two years later he received a promotion that would garner him

⁹ This experience is similar to that which Takashi Shiraishi describes of the *kaum muda*, "the young," in the Dutch East Indies. The *kaum muda* were Western-educated natives who generally formed the urban, salaried middle-class. See Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 28-30.

¹⁰ Victor Buencamino, *Memoirs of Victor Buencamino* (Mandaluyong, Metro Manila: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1977), 219.

¹¹ Buencamino, *Memoirs of Victor Buencamino*, 219-220.

national fame: he became the first Filipino division superintendent. As division superintendent, Osias oversaw all the schools and teachers in a province and was responsible for teaching appointments, compliance with bureau standards, and working with provincial and municipal governments to secure school funds. Between 1915 and 1917, Osias served as superintendent in three divisions: Bataan, Mindoro, and Tayabas.

In 1917, Osias returned from the provinces to Manila. By now he had been promoted to second assistant director of the Bureau of Education, one of the top three posts in the bureau. Again he was the first Filipino to hold this rank. Three years later, he became assistant director, which was the highest position a Filipino could attain in the Bureau of Education until independence was granted in 1946. While assistant director, Osias also took part in the first Philippine independence mission to the United States, an official delegation that lobbied Congress for Philippine independence. In 1921, after eleven years of public service, Osias resigned from the Bureau of Education to take a position as president of National University, a private school. A few years later, Osias parlayed his renown in the education field into a career in politics. From 1925 to 1967, he served three non-consecutive terms as senator, and from 1929 to 1935, Osias was one of two Philippine Resident Commissioners in the United States House of Representatives.¹² As resident commissioner, Osias helped oversee the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie or Philippine Independence Act (1934). Training, timing, as well as individual ambition, elevated Osias from his provincial and agricultural roots to a national figure.

Osias was no doubt an exceptional figure, but many other pensionados from the 1903-1907 cohorts also achieved national recognition. Francisco Benitez, who attended Western Illinois State Normal School with Osias, returned to the Philippines in 1909 and, like Osias, held the position of supervising teacher. His teaching career took him to Bacoor, Cavite; Pakil, Laguna; and finally, Manila where he taught at the Philippine Normal School and the University of the Philippines. Unlike Osias, Benitez's assignments did not take him more than 60 miles away from his hometown, but he nonetheless had the same peripatetic existence as his classmate, at least in the early years of his career. This peripatetic existence would characterize the careers of pensionados who worked for the Bureau of Education, which had subunits—the schools themselves—throughout the islands to which administrators and supervising teachers could be transferred at any time.

In 1913, Francisco Benitez received a second government scholarship to pursue a master's degree at Teachers College. After 1912, the insular government shifted from sending Filipinos to the United States for undergraduate education to sending them abroad for graduate study. By the 1910s colonial authorities were confident that Filipinos could receive an adequate undergraduate or technical education at insular institutions like the University of the Philippines, the Philippine Normal School, or the Philippine School of Commerce. Sending Filipino students abroad, noted Bureau of Education director Frank R. White in 1910, "seemed absolutely necessary a few years ago, but as conditions have changed the need thereof has become less and less. We are now able to give training in many branches and courses which heretofore could only be secured by going outside the Philippine Islands."¹³ Thus, when the insular government did offer scholarships to undergraduates in the 1910s, it was to insular schools. Master's degrees and

¹² The resident commissioner was a non-voting member of the United States House of Representatives.

¹³ U.S. Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ended June 30, 1910* (Washington DC: GPO, 1910), 298.

doctorates, however, still had to be obtained abroad. These degrees were deemed necessary for scientists, agriculturists, and university instructors working in the colonial bureaucracy.

In 1912, the Philippine Legislature passed a new pensionado act, Act 2095. Unlike the first pensionado act, Act 854 (1903), Act 2095 allowed scholarship recipients to study in the United States and Europe. In this way, the new act was less U.S.-centered, though it continued to favor western education. The new act created a smaller but more long-term pensionado program, authorizing the creation of twenty permanent government scholarships. Eligible candidates had to have “studied and completed some professional, technical, scientific, artistic, or industrial course” from the University of the Philippines or another “educational institution of standing in the United States, Europe, or in the Philippine Islands.”¹⁴ In short, in contrast to Act 854, Act 2095 required applicants to have completed their undergraduate education. It was thus more exclusive. Act 2095 also had a special relationship with the University of the Philippines. Five of the twenty fellowships were reserved for “qualified members of the teaching staff of the University of the Philippines below the rank of associate professor, for the purpose of developing a permanent faculty of Filipino scholars in that institution.”¹⁵ Benitez was one of these fellows.

Benitez left for Teachers College in 1914 and returned to the Philippines in 1915, master’s degree in hand. With this degree he became director of the university’s School of Education. When the school was reorganized as the College of Education in 1918, he became its dean. Benitez’s star continued to rise well into the 1930s and 40s. During the commonwealth period, he was appointed Commissioner of Private Education, and when independence was granted in 1946, he became the Secretary of the Department of Education (the successor of the Bureau of Education), as well as chairman of the National Council of Education.

An ambitious educator, Benitez organized a nationwide teachers’ organization, the Federation of Teachers, and founded the *Philippine Journal of Education*, the federation’s magazine. Compared to other educational journals or magazines circulating at the time, the *Philippine Journal of Education* was more academic; generally, its contributors were university professors, Filipinos who held high positions in law and government, or senior administrators in the Bureau of Education. The journal’s content covered national issues such as the use of vernacular languages in the classroom, religious plurality, or the U.S.-Philippine relationship. This coverage differed from that of contemporaneous trade journals like *Philippine Public Schools*, a Bureau of Education publication. *Philippine Public Schools* tended to discuss pedagogical issues or discipline-specific problems. Its inaugural issue (January 1928), for instance, had sections such as “Suggestions for Improving Instruction,” “Correct English,” and “Helpful Lesson Plans.” While the *Philippine Journal of Education* also offered lesson plans and teaching guides, it contained political editorials and articles such as “Our Educational Policy in Relation to Independence,” “How Far Shall the Truth Be Taught About National Heroes,” and “Building a Curriculum for an Independent Philippines.”¹⁶ *Philippine Public Schools* aimed at

¹⁴ U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Philippines, *Acts of the Second Philippine Legislature and of the Philippine Commission (Nos. 2076 to 2187, inclusive): Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Laws Enacted by the Second Philippine Legislature During Its Second and Special Sessions, From October 6, 1911, to February 6, 1912, Inclusive, and Certain Laws Enacted by the Philippine Commission, 62nd Cong., 2d sess., 1912, S. Doc. 927, 29.*

¹⁵ U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Philippines, *Acts of the Second Philippine Legislature, 29.*

¹⁶ Francisco Benitez, “Our Educational Policy in Relation to Independence,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 10 (March 1930): 379; Aniceto B. Fabia, “How Far Shall the Truth Be Taught About National Heroes?” *Philippine*

training teachers how to teach while the *Philippine Journal of Education* concerned itself with involving educators in the political issues of the day, namely independence and the role that public schools served in the making of the Philippine nation.

Other noteworthy first wave pensionados include Leandro H. Fernandez, who became a professor of history at the University of the Philippines and authored Philippine history textbooks; Jose Abad Santos, who became Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court; and Jorge Bocobo, dean of the University of the Philippine’s law school and later university president.

Although the archival record does not yield precise numbers of pensionados’ participation rate in the colonial bureaucracy, government service was required and a great number of pensionados spent at least some time working in the colonial bureaucracy or at an insular institution such as the University of the Philippines, Philippine National Library, or Philippine General Hospital. Table 5 provides shows the bureaus that hired pensionados from the first three cohorts and the positions that pensionados found within them.

Table 5. Pensionados in the Colonial Bureaucracy

Pensionado	Cohort Year	Bureau or Institution of Employment	Position(s) held at Bureau or Institution
Jose Abad Santos	1904	Bureau of Justice	Law clerk, Secretary of Justice, Supreme Court Justice
Orencio Aligada	1903	Philippine National Library	Chief Librarian
Silverio Apostol	1903	Bureau of Agriculture	Assistant Director, Under Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources
Angel Arguelles	1905	Bureau of Science	Director
Apolinario Baltasar	1903	Bureau of Public Works	Chief Engineer
Sotero Baluyut	1904	Bureau of Public Works	Engineer, Secretary of Public Works and Communications
Carlos Barretto	1903	Bureau of Public Works	Draftsman
Jorge Bocobo	1903	Executive Bureau, University of the Philippines	Law clerk, professor, university resident
Gervasio Santos Cayugan	1904	Bureau of Health, University of the Philippines	Doctor; surgery instructor
Mariano Manas Cruz	1903	Bureau of Plant Industry	Director
Francisco Delgado	1903	Executive Bureau, Bureau of Justice	Law clerk, justice, Philippine Resident Commissioner

Journal of Education 13, no. 9 (February 1931): 343; Cecilio Putong, “Building a Curriculum for an Independent Philippines,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 17, no. 5 (October 1934): 293.

Table 5. Pensionados in the Colonial Bureaucracy (con't)

Pensionado	Cohort Year	Bureau or Institution of Employment	Position(s) held at Bureau or Institution
Vicente Fragante	1903	Bureau of Public Works	Director
Luis Francisco	1904	Bureau of Public Works	Division engineer
Liberio Gomez	1903	University of the Philippines	Head of the department of bacteriology and pathology
Potenciano Guazon	1903	University of the Philippines	Head of the department of surgery in the college of medicine
Ludovico Hidrosollo	1903	Bureau of Agriculture, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes	Agriculturist
Juan F. Hilario	1904	Department of Finance, Bureau of Customs, Bureau of Labor	Clerk, bank examiner, Secretary of the Board of Appeals researcher
Estaban Ibalio	1903	Bureau of Education	Teacher, librarian
Eustacio Ilustre	1903	Bureau of Education	Teacher, librarian
Delfin Jaranilla	1903	Executive Bureau, Bureau of Justice	Law clerk, justice
Marcial Kasilag	1903	Bureau of Public Works	Civil engineer, director
Roman Licup	1905	Bureau of Lands	Surveyor
Francisco Llamado	1903	Bureau of Education	Acting Superintendent of Schools
Sixto Maceda	1904	Bureau of Education, Bureau of Public Welfare	Principal, administrator
Rufino Martinez	1904	Bureau of Education	Superintendent of Construction
Cenon Monasterial	1903	Bureau of Education	Teacher, division superintendent
Mariano Mondonedo	1903	University of the Philippines	Instructor for the College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines
Lorenzo Onrubia	1903	Bureau of Public Works	Engineer
Emilio Quisumbing	1903	Bureau of Public Works	Engineer
Francisco Reyes	1903	Bureau of Science	Chemist
Jose Rivera	1903	Bureau of Plant Industry	Scientist
Jose Teodoro	1905	University of the Philippines	Professor

Source: William Sutherland, *Not By Might* (Las Cruces, NM: Southwest Publishing Co., 1954), 91-131.

As table 5 indicates, many, though not all, pensionados found high-ranking positions in their respective bureaus as directors, chiefs, or department heads.¹⁷ And even those in more modest or middle-ranking positions still held some professional cachet: titles like “chemist,” “engineer,” or “law clerk” signaled education and white-collar status. The career success that former pensionados like Osias, Benitez, Abad Santos, and Bocobo found encouraged other Filipinos, many from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than the first wave pensionados, to strike out for the United States.¹⁸ By the mid-1910s, it was clear to many Filipinos that American education—that which could be obtained in the United States proper—opened up professional and prestigious career opportunities.

During this period Filipino elites, too, began looking towards the United States for an education. By the mid-1930s, the Hispanicized elite of the early 1900 had been replaced by a U.S.-educated generation. In his study of Filipino elites, Dominador Flores found that only a few of the leading Filipinos listed in the 1908 *Directorio Biografico Manila* went to schools in the United States. Out of the 221 elites listed in the directory, 32, or 14.5 per cent, studied in Europe while only 4, or 1.8 per cent, studied in the United States.¹⁹ This low rate makes sense. Flores’s elites were born in the 1860s and 1870s and so had already completed their tertiary education when American colonial rule began. Additionally, educated during the Spanish regime, few of them would have had the English language skills to study in the United States. Nonetheless, this data underscores the European orientation of Filipino elites during the first decade of American colonial rule. By contrast, in Zoilo M. Galang’s 1936 directory of prominent Filipinos, tellingly titled *Builders of the New Philippines*, 17.5%, or 162 of the 926 Filipinos listed, had studied in the United States. This is comparable to, and in fact is higher than, the proportion of European-educated Filipinos from the 1908 directory. Of these 162 U.S.-trained “builders of the new Philippines,” 38, or 23.5%, were pensionados, while the rest studied in the United States through other means. At the time of publication, 101 of these U.S.-educated Filipinos were reported as having been in government service or currently working in the colonial bureaucracy.²⁰ They were all born between the late 1880s and 1903 and thus received most, if not all, of their education during American rule.

The Growth of the Colonial Bureaucracy: Employment Opportunities for Filipinos

One of the reasons that pensionados like Osias and Benitez found career success quickly was that they entered government service during a period of growth for the civil service. This expansion was due to a changing of the guard in American politics. With the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and a Democrat majority in Congress, Washington moved away from the retentionist stance of the Republican Party towards a more reduced role in the Philippines.

¹⁷ It is likely, of course, that some pensionados earned these positions because of their U.S. education *as well as* coming from the elite ranks of Philippine society. It must be remembered that American school superintendents and Filipino provincial governors personally recommended the 1903 pensionados, and that social standing and rank factored in their selection. Such pensionados, already coming from the ranks of the native elite, were primed to occupy high-ranking positions in the colonial bureaucracy.

¹⁸ Barbara M. Posadas and Roland L. Guyotte, “Aspiration and Reality: Occupational and Educational Choice among Filipino Migrants to Chicago, 1900-1935,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 85, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 94, 97.

¹⁹ Dominador Flores, “Colonial Education and the Political Acculturation of Filipinos” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1969), 171-72.

²⁰ Data gathered and compiled from Zoilo M. Galang, ed., *Builders of the New Philippines*, Encyclopedia of the Philippines, vol. 9 (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1936).

In 1913, Wilson appointed Francis Burton Harrison, a Democrat and former congressman, governor-general of the Philippines (1913-1921). In accordance with the Democrats' pro-Philippine independence platform, Harrison inaugurated a program of Filipinization, or the gradual transfer of administrative control to Filipinos. Within the civil service, this meant placing Filipinos in positions normally staffed by Americans. Besides hiring more Filipinos, Harrison's administration also passed the Osmeña Retirement Act in 1916, which incentivized American civil servants' retirement by offering 60 percent of one's annual salary to those who had served at least six years and 100 percent of the annual salary to those who had served ten years or more.²¹ The reduction of Americans in the Philippine Civil Service in turn opened up more upper-level positions to Filipinos. In the 1910s, then, Filipinos had more government positions available to them. Those who were trained in the United States were especially poised to take the highest leadership roles.

Harrison's Filipinization policy was successful. Near the end of his term in 1920 Filipinos occupied almost 96% of all civil service positions. However, it is important to note that Filipino participation in the civil service during American rule was always high. Compared to other colonial powers in the region, the United States depended much more on the native population to carry out administrative tasks. Shortly after the start of civil rule (after the Philippine-American war was declared officially over in 1902), Filipinos occupied just under half of the positions available in the civil service. When Harrison arrived in the Philippines in 1913, Filipinos already comprised over 70% of Philippine civil servants.²²

For Filipinos at this time, the Philippine Civil Service was one of the best career options available. Unlike the commercial, manufacturing, or import and export sectors, which capital-rich foreigners like Europeans or Chinese dominated, the civil service was the preserve of Filipinos.²³ In this way, it had a nationalistic character about it. The civil service was also egalitarian in its hiring practices. Although the influence of personal connections was not entirely absent, the Philippine Civil Service was by and large meritocratic.²⁴ All candidates had to take an exam, and so even a common *tao* could get a position in the civil service so long as he had some formal education and knew English.

The civil service's language and examination requirements reflect the symbiotic relationship between American colonial education and the colonial bureaucracy. This was apparent in the pensionado program, which served as a feeder program for the Philippine Civil Service. But the Philippine Civil Service had a symbiotic relationship with the entirety of the

²¹ Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2010), 40.

²² Posadas and Guyotte, "Aspiration and Reality," 95.

²³ The idea that government service was one of the best lines of work available to Filipinos may be found in the foreword to Victor C. Alcantara's *One Man's Century*. See Manny Duldulao, foreword to *One Man's Century*, by Victor C. Alcantara, as narrated to Ma. Jane Theresa Stangle Apostol-Alvero, with chapter 7 co-written by Rovira Javier Alcantara (Philippines: The House Printers, 2006). To enter the Philippine Civil Service, one had to be a U.S. citizen or a "native of the Philippine Islands," which here referred to those formerly classified as "indios" or "mestizos" under Spain. Chinese residents of the Philippines could not enter the Philippine Civil Service, since they did not possess Philippine citizenship, but Chinese-Filipinos could, having earned Philippine nationality and citizenship from their Filipino parent. For more on Philippine citizenship laws during the American period, see Filomeno V. Aguilar, "Between the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Ethnic Chinese and Philippine Citizenship by Jus Soli, 1899-1947," *Southeast Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (December 2011): 431-463.

²⁴ Daniel F. Doepfers, *Manila, 1900-1941: Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia monograph, 1984), 62.

American colonial educational system as well. American colonial education was in many ways English language education. English language proficiency was a requirement for entry into the civil service, which stimulated Filipino participation in the new public school system. The public school system, in turn, provided a native workforce for the civil service.

Despite the close relationship between American education, American *colonial* education, and the civil service, tensions did arise between U.S.-trained Filipinos and the colonial bureaucracy. Filipinos returning from the United States were disgruntled to find that despite their American degrees and advanced training they would still be paid less than their American counterparts. According to Celia Bocobo Olivar, Jorge Bocobo's daughter, returning pensionados received half as much as what they were entitled to since they had to repay the government for their scholarships.²⁵ Olivar recalled her father being dismayed to learn that he would earn only P70 (\$35) a month after having studied in the United States especially when his American counterpart earned four times as much.²⁶ Around Bocobo formed a group of former pensionados who challenged their salaries.

Colonial officials were aware of these complaints but remained firm on their stance that Filipinos should command lower salaries than Americans. David P. Barrows, for instance, thought that "the proper compensation for a Filipino [in the civil service] . . . should certainly not be higher than that paid to an American for the same class of service in the United States."²⁷ In 1907 Barrows revealed that the first returning class of pensionados would earn between \$360-\$420 per annum, or P720-P840, compensation that he thought the students would find attractive. He admitted, however, that Americans in the Philippine Civil Service were typically paid "about forty per cent more."²⁸ In fact, their average salary was more than twice as much. In 1907, the average annual salary of a Filipino civil servant was about \$413.50 or P827; Americans, on the other hand, made \$1504 or P3008.²⁹

Perhaps the most famous salary dispute was that of Victor Buencamino, who had earned a veterinary medicine degree from Cornell in 1911. Having passed the United States civil service exam, considered more difficult than its Philippine equivalent, Buencamino contended that he should earn the same amount as an American veterinarian working for the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture: \$1400 plus the bonus allowance of \$200 for a total of \$1600 or P3200. B.L.

²⁵ Cecilia Bocobo Olivar, *Aristocracy of the Mind* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1981), 16. This information conflicts with the provisions of Act 854, which stated that the insular government would pay for the pensionados' travel expenses as well as education and maintenance.

²⁶ ²⁶ Cecilia Bocobo Olivar, *Aristocracy of the Mind* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1981), 16.

²⁷ U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, Philippine Bureau of Civil Service, *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Bureau of Civil Service for the Year ended June 30, 1907* (Washington DC: GPO, 1908), 120-121.

²⁸ "David P. Barrows," *Philippine Review*, March 1907, 4.

²⁹ Philippine Bureau of Civil Service, *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the Year ended June 30, 1910* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), 16. See also Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines*, Studies of Public Administration No. 4 (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1957), 183. Filipinos, in general, occupied lower pay grades than Americans, which explains the lower average salary. However, even in the aggregate, and not average, American employees earned at least twice as much in general. Per the 1910 civil service report, in 1907 the Philippine Civil Service had 2,616 American employees and 3,902 Filipino. American civil servants earned a total of 7.87 million pesos, whereas Filipino civil servants earned 3.23M pesos. See *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service*, 16.

Falconer, director of the Philippine Civil Service, however, countered that that Buencamino should not earn more than the \$1400 that an American would typically earn in that position.³⁰

While U.S.-educated Filipinos like Buencamino demanded the same pay as their American colleagues, non-U.S.-educated Filipinos in the colonial bureaucracy in turn complained about their U.S.-educated compatriots' higher salaries. This grievance was especially pronounced among teachers. In 1922, Director of Education Luther B. Bewley noted that Filipino teachers resented the fact that their pensionado colleagues earned more. They argued that it was unfair that the pensionados should earn more than they when the pensionados had left teaching for a few years while they had remained on the job.³¹ Additionally, the pensionados had already been supported by the government once. They had the triple benefit of a subsidized education, service release, and higher salaries.

Although it was not free from controversy, Filipinos on the whole considered the civil service an attractive place to work. The civil service often conjures images of faceless salary men and soulless work, but in a colonial setting, the civil service was a place of opportunity. Sukanya Banerjee has noted that for Indians, the Indian Civil Service under British rule was "one avenue" for "approximating the ideals of liberal citizenship" and an "egalitarian career choice" for educated Indians.³² For Filipinos in the first third of the 20th century, the civil service offered similar benefits. The civil service offered life-long employment and more generous wages than those in the industries that the masses of Filipinos typically found work in, such as agriculture, construction, transportation, or small manufactures. In 1910, permanent civil servants across all pay grades earned an average annual salary of a little over 800 pesos; skilled laborers, on the other hand earned about 400 pesos, while unskilled laborers earned about 200 pesos.³³

The Civil Service Board advertised these benefits. According to the board, a career in the civil service offered "adequate reward, both as to money compensation and permanent official position."³⁴ With an abundance of positions, the civil service also promised room for advancement. More importantly, it conferred a certain amount of prestige by making possible a white-collar status for those who came from unlettered, rural, agricultural, or working-class backgrounds. It also provided an association with power. The civil service, after all, was an arm of the government, and useful connections with colonial officials or high-ranking Filipino administrators could be forged in the civil service.

³⁰ In the end, Governor-General Cameron W. Forbes intervened in the matter and decided in Buencamino's favor. See Posadas and Guyotte, "Aspiration and Reality," 92-93, and Buencamino, *Memoirs*, 89-90.

³¹ Luther B. Bewley, Director of Education, to W.W. Marquardt, Philippine Educational Agent, Jan. 14, 1922; File 470-812; Box 90; Bureau of Insular Affairs, General Classified Files, Record Group 350; National Archives at College Park, MD.

³² Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 155, 173. According to Banerjee, "Because the deindividuating effect of bureaucracy makes it an easy target for revilement (as indeed it in the nineteenth century), it is easy to lose sight of the fact that it was also the precepts of this bureaucratic modernity that provided one avenue for at least approximating ideals of liberal citizenship, inasmuch as it was a different set of criteria—"age, health, and moral fitness," rather than one's social antecedents—that was deemed to render an aspirant eligible for the responsibilities and benefits of public office" (155). Additionally, "For educated, middle-class Indians, the opening of the ICS [Indian Civil Service] to them represented, as it did for their counterparts in England, a lucrative and seemingly more egalitarian career choice. For many of them, in fact, it announced the coming of age of a generation of Western-educated neophytes eager to announce their progressive credentials" (173).

³³ Doeppers, *Manila, 1900-1941*, 76.

³⁴ U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, Philippine Bureau of Civil Service, *Seventh Annual Report*, 117.

While Filipinization of the civil service offered Filipinos material and monetary benefits, it also served the American colonial state. It reduced administrative costs and demonstrated to observers that the United States was making good on its promise of preparing Filipinos for self-government. Additionally it preempted the formation of an educated but unemployed, and therefore discontented, populace. J.S. Furnivall marveled that the Philippines during U.S. colonial rule had “suffered little from the most pernicious form of wastage in tropical education, the production of an unemployable intelligentsia.”³⁵ It is because of the high employment rate of educated Filipinos that American colonial education did not produce a strident anti-American anticolonialism among this group. Until the 1930s, when the Philippine economy, tied to the United States, felt the effects of the Great Depression, educated Filipinos found an outlet for their talents and training in the civil service.

The Colonial Bureaucracy and Changes in Class, Space, and Time

The expansion of the colonial bureaucracy and its heavy recruitment of Filipinos changed Philippine class structure. According to Daniel Doepfers, Filipinization of the civil service created a “modern bureaucratic career pathway and the formation of an indigenous bureaucratic middle class.”³⁶ U.S.-trained Filipinos like Francisco Benitez, Jorge Bocobo, and Camilo Osias were at the forefront of this bureaucratic class, having been able to secure leadership positions early on. To a large extent, Benitez, Bocobo, and Osias were pioneers; the native bureaucrat intellectual had not existed in the Philippines until American rule. Although Spain had introduced bureaucracy in the Philippines, the Spanish colonial bureaucracy was much smaller and nowhere near as present in Filipinos’ lives as the U.S.-instituted colonial bureaucracy. O.D. Corpuz notes that the Spanish colonial bureaucracy had little presence outside Manila besides revenue officials and the Spanish Civil Guard. “In contrast,” Corpuz writes, “the new government not only had revenue officials; it had public health, school, police, and engineering officials at the provincial, and even town levels.”³⁷ The Spanish colonial bureaucracy was also not professionalized. *Peninsulares* who received Philippine appointments were what Corpuz calls “proprietary bureaucrats”; men who received land and rights to collect tributes and taxes. They were generally not salaried, and they often bought their appointments.³⁸ Last, Spain preferred to rely on the military and the Church to run the Philippines. Clerics, not clerks, were its most ubiquitous representatives.

If the Spanish colonial bureaucracy was a relic of the sixteenth century, the American colonial bureaucracy was wholly a product of the twentieth. Compared to the Spanish colonial bureaucracy’s medievalism, the American colonial bureaucracy was positively Weberian: rational, hierarchical, rule-governed, file-driven, and reliant on full-time experts.³⁹ Indeed, with the American Philippines the colony was much more bureaucratized than the metropole. Each bureau within the Philippine Civil Service was broken down into smaller units such as division,

³⁵ J.S. Furnivall, *Experiment in Independence: The Philippines*, ed. Frank N. Trager (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), 61.

³⁶ Doepfers, *Manila, 1900-1941*, 2.

³⁷ Onofre D. Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1997), 224.

³⁸ Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines*, Studies of Public Administration No. 4 (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1957), 24, 27.

³⁹ Max Weber, “Characteristics of Bureaucracy,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 196-199.

province, district, and municipality. Within each bureau was a chain of command with directors, assistant directors, and chiefs on top, and secretaries and clerks at the bottom. All authority, procedures, and policy came from the main bureaus in Manila, to which local offices and provinces had to respond. Innovations made at a local site, such as a new method for rice cultivation or teaching sewing, were directed back to the central office in Manila.⁴⁰ The central office would then review these new methods and, if approved for archipelago-wide use, circulate them back out to the rest of their divisions and local offices.

The organization of the colonial bureaucracy oriented Filipino civil servants towards the Philippines as a national unit. Working for a smaller local or division branch, Filipino bureaucrats understood themselves to be part of a larger central bureau, one that had offices throughout the archipelago. Headquartered in Manila, the Bureau of Education had representation at the provincial level through division superintendents, and then in each municipality, town, or barrio through its network of schools, local superintendents, and teachers. One government brochure proudly explained the bureau's hierarchical organization:

The secretary of public instruction, who is a member of the Philippine Commission, has charge of many insular activities, among which is education. The director of education, who is chief of the insular bureau of education, is charged with the executive administration of the entire school system. Two assistant directors share with the director of education the many responsibilities of school administration. The entire group of islands is further divided into 38 school divisions, each with its own division superintendent responsible to the director of education. Each division is further subdivided into supervision districts in charge of supervising officials who are similarly accountable to the division superintendents. Finally, the local school principals and classroom teachers work under the immediate direction of the district supervisors.⁴¹

Those working for a bureau, whether at the central or local offices, became aware of how they were connected to their bureau's other branches and sites, as well as the whole network of the colonial state. In a brochure made available at the 1915 Panama Pacific Exposition, the Bureau of Education provided an organizational chart (figure 4) that visually depicted how the bureau was tied to both the insular government and the U.S. government.

⁴⁰ Bureau of Education, *The Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: Marnell and Company Press, 1915), 48. According to the Bureau of Education, "Through such central control all of the schools may, in the shortest possible time, profit from the educational advances made in widely separated sections, and the remotest and most backwards districts may receive the same benefits as do the more central and progressive localities."

⁴¹ United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Rural and Agricultural Education at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, by H.W. Foght (Washington, DC: GPO, 1917), 86-87.

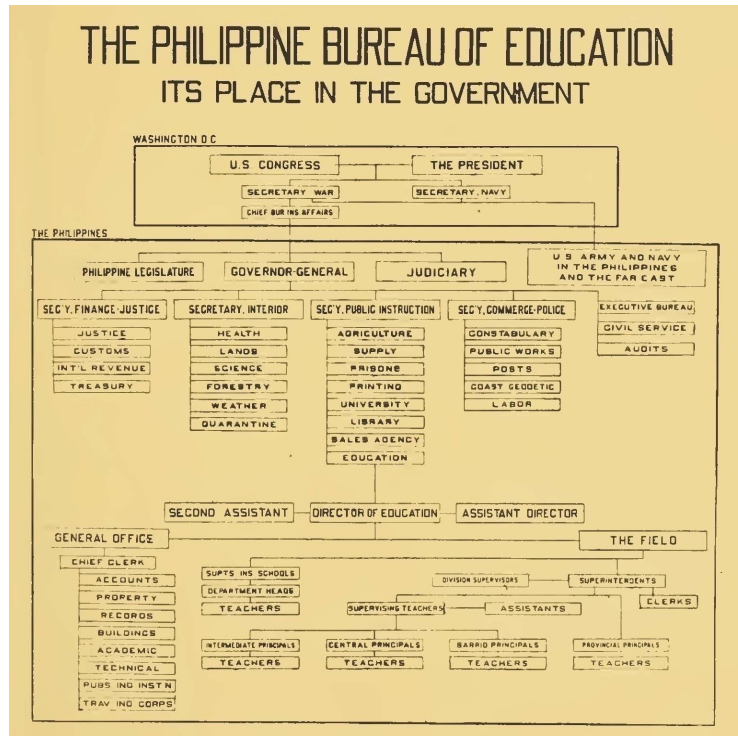


Figure 4. 1915 Organizational Chart of the Philippine Bureau of Education from *Philippine Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition*.

This chart, produced for an American fair-going audience, attempted to communicate the modern efficiency of the insular government, its rational organization, and its clearly demarcated roles. The organizational chart reveals the triumvirate that headed the Bureau of Education: the Director, Assistant Director, and Second Assistant Director. The director reported to the Secretary of Public Instruction, who in turn reported to the Governor-General, the executive head of the islands. The bureau was divided into a General Office, which was in Manila and handled archipelago-wide administration and operations, and “The Field,” which was composed of the individual school divisions. With such a chart, a civil servant or teacher working for the Bureau of Education could see how his or her individual office or school district connected to other divisions, the central office, and the Department of Public Instruction at large. Additionally, the communications that the bureau produced—the circulars, memoranda, and bulletins that were distributed to each division and school—reminded bureau employees that they were part of a national corps. Teachers’ magazines such as *The Philippine Teacher*, later renamed *Philippine Education*, announced the arrivals of new teachers from the United States, the goings-on of teachers in provinces such as Leyte, Samar, Pangasinan, and Bulacan, their transfers and assignments.

Travel was a regular component of work in the colonial bureaucracy, and official visits to other parts of the islands encouraged Filipino civil servants to think in national terms. Observed University of the Philippines professor and former pensionado Maximo M. Kalaw, “One of the merits of our highly centralized school system is the constant and continuous transfer of teachers from one region to another thus creating in the minds of both the pupils and the teachers the idea

of a common country.”⁴² For Filipinos in supervising roles, such as Osias, educational work entailed visiting other sites, branches, or offices. Osias, an Ilocano speaker from the northern part of Luzon, served as the division superintendent of the Tagalog-speaking provinces of Bataan in the southwestern part of Luzon, Tayabas (now Quezon and Marinduque) in the southeast, and the island of Mindoro just north of Palawan.⁴³ Moving from post to post and from province to capital, in what Benedict Anderson has described as a colonial pilgrimage, Osias’ peregrinations acquainted him with other parts of the Philippines, other dialect speakers, and Filipinos of other faiths and traditions.⁴⁴

Work in the colonial bureaucracy reinforced not only a notion of national space but also a new sense of time. While Filipinos were already familiar with calendrical time under Spanish rule—the Spanish instituted the Gregorian calendar as well as the clock—the Philippines was an agricultural country, and the rhythms of farm work informed most Filipinos’ apprehension of time.⁴⁵ Osias, for instance, helped out on the family farm as a young boy. He harrowed the soil and took care of the family carabao, or water buffalo, while his father and older brother plowed the fields and planted rice seedlings. Their work was based on the completion of tasks rather than the fulfillment of a certain number of hours’ work. The type of tasks one completed and when one did them was dictated by nature: the onset of rainy and dry season, or the rising and setting of the sun.⁴⁶ Besides nature, the sacred also regulated their lives.⁴⁷ The church was a literal timekeeper: its bells marked the hours and announced prayer times. In his memoir, Osias fondly remembered hearing the church bells for evening Angelus as this was when his family gathered to pray together.⁴⁸ Besides the church bells, the liturgical calendar, holy feasts, and town fiestas—held on the town’s patron saint’s feast day—would have also marked time for most Filipinos.⁴⁹

In the colonial bureaucracy, however, a human-defined and secular calendar dominated. Rather than an uncontrollable power such as nature or the divine determining what one did and when one did it, manmade rules now dictated one’s work schedule. In much the same way that the civil service’s organization was rationalized, so too was its time. Civil service rules specified that employees in Manila offices were to work from 8am to 4pm, Monday to Friday, with an hour-long break for lunch. For offices that held Saturday hours, the schedule was 8am-1pm.⁵⁰

⁴² Maximo M. Kalaw, “The Dialect in Our Public Schools,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 13, no. 3 (August 1930): 78.

⁴³ Camilo Osias, *The Story of a Long Career of Varied Tasks* (Quezon City, Philippines: Manlapaz Publishing Co., 1971), 132-141.

⁴⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991), 55.

⁴⁵ For Filipinos’ pre-European sense of time, see Resil B. Mojares, “Densities of Time,” in *Isabelo’s Archive* (Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2013), 55-62.

⁴⁶ For more, see E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56-97.

⁴⁷ This is by no means unique to the Philippines, of course.

⁴⁸ Osias, *The Story of a Long Career*, 19.

⁴⁹ Paz Marquez Benitez, wife of Francisco Benitez, also recalls the centrality of farm and church in Filipinos’ lives during her childhood in the late 1890s and early 1900s. These are the first two things she mentions in her recollections of her hometown Lucena. First she describes the main street, Granja Street, named after a parish priest, and then the townspeople, which “were small-landed peasants with close ties to the soil” with “a small farm or several farms.” Next she describes the church and plaza, which were the “hub of the town’s life.” *Paz Marquez Benitez: One Woman’s Life, Letters, and Writings*, ed. Virginia Benitez Licuanan (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995), 15-16.

⁵⁰ Philippine Bureau of Civil Service, *Seventh Annual Report*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 1908), 158.

During the hot season, defined as April 1 to June 15, the workday was reduced to five hours, 7:30am to 12pm.⁵¹ Calendrical time was also imbedded in the civil servants' tasks. There were monthly write-ups, quarterly efficiency and fiscal reports, and annual budgets to create. In this new workplace, what mattered were the number of hours one worked and the completion of tasks by certain regular but meaningless dates—January 1, April 1, July 1, October 1.⁵² Codified with a specificity about hours, dates, and days, the bureaucracy's time schedule was a patently human product. While it can be argued that this bureaucratic time discipline reduced the worker's autonomy over *his* time, there is a sense too in which this strict work schedule asserted human control over time in general. It had a fixedness, rain or shine, which indicated man's determination to contain time. For example, while the civil service accommodated the sweltering summers and observed Christian holidays, it still set the dates and times for these events. The hot season was always April 1 to June 15, regardless of what the thermometer actually said.

Two Filipino short stories from the American colonial period illustrate these two apprehensions of time—the agricultural sense and the more clock-driven one. In Manuel Arguilla's 1937 English short story, "A Son is Born," which is set on a family farm, nearly all of the references to time deal with nature. "It was the year the locusts came and ate the young rice in the fields," the story begins, identifying the year not by its date, but by a plague, and one that had Biblical associations at that.⁵³ Again, note the intertwining of nature and the sacred. The story cues the reader to the passage of time with non-clock-based markers: a late harvest, morning, and dusk.⁵⁴ The story refers to calendrical time occasionally—it mentions months by name, for instance—but in general it relies on the parts of the day, weather, temperature, or the sun and moon to indicate time. Although Arguilla, writing in 1937, arguably romanticized rural life in this story, "A Son is Born" nonetheless provides a sense of how Filipinos understood, or even recalled, the work rhythms of an agricultural existence. Arguilla himself came from a farming family and set many of his stories where he grew up. Moreover, his characters' attunement with nature reflected the reality of many. A training manual for American teachers, for instance, assured its readers that Filipino children would know how to tell time by the position of the sun.⁵⁵

Deogracias A. Rosario's 1930 Tagalog short story, "Greta Garbo," on the other hand demonstrates the clockwork tempo of a more urban and "modern" life. The main character, Monina Vargas, is a young woman who likens herself to Greta Garbo. The story begins with Monina anxiously waiting for her lover at the train station and checking the time over and over. In contrast to Arcilla, Rosario described time in this short story with quantitative precision: Monina sees that it was seven forty-five in the morning, looks at the newspaper for two minutes,

⁵¹ Philippine Bureau of Civil Service, *Tenth Annual Report* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), 27.

⁵² These were the dates when quarterly efficiency reports were due. See Philippine Civil Service Board, *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board to the Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands and the United States Philippine Commission for the Year Ended September 30, 1903* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 44.

⁵³ Manuel E. Arguilla, "A Son is Born," in *Philippine Literature: A History and Anthology*, ed. Bienvenido Lumbera and Cynthia Nograles Lumbera, rev. ed (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 1997), 143.

⁵⁴ Arguilla, "A Son is Born," 143.

⁵⁵ H. C. Theobald, *The Filipino Teacher's Manual* (New York: World Book Co., 1907), 169.

and panics when she realizes that there are ten minutes left before her train leaves.⁵⁶ As time is the main driver of “Greta Garbo’s” plot, it is unsurprising that clocks and watches appear so prominently. However, Rosario also offered up “Greta Garbo” as a critique of an Americanized lifestyle and the emergence in the Philippines of the “modern girl.” Monina is enthralled with Hollywood, is athletic, dates men without a chaperone, and prefers jazz over Tagalog love songs or *kundiman*. In “Greta Garbo,” Rosario depicted the modernity the Philippines was then experiencing through the express train, Hollywood, sports, and Monina’s showy and materialistic lifestyle. In this world, one strikingly “modern” and “American” in contrast to the world of “A Son is Born,” the kind of time that animated people and events was clock-based.

Facts support these fictional recreations of the new time regime. Filipinos’ consumption patterns during the 1910s and 20s evince an increasing orientation towards clock-based time. In 1908 the Philippines imported clocks, watches, and timepiece parts, worth \$44, 952 or P89, 904, from the United States, Europe, and Japan.⁵⁷ By 1913, the volume had increased to \$128, 203 (P256, 406), and in 1928, to \$430, 347 (P860, 694).⁵⁸ Filipinos could buy a watch for as little as three pesos, though many models could still cost between P20-40 (\$10-20), or about half a month to a month’s salary for a civil servant in the lowest pay grade making the maximum.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, watches were becoming more affordable. If before time was to be found in nature or the sacred, now it was more and more in one’s personal possession, worn on one’s wrist, kept in one’s pocket, and displayed in one’s home. The individual became the timekeeper.

This growth in the clock and watch trade was a symptom of the Philippines’s growing dependence on the United States for trade. The colonial relationship, the increasing affordability of mass-produced watches and clocks, and the purchasing power of certain sectors of Filipino society made the trade in timepieces possible. But crucial too was Filipinos’ desire to be modern, to own luxury goods and to be as technologically equipped as other parts of the world.⁶⁰ This is not to reinforce the colonialist notion that Filipinos were somehow primitive prior to the advent of American rule; rather, watches, like many imported luxury goods, were objects of modernity for them, symbolizing technological advancement, sophistication, and cosmopolitan élan. In her study of Manileñas’ consumption of beauty treatments, Western fashions, and home appliances, Raquel Reyes has argued that imported beauty products and home goods formed the “technological infrastructure of the good life,” and that such objects manifested Filipinas’ desire for “prestige, status, cosmopolitanism, modernity, and urbanity” both during the end of the

⁵⁶ Deogracias A. Rosario, “Greta Garbo,” in *Philippine Literature: A History and Anthology*, ed. Bienvenido Lumbera and Cynthia Nograles Lumbera, rev. ed (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 1997), 138-39. Translations mine.

⁵⁷ Bureau of Customs, *Annual Report of the Acting Insular Collector of Customs for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1909* ([Manila], 1909), 67.

⁵⁸ Bureau of Customs, *Annual Report of the Bureau of Customs and of Foreign Commerce of the Philippine Islands for the Year Ended December 31, 1916* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1917), 62; *Annual Report of the Insular Collector of Customs for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1928* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1929), 111.

⁵⁹ Watch prices taken from an advertisement on the front cover of the July 1915 *Philippine Education* magazine. Class K, the lowest pay grade in the civil service, guaranteed an annual salary of P480 or less, or P40 a month. It is important to note here that, while many Filipinos at this pay scale earned P480 (it was, for instance, the rank with the second largest number of Filipino employees), this amount was the upper threshold. Some Filipinos in this class earned less than P480, some as low as P100 a year.

⁶⁰ In doing so, Filipinos in the early part of the twentieth century were perhaps following what Oliver Wolters has identified as one pattern common across Southeast Asian polities—a desire for being “up-to-date.” See O. W. Wolters, “Southeast Asia as a Southeast Asian Field of Study,” *Indonesia* 58 (October 1994): 3.

Spanish era and the bulk of the American colonial period.⁶¹ Timepieces can be said to be part of this infrastructure. Additionally, many of the new appliances and gadgets arriving in the Philippines, such as the sewing machine, camera, and phonograph, as Nick Joaquin has noted, were objects that engaged with time by saving it, capturing it, or repeating it.⁶²

The colonial bureaucracy fostered an awareness of national space and an orientation towards clockwork time. These two elements contributed to U.S-educated Filipinos' thinking about the nation during the 1910s and 1920s. The organization of the colonial bureaucracy, which civil servants could see and read about in charts, reports, and circulars, underscored the notion that the Philippines was indeed a nation. While Filipinos could look at a map and see for themselves that the Philippines was a bounded and defined geographic entity, institutions like the colonial bureaucracy showed it to be internally connected as well. The time discipline of the bureaucracy, meanwhile, promoted an understanding of time as uniform, value-neutral, and containable. What these new interactions with time and space contributed to was a new sense of the possible—that man could control his environment and his fate. This outlook was important to thinking about the nation. In essence, it made more real the idea that Filipinos could steer the course of the nation.

A New Sense of the Possible

At a more granular level, the type of everyday work performed in the colonial bureaucracy contributed to a new sense of the possible. The practical application of knowledge was a key feature of bureaucratic work for the most highly trained Filipinos. While revising the curriculum for the whole archipelago, Osias relied on the educational theories of his professors at Teachers College: Paul Monroe, E.L. Thorndike, David Snedden, George Strayer, and John Dewey.⁶³ In designing curriculum, Osias recalled, “I drew heavily on what I learned from Dewey, Monroe and others. . . . I proceeded vigorously with the making of an enriched curriculum which should be practical and elastic to be the source of contents of schooling for the cities, towns, and barrios.”⁶⁴ In this bureaucratic world, knowledge was to be put into action. One explicit instance of this was in the colonial bureaucracy's handling of the cholera outbreak of 1902. The government laboratories, which were later organized into the Bureau of Science, used research on benzoyl-acetate peroxide to combat the disease and develop more effective treatments.⁶⁵ Measurement, documentation, standardization, communication, and efficiency were the order of the day, and civil servants were trained to understand that through such methods could they solve problems.

If the operating philosophy of the Philippine Civil Service was rational efficiency, its main task was problem-solving: of illiteracy by the Bureau of Education, of the cattle virus rinderpest by the Bureau of Science, of cholera by the Bureau of Health. Literacy campaigns, efforts to develop a rinderpest vaccine, and sanitation measures to control the spread of cholera were projects that spoke of a confidence in man's ability to actively control and improve his

⁶¹ Raquel A.G. Reyes, “Modernizing the Manileña: Technologies of Conspicuous Consumption for the Well-to-do Woman, circa 1880s–1930s.” *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 195.

⁶² Nick Joaquin, *Manila, My Manila* (Makati City, Philippines: Bookmark, 1999), 249.

⁶³ Osias, *The Story of a Long Career*, 138.

⁶⁴ Osias, *The Story of a Long Career*, 138.

⁶⁵ U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Report of Government Laboratories of the Philippines Islands for the year ended August 31, 1902* (From the Report of the Philippine Commission) (Washington, DC: GPO, 1902), 560-61.

environment. Eradicating these problems had a higher purpose, as well: they were understood to contribute to the modernization of the Philippines, and in so doing, to its national development.

As previously mentioned, Filipinos under Spanish rule did not have significant opportunities to participate in colonial administration. This changed under American rule when Filipinos found a way to participate in the running of the Philippines through the civil service. While Filipinos could participate in national politics through the Philippine Assembly and provincial governorships, the work of the civil service arguably impacted national affairs more than did political office. Assemblymen might enact legislation or push for certain bills over another, but it was civil servants who had to execute those acts on the ground. The civil service also drew from a wider socioeconomic base whereas success in Philippine national and even provincial politics often required a stature that only a prestigious family name and wealth could provide.⁶⁶ Finally, high-ranking civil servants had at times greater latitude to execute projects of their own design. As a division superintendent, Osias was able to Filipinize the teaching force of his respective divisions, design citizenship education curriculum, and make recommendations for industrial education that would take effect archipelago-wide. Filipino bureaucrats, both in small and large ways, were thus very much a part of Philippine nation-building, even if it was a colonial type of nation-building. They saw themselves as being directly involved in the modernization of the country, in improving its infrastructure, implementing democratic institutions, or in educating its youth in the ways of responsible citizenship.

On the whole, U.S.-educated Filipinos in the colonial bureaucracy placed their faith in science, rationality, and modernization.⁶⁷ This outlook they shared with their predecessors, the 19th century *ilustrados*, who, like them, had pursued western education. The West was for them, as it was for the 19th-century *ilustrados*, the center of modernity, though increasingly for this generation it was the United States that they turned to rather than Europe.

Having learned the current theories about racial progress and the development of civilizations, U.S.-educated Filipinos understood history to be progressive: the trajectory of a nation or people was towards increased freedom, economic development, and greater scientific knowledge. They were not the only Filipinos to think this way; as Resil Mojares points out, post-revolutionary non-U.S.-educated intellectuals like Rafael Palma and Teodoro M. Kalaw, contemporaries of Osias and Benitez, also believed in science and modernity and understood history as progressive.⁶⁸ Though Palma and Kalaw were critical of Americanization, they nonetheless saw the early twentieth century as the dawning of a new age.⁶⁹

American colonial rule was that new age, and the colonial state's large scale modernization projects helped convince many Filipino intellectuals—both U.S.-trained figures like Osias and Benitez and non-U.S.-educated thinkers like Kalaw and Palma—that Philippine

⁶⁶ See Michael Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), especially chapter 5, "Emerging Provincial Politics," pp. 143-71.

⁶⁷ By modernization, I mean here what Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar identifies as "societal modernization," which possesses the following features: "the growth of scientific consciousness, the development of a secular outlook, the doctrine of progress, the primacy of instrumental rationality, the fact-value split, individualistic understandings of the self, [and] contractualist understandings of society." See Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "On Alternative Modernities," *Public Culture* 11, no. 1 (1999): 2.

⁶⁸ Resil B. Mojares, "Time, Memory, and the Birth of the Nation," in *Waiting for Mariang Makiling* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 283.

⁶⁹ Mojares, "Time, Memory, and the Birth of the Nation," 279.

progress was in fact happening. In the 1880s, *ilustrado* nationalists charged that Spanish misrule had held back the Philippines. In his treatise *El Progreso de Filipinas* (1881) Gregorio Sanciano had denounced, for example, the lack of “roads, bridges, railroads, and public works to promote agriculture,” and the poor state of education on the archipelago.⁷⁰ The American colonial state’s investment in infrastructure, modern port facilities, the expansion of schools, and the implementation of hygiene and sanitation measures were proof to many Filipinos that their country was improving, progressing, and modernizing. To what extent they attributed Philippine progress to American colonial rule varies, but there was nonetheless a felt sense of progress and possibility during the American period.

Manila teacher Emilio Pestaño’s short fictional piece “Dream or Reality” (1909), published in the magazine the *Filipino Teacher*, captures this sense of progress and desire for modernization. Of Manila, a “modern city,” Pestaño wrote: “Its new appearance will call the attention of every tourist, especially those who had been during the last days of Spanish rule.” Signs of industry and progress were everywhere. Manila’s “wide port was filled with innumerable steamships” and “sailors were busy at their work of loading and unloading.”

The black walls of Old Manila were transformed into public gardens and wide avenues. Its dirty ponds were converted into beautiful canals with clean water in which fair ladies who usually considered sport and [sic] injurious to their beauties were now enjoying rowing while others were fishing ...

All the streets of the city were greatly widened, buildings were constructed in modern style, institutions of different kinds were found here and there, factories and shops dotted the banks of the poetical and famous Pasig, electric cars, automobiles, bicycles and vehicles were to be seen running to and fro.⁷¹

In contrast to the Manila of Spanish colonial rule, the new Manila of the early twentieth century, was clean, healthy, productive, industrious, and even more modern.

Along with the doctrine of progress, American colonial education also encouraged individualism and action—the idea that man was the master of his destiny. American educators and colonial officials had found the average Filipino passive and prone to blind obedience. Fred Atkinson contended that the Filipino, being an “Oriental,” was conservative, resistant to innovation, and lacking in initiative.⁷² The Filipino child, meanwhile, was reticent and timid.⁷³ Atkinson and other American colonials attributed Filipino passivity to Spanish tyranny and to their “Malay” or “Oriental” racial origins, which has encouraged fatalism. “The Filipino mind, like that of all other Orientals, is strongly tinged with fatalism, and as a result, he is very much a philosopher,” asserted army officer John Blunt in 1902.⁷⁴ Civics books attempted to redress this fatalism and passivity. Jernegan’s civics textbook, *The Philippine Citizen*, for example, stated that “The good citizen will take an active part in the political life of his country” and that good

⁷⁰ John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895*, rev. ed. (1973; Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 25.

⁷¹ Emilio Pestaño, “Dream or Reality,” *The Filipino Teacher*, April 1909, 16.

⁷² Fred W. Atkinson, “The Educational Problem in the Philippines,” *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1902, 364.

⁷³ Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1905), 267.

⁷⁴ John Y. Blunt, *An Army Officer’s Philippine Studies* (Manila: University Press, 1912), 10. Blunt also described Filipinos as having blind obedience. Teacher Mary Fee found Filipinos to possess a deep sense of fatalism as well. See Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impression of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1910), 237.

citizenship was not just “comprised in obedience to laws” but also in learning about candidates, political parties, and proposed legislation.⁷⁵ The good citizen, Jernegan maintained, would “*inform himself and others by every means about all that relates to the political life of his people.*”⁷⁶ Note here the call for the Filipino to take initiative in his political and civic education. Schools, for their part, tried to encourage students to be more assertive. “Pupils are in school to obtain practical instruction which will prepare them to speak, act, and work for themselves. . . . From the first grade up, pupils should be taught to speak for themselves and be their own advocates,” lectured a division circular in 1928.⁷⁷ School authorities saw Filipinos’ high context culture, where it was common for people to ask for intercession from more influential persons, as a sign of timidity and lack of confidence in one’s own abilities.

Teachers’ magazines thus called on to their predominantly Filipino readership to take action in their lives. The January 1915 issue of *Philippine Education*, formerly published by the Bureau of Education under the title the *Philippine Teacher*, offered several affirmations and dictums that emphasized initiative. “If it’s impossible, do it anyway,” the magazine advised its readers. Another guiding piece, entitled “I Am Learning,” encouraged teachers to think the following:

I am learning that success is a matter of habitual concentration upon higher ideals. I am what I set out to be. The things I read and talk about today and the thoughts I think today are a forecast of what I shall become. . . . I am learning that success lies within myself—in my brain, my ambition, and determination; and that difficulties and hard experience are not to be dodged, but met with courage that they may be turned into future capital.

Finally, a poem, “It All Rests With You,” reminded them that “It’s all up to you to succeed or fail.”

Philippine Education’s self-improvement affirmations and poems espoused hard work, perseverance, and will power. Native proverbs, too, advocated for such personal qualities but with restraint. Some Tagalog proverbs that stressed perseverance and initiative included *Walang mahirap na gawa pag dinaan sa tiyaga*: “Nothing is difficult to do when it is done with diligence”; and *Malapit ma’t di lakarin ay hindi mo mararating*: “Even if the destination is near, if you do not walk towards it you will never reach it.”⁷⁸ When compared to the affirmations from the January 1915 issue of *Philippine Education*, these two local proverbs had less of the egoic and forceful “I” that pushes its way through things. The New Year’s messages from *Philippine Education* spoke to doing the impossible, to pursuing success, and to pushing one’s self to one’s highest potential. While native proverbs shared a belief in hard work and perseverance, they more often counseled caution, prudence, and restraint. For example, in his gloss of one Tagalog proverb, former pensionado Jose Batungbacal wrote, “We should not always act impulsively and

⁷⁵ Prescott F. Jernegan, *The Philippine Citizen*, 5th ed. (Manila: Philippine Education Publishers, 1913), 187.

⁷⁶ Prescott F. Jernegan, *The Philippine Citizen*, 5th ed. (Manila: Philippine Education Publishers, 1913), 187.

Emphasis mine.

⁷⁷ “Self-Reliance,” *Philippine Public Schools* 1, no. 8 (November 1928): 340.

⁷⁸ Jose Batungbacal, “Proverb 138” in *Selected Tagalog Proverbs and Maxims* (Manila: University Publishing Co., 1948), 80; “Proverb 104,” *Selected Tagalog Proverbs and Maxims*, 60. This is a later edition. Batungbacal’s original copyright is dated 1941.

precipitately, but should be cautious and wait for the proper and opportune moment. To do a thing prematurely is to risk unnecessary failure.”⁷⁹

Batungbacal compiled over three hundred Tagalog proverbs for his 1941 book, *Selected Proverbs and Maxims*. Published during the Commonwealth period, a time of intense nation-building and great interest in defining Philippine values, *Selected Tagalog Proverbs and Maxims* arguably comprised of proverbs that Batungbacal considered not only edifying but also distinctively “Filipino.” This collection is striking in that it was produced when the Philippines had been under American rule for thirty years, and that it was written by a U.S.-educated Filipino himself. One might expect the selected proverbs to reflect a more “American” mentality. Many of the Tagalog proverbs in Batungbacal’s book, however, emphasized not so much an end goal such as success, wealth, or glory, but rather patience and diligence to one’s task. Even if Batungbacal had indeed chosen the proverbs that aligned more with values that the American colonial state endorsed, such as thrift and hard work, the proverbs he collected overall lacked the unbridled optimism and individualism found in the messages of *Philippine Education*.

Unlike Batungbacal’s proverbs, the *Philippine Journal of Education*’s 1930 message to college graduates echoed the action-oriented and *carpe diem* outlook of the *Philippine Teacher*. In “The New Graduates and The Power to Do,” the journal cautioned Filipino college graduates against using their college degrees as status symbol and instead urged them to see their education as a tool: “Graduation should mean that the graduate is not only a better person because of the education he received, but a more useful person because he is conscious of his responsibilities as a member of the family, as a neighbor, and as a citizen. The young graduate of our schools should above all, be distinguished by his greater power to *do rather than by a greater knowledge*, for the Filipinos greatly need this power to translate ideas into action, to be prepared and ready to take on an active and useful participation in the work, life, and progress of our country.”⁸⁰ This linking of education and action appeared again in the *Philippine Journal of Education* two months later when Ignacio Villamor, the first Filipino president of the University of the Philippines, spoke of the necessity of using education to solve social ills. Villamor asserted that the “knowledge of the things of nature, of the laws that govern them, and of their reapplication in life” would “diminish misery and make existence more lovely.”⁸¹ It was, Villamor continued, “precisely as men acquire this knowledge [of applying natural laws to social problems]” that “the realization of his proper destiny is in his hands.”⁸² For Villamor this realization was crucial. It was only when men realized that they had the power to control their destiny that they could effect change.

What these writings reveal, in their call to action, is a belief in the efficacy of the individual. Contrast this outlook with that of the Tasio in Jose Rizal’s *Noli Me Tangere* (1887). An eccentric gentleman scholar, Tasio devotes his time to reading the classics and the ancients, becoming equally knowledgeable in Eastern mysticism, classics, Shakespeare, and ancient Filipino customs and writings. He is one of the novel’s most liberal and educated characters. When the protagonist Ibarra, newly returned from Europe, attempts to build his hometown a school, Tasio is pessimistic about its feasibility. He tells Ibarra that the plan would fail unless

⁷⁹ Batungbacal, “Proverb 84,” in *Selected Tagalog Proverbs and Maxims*, 49.

⁸⁰ “The New Graduates and the Power to Do,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 10 (March 1930): 409.

⁸¹ Ignacio Villamor, “To The Memory of Rizal,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 13, no. 1 (June 1930): 5. Villamor was not educated in the United States.

⁸² Villamor, “To The Memory of Rizal,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 13, no. 1 (June 1930): 5.

Ibarra won the backing of local religious authorities. Tasio describes a system so entrenched in abuse, apathy, and corruption that reformers like Ibarra risked losing their heads. “The reforms which emanate from the higher places are annulled in the lower circles, thanks to the vices of all . . . Plans will remain plans, abuses will still be abuses,” Tasio declares.⁸³ Additionally, he tells Ibarra that he can do nothing to change the system: “The field in which you wish to sow is in possession of your enemies and against them you are powerless.”⁸⁴ The Philippines that Rizal presents is one whose abilities are constrained. The Philippines of Benitez and Villamor’s time, however, appeared to them dynamic, changing, and progressing even though it was still under foreign rule.

Perhaps the novel that best represents the themes of action and individualism is Juan C. Laya’s prize-winning novel *His Native Soil* (1940), which Laya intended as a deliberate homage to *Noli Me Tangere*. In this English-language novel, written while Laya himself was a pensionado at the University of Indiana, Laya presents readers with Martin Romero, an Ilocano who has spent eleven years in the United States and who has voluntarily chosen repatriation.⁸⁵ He is a fictional representation of the self-supporting Filipino, the working student who is neither a pensionado nor a private student living off his family’s money. Martin studied business at the University of Washington. Like Ibarra in *Noli*, Martin seeks to reform his hometown with the knowledge he has gained abroad. He introduces modern notions of health and hygiene—for instance, he insists that his sickly father use a fork instead of his hands when eating, as this is more sanitary—and capitalist business practices. If Ibarra’s dream was to build a school, Martin’s is vertical integration: he envisions his family, which for generations has only grown rice or leased rice lands, becoming involved in the processing, sales, and distribution of the crop. This dream disappoints Martin’s father, who wishes to see his son take the government exam instead and work in the civil service. “You are a college graduate,” Don Venancio, Martin’s father, protests. “You come from ’Merica! A government job—that’s what you should have.”⁸⁶ Martin soldiers ahead with his business plan, to which his family acquiesces. Martin’s individualism is shown through his stubbornness and willingness to ignore his family’s wishes: “Sometimes it was best not to reason with them [his family]; he would merely start doing what he thought best to do and overrule objections with a stubbornness harder than their set notions.”⁸⁷ To run the business, he implements impersonal procedures that offend his relatives for these new rules seem to indicate a lack of trust. To them, there was no better guarantor of their trustworthiness than the fact that they had given their life’s savings to help Martin. Nonetheless, Martin insists on uniform procedures and documentation, seeing in dispassion the only way to ensure the business’s success. He explains that in order to run the business effectively and to be fair, he must “respect no age, no blood relation. Sentiment has ruined many a business, and that would be especially dangerous here in a community where families are so closely knit.”⁸⁸ Martin

⁸³ Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, [*The Social Cancer*], trans. Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), 195-196.

⁸⁴ Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, [*The Social Cancer*], trans. Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), 197.

⁸⁵ After the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934, the United States government passed the Filipino Repatriation Act in 1935. This provided for the free transportation of Filipinos living in the United States who wished to return to the Philippines, and was seen as a solution the Filipino immigration problem.

⁸⁶ Juan C. Laya, *His Native Soil*, rev. ed. (1940; Quezon City, Philippines: Kayumanggi Publishers, 1972), 127.

⁸⁷ Laya, *His Native Soil*, 66.

⁸⁸ Laya, *His Native Soil*, 206.

represents the Filipino who has adopted American rugged individualism, modern efficiency, and impersonal rationality. In the end, Laya shows the incompatibility of these values and practices to the “native soil”; they may be transplanted by a figure like Martin, but they cannot successfully take root.

The contrast between Benitez’s faith that Filipinos could control their destinies and Rizal’s ambivalence about the possibilities of reform and revolution, displays a shift in thinking among Filipino intellectuals between the Spanish and American periods. Without a doubt, Rizal was a man of action himself; in his own life he carried out Ibarra’s plans of building a school by starting one in Dapitan while he was in exile, and he also founded a mutual aid society, *La Liga Filipina*, which sought to empower Filipinos through education, the provision of loans and credit, and self-defense. *Noli Me Tangere* is itself Rizal’s call to action. As Caroline Hau points out, anticolonial nationalist literature such as *Noli Me Tangere* “in fact, yokes together two powerful imperatives—the imperative to truth, and the imperative to action.”⁸⁹ However, Rizal did not have the same kind of optimism that Benitez and his contemporaries possessed; instead he saw a long struggle ahead for Filipinos, cautioning against premature independence. “Why independence, if the slaves of today will be the tyrants of tomorrow?” he wrote famously at the end of *El Filibusterismo*, the more radical of his two novels.⁹⁰ For Benitez, however, independence was a foregone conclusion. With the passage of the Jones Act in 1916 and the Philippines’ continuing modernization under American rule, it seemed that the Philippines was nothing if not solidly on the path towards nationhood.

Conclusion

Filipinos had much to be optimistic about in the 1920s. Their country was showing signs of measurable progress. Indeed, in the years before World War II, the Philippines enjoyed the highest standard of living in terms of per capita income, life expectancy, and education out of any of the Southeast Asian colonies.⁹¹ As they prepared for independence, Filipinos turned to the question of Philippine national identity and unity. With their country twice colonized, what to make of the Philippines’ foreign influences? And with the people of the Philippines following different religious faiths, speaking in different tongues, and practicing different cultural customs, what was the basis of Filipino nationality? These questions were important if the Philippines was to become a full-fledged modern nation.

⁸⁹ Caroline S. Hau, *Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation, 1946-1980* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 8.

⁹⁰ Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo [The Reign of Greed]*, trans. Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), 361.

⁹¹ Anne Booth, “Measuring Living Standards in Different Colonial Systems: Some Evidence from South East Asia, 1900-1942,” *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 5 (2012): 1178-79.

Chapter 6

Nation-Builders: Filipino Educators and Notions of Nationhood

On May 4, 1929, Jose Teodoro, a professor at the University of the Philippines' College of Education and a former pensionado, delivered an address at the National Federation of Teachers' annual convention. Entitled, "The Unifying Influence of Education," Teodoro's address extolled the public schools' role in creating Filipino solidarity. Teodoro declared that they had provided Filipinos with a common language such that Ilocanos and Tagalogs could now understand one another. He was referring, of course, to English. Teodoro noted too that thanks to the "more or less uniform courses of study and textbooks . . . there is being gradually awakened the national consciousness—the spirit of solidarity—of the Filipino people which is becoming more and more pronounced every day."¹ In short, the schools, through English and a standardized curriculum, were helping to create the "sentiment of nationality" that the Schurman Commission in 1900 had found lacking among the Filipino people.

In that same address, however, Teodoro also cautioned against education's promotion of Filipino nationality. He found that the current curriculum tended to glorify the Philippines without much reflection on its deficiencies. In his view, this uncritical patriotism was a mistake. He declared, "The undesirable should be studied and exposed not with the idea of following them but rather in order to effect an improvement upon them. . . . A system of education that emphasizes the study only of the good and ignores the bad qualities of a people is based upon a nationalism that is as false as it is obnoxious." What the current curriculum was heading towards was a narrow-minded insular nationalism. Teodoro instead called for a "sane nationalism" that would "also admit the teaching of good foreign materials and ideas." He proposed that in doing so, a "new Filipino mentality may emerge which will be able to stand the test of our modern social life."²

Teodoro's address illustrates the problems and questions about Filipino nationality and nationhood that occupied intellectuals, educators, and other public figures during the 1920s and 1930s. It reveals a questioning of the nationalist colonial curriculum and of the role that foreign — specifically *American* — influence should play in Philippine society. In essence, intellectuals and educators were concerned with what it meant to prepare Filipinos for nationhood and achieve their full potential as a people. What did it mean to achieve "the sentiment of nationality" and at the same time modernize? Did it mean that they should root themselves in indigenous customs, traits, and traditions, or did it mean that they should adopt certain foreign practices and perspectives to keep pace with the rest of the world's nations? Teodoro and many U.S.-educated Filipino educators and intellectuals championed the latter over the former, but others with the same background challenged them as well. Whatever their stance, intellectuals and educators of the 1920s and 1930s understood their line of work to play a crucial role in preparing the Philippines for independence. They worked on projects to carve out the contours of Philippine national identity and to propagate *filipinism*, a cultural form of Philippine nationalism.³ In executing these projects, they had the backing of the American colonial state.⁴

¹ Jose Teodoro, "The Unifying Influence of Education," *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 1 (June 1929): 45, 64.

² Ibid.

³ Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (March 2006): 15.

Indeed, many of these figures, even if they were critical of Americanization, were well ensconced in colonial institutions like the University of the Philippines or had studied in the United States. Thus, they were full participants in the American colonial project, and it was through that project that they began to define Philippine culture and national identity.

This chapter examines U.S.-trained Filipino educators' and intellectuals' participation in the colonial project and how they understood, defined, and debated Filipino nationality. U.S.-trained educators and intellectuals like Jose Teodoro were significant players in the effort to promote Philippine culture, history, and identity precisely because they occupied important positions in education and within the American colonial structure itself. As such they had the purview to direct public schools and design curriculum. Through their scholarship, teaching, and debates with one another, they also shaped the public's understanding of the Philippines. Their participation in the colonial project and their role as educators points to a central argument of this chapter: what became accepted as "Filipino," whether it was a national history, traditions, or values, was born in the crucible of American colonial education.

In making this argument, the chapter builds on Resil B. Mojares's finding that Filipino nationality was invented in the American colonial period. In "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule," Mojares identifies several institutions, intellectual projects, and cultural productions through which Filipinos in the U.S. era began to define what was "Filipino." In doing so, Mojares rightly looks at a wide variety of state agencies as well as contributors, such as artists, writers, and musicians, who helped promote and define Philippine nationality. He also examines the entirety of the American colonial period, 1900-1946, resulting in a rich and broad survey. This chapter's focus is more particular. It isolates U.S.-trained Filipinos who worked in education to demonstrate their central role in imagining and defining the Philippine nation. More than any other elite group or cultural producer in Philippine society, it was U.S.-trained Filipino educators and intellectuals who determined "national" qualities and traits and who promulgated *filipinism* to the greatest number of people. This chapter also branches off from Mojares's work by concentrating on the decade and a half before the Commonwealth period. It was during these years when Filipinos felt it necessary, more than ever, to prove to the United States that they were a "true" nation and ready for independence. Consequently, these fifteen years were filled with intense discussions about the nature of Filipino nationality.

A "National" Problem

Before launching into Filipinos' work defining the Philippine nation and national identity, some contextualization is necessary. First, it must be stressed that the central question for Filipino intellectuals during American colonial rule was that of the nation. Their concerns ran the gamut from conceiving of ways to modernize the Philippines and making it more self-sufficient to trying to determine who the Filipino people were and what constituted their nation. The latter problem of defining nation was especially keen because the notion of a Filipino nation was still new. At the turn of the twentieth century, Filipinos' understanding of "nation" was still in formation.⁵ They called it *bayan*, a flexible term meaning municipality, province, or

⁴ Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule," 15.

⁵ I derive this idea from Mojares's discussion of the years leading up to the Philippine Revolution as being occupied by a "politically inchoate but moral conception of *bayan* ('nation')" which later evolved into a more "state-like" structure during the revolution. See Resil B. Mojares, "Time, Memory, and The Birth of the Nation," in *Waiting for*

ethnolinguistic territory.⁶ Equally new was using “Filipino” to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippines (whom the Spanish derogatorily called *indios*) and mestizo populations. In original Spanish colonial usage, a “Filipino” was a Spanish creole, and the word was almost never used to describe *indios* or mestizos. It was the nineteenth-century nationalists, Rizal most notably, who appropriated the term and applied it to *indios* and mestizos. This new usage of “Filipino” did not immediately catch on in the Philippines, however.⁷ In Rizal’s time, many people still referred to themselves by their ethnolinguistic group.⁸ Thus at the beginning of American colonial rule, imagining the Philippines as a “nation” and its people as “Filipino” was still nascent.

In addition to the incipience of the concepts “nation” and “Filipino,” Filipino national identity was also not well-defined. Rizal’s generation was not animated by an ethnic nationalism that might have sharply articulated national identity.⁹ Instead, their national consciousness was at first the outcome of assimilationist demands for the Philippines to be a full-fledged province of Spain. When discussions turned to Filipinos’ cultural traits, characteristics, or even racial origins, the nineteenth-century nationalists’ objectives were to assert Filipinos’ dignity, capacity, and equality with the Spanish rather than the distinctness of a separate Philippine nationality.

What the nineteenth-century nationalists left unresolved, their twentieth-century successors attempted to settle. During the American period Filipinos began to address the question of basis for their nationality: was it a shared history, racial origins, or culture? This question was salient in part because American colonial rule had justified itself on the grounds that Filipinos were too diverse and divided to form a true nation. The question of nationality became even more pertinent after the passage of the Jones Act in 1916, which stated that the United States would grant the Philippines independence as soon as a stable government could be established. Thus after 1916, there was no longer any question whether the Philippines would become an independent nation, only the question of when. While the act was a victory for Filipinos, it still made the United States the arbiter of Filipinos’ readiness for self-rule, and it underscored once more that Filipinos could not simply “have” independence; they needed to earn it.¹⁰ The Jones Act thus placed the onus on Filipinos to prove their readiness. One criterion was

Mariang Makiling: Essays in Philippine Cultural History (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2002), 272.

⁶ For the historical development and multiple meanings of the concept of *bayan*, see Damon L. Woods, “From Wilderness to Bayan,” (lecture, UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Los Angeles, CA, February 3, 2005), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/24m1q0f9>.

⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2005), 16.

⁸ The folklorist Isabelo de los Reyes, for example, described himself as an Ilocano in the preface of his *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, which was published in 1887, the same year that Rizal first used the term “Filipino” to describe *indios* and mestizos. See Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2005), 16. Similarly, Rizal called his novel *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) a “novela tagala” rather than a “novela filipina.”

⁹ This is not to say that they did not think about ethnicity. The nineteenth-century nationalists and *propagandistas* did devote time to uncovering Filipinos’ ethnic origins and identified the ancient Filipinos—the indigenous inhabitants that the Spanish found upon contact—as belonging to the “Malay” race. See Filomeno V. Aguilar, “Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (August 2005): 605-637.

¹⁰ As Anne L. Foster has noted, the United States has measured foreign populations’ fitness or unfitness for self-government by those populations’ behavior. See Anne L. Foster, *Projections of Power: The United States and Europe in Colonial Southeast Asia, 1919-1941* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 2-3.

to show they were a “true” nation that had achieved unity and the “sentiment of nationality.” Other criteria included practical experience in politics, government, and administration; a degree of economic self-sufficiency and industrial development; the institution of modern health and educational facilities; and nation-wide transportation and communication networks.¹¹

With the promise of independence, the nation was uppermost in Filipinos’ minds, especially among intellectuals and educators. These figures concentrated on defining the Philippine nation, its history, identity, and culture. Contemporaneous nationalist movements in Europe, which tended to base nationality on ethnicity and language, likely contributed to this self-reflection. But an even larger contributor was the Philippines’s history of having been twice colonized, which created an anxiety about the nature of Filipino national identity. Many aspects of Philippine life and culture bore the influences of Spain and the United States. Were they to look to other parts of Asia in the 1920s, Filipinos would have seen the anti-western overtones in their neighbors’ nationalist movements. Japan, of course, was one exception; it had modernized by adopting some aspects of the West. But the Japanese nonetheless seemed to have a strong national character that was identifiably “Japanese.” To Filipinos who wished their country to follow in Japan’s footsteps, Japan appeared to have struck the right balance between westernizing and retaining its customs and traditions.¹² By contrast, Filipino observers felt their population somehow lacked a quintessential Filipino identity and was too quick to adopt the customs and habits of another culture. In 1927 one wrote, “The Filipinos can assimilate more readily than any of the Oriental peoples. This is one of the natural gifts which distinguishes us from others. We should be proud of it. But the trouble is that we do not make use of it properly by assimilating only good things and rejecting undesirable ones.”¹³ After the Jones Act, Filipinos worked to define a Filipino identity that could encompass the archipelago’s varying languages, cultures, and faiths as well as make room for the Philippines’ western heritage. One way to do this was education. In seeing education as a means to fix national loyalty and instill national consciousness, Filipinos in the American period, particularly those who worked in the field of education, were not so different from earlier American colonial policymakers.

Filipinizing the Curriculum

In the same 1929 address before the National Federation of Teachers, Jose Teodoro detected the increasing Filipinization of the public school curriculum. The educator concluded that the reason behind the curriculum’s Philippines emphasis was to promote national sentiment and pride. After all, as a people preparing for independence, Filipinos naturally wanted to “exalt their own heroes, to have and respect their own history, to perfect their own virtues, and to establish their own code of morality.”¹⁴

Teodoro was not mistaken in his observation that the public school curriculum was increasingly featuring Philippine topics and materials. In the decade that followed the Jones Act,

¹¹ Usha Mahajani, *Philippine Nationalism: External Challenge and Filipino Response, 1565-1946* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1971), 314.

¹² Many Americans and Filipinos at this time imagined that the Philippines could become the next Japan. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera for instance, spoke of a day when “our culture will also shed a luster on this world side by side with that of Japan.” See Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, “The Filipino Soul,” in *Thinking for Ourselves* ed. Eliseo Quirino and Vicente M. Hilario, (Manila: Oriental Commercial Company, 1924), 153. “The Filipino Soul” was a lecture that Pardo de Tavera gave before American and Filipino teachers in 1906.

¹³ Juan A. Veloso, “Yet We Remain Idle!” *The Sunday Tribune* [Philippines], July 3, 1927.

¹⁴ Jose Teodoro, “The Unifying Influence of Education,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 1 (June 1929): 64.

the Bureau of Education revamped the colonial textbooks, replacing many of the old American-authored textbooks with new primers and readers written or co-authored by Filipinos. This overhaul of colonial textbooks provided Filipino educators and intellectuals with opportunities to mold Philippine public instruction. Both in its creation and content, the curriculum was further Filipinized.

The textbook overhaul began in 1916, the same year as the Jones Act, with the Bureau of Education initiating a call for new textbooks on Philippine history and Philippine government.¹⁵ Earlier that year, Gregorio Nieva, a businessman, former politician, and editor of a monthly magazine named *The Philippine Review* (not to be confused with the earlier *Philippine Review* student magazine published in Berkeley), called for a Philippine history written by Filipinos for Filipinos. “It surely does not appear very well for us to read our past and present, and to forecast our future, through foreign pens,” Nieva remarked. “We must realize that the idiosyncrasies of a people, the feelings and instincts of a people can only be properly construed by men of that same people.”¹⁶ Three months later, in the same magazine, Francisco Benitez, director of the University of the Philippines’ School of Education, attacked the primary text on Philippine history, Prescott F. Jernegan’s *A Short History of the Philippines*. Benitez claimed the Jernegan text was inadequate for the teaching of patriotism.¹⁷ That such criticism of the colonial curriculum occurred in the mid-1910s was no coincidence. Filipinos were at this time beginning to occupy leadership positions in the Bureau of Education and in colonial institutions like the University of the Philippines (UP), which provided them with the purview to assess the state of Philippine education. At the same time, Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison’s Filipinization policy, which initially concentrated on administrative Filipinization or the replacement of American personnel with Filipino staff, also encouraged thinking about how to Filipinize in other areas, such as curricular content.

In October 1917 the Bureau of Education approved two textbook manuscripts for Philippine history and civics: Leandro H. Fernandez’s *A Brief History of the Philippines*, and George A. Malcolm and Maximo M. Kalaw’s *Philippine Civics*.¹⁸ These textbooks replaced Jernegan’s *A Short History of the Philippines* and *The Philippine Citizen*. That same year, the first Filipino division superintendent, Camilo Osias, also created a new set of primers for Grades One to Seven called *The Philippine Readers*, which replaced David Gibbs’s *Insular Readers*.¹⁹ David P. Barrows’s *A History of the Philippines* also met its end, being replaced in 1926 with Conrado Benitez’s (brother of Francisco Benitez) *History of the Philippines*. It is significant that all of the new Filipino authors had been pensionados and worked either at the University of the Philippines (UP) or for the Bureau of Education. Table 6 summarizes their education and affiliations. The pattern revealed the extent to which the American colonial state worked closely with U.S.-trained Filipinos. An American degree allowed Filipinos to join the upper echelons of the colonial state and therefore become its sanctioned “nation-builders.”

¹⁵ Bureau of Education, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1917), 22.

¹⁶ Gregorio Nieva, “National Geography and History,” *Philippine Review*, January 1916, 38.

¹⁷ Francisco Benitez, “Social Demands Upon Our Schools,” *Philippine Review*, April 1916, 42.

¹⁸ Bureau of Education, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1918), 40.

¹⁹ Malini Johar Schueller, “Colonial Management, Collaborative Dissent: English Readers in the Philippines and Camilo Osias, 1905-1932,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 17, no. 2 (June 2014): 178.

Table 6. Filipino Textbook Writers' Education and Affiliations

Name	Education	Affiliation/Employment in Philippines
Conrado Benitez	University of Chicago	Dean, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
Leandro H. Fernandez	Tri-State College (Angola, Indiana) University of Chicago Columbia University	Professor of History, University of the Philippines
Maximo M. Kalaw	Georgetown University University of Michigan	Dean and Professor of Political Science, University of the Philippines
Camilo Osias	Western Illinois State Normal School Teachers College, Columbia University	Division Superintendent, later Second Assistant Director, Bureau of Education

Source: Zoilo M. Galang, ed., *Builders of the New Philippines*, Encyclopedia of the Philippines, vol. 9 (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1936).

At the same time, Filipinos who had not been trained in the United States also revised and designed new textbooks. While the colonial state favored former pensionados and other U.S.-educated Filipinos, it did not exclusively award them textbook contracts. Non-U.S.-trained Filipinos also participated in the textbook overhaul, but it is significant to note that they themselves still had close ties to the colonial state or were firmly housed in a colonial institution like UP. Two such figures that deserve mention are Norberto Romualdez and Francisca Reyes. Romualdez, a Philippine Supreme Court Justice, was about a decade older than the Benitez, Fernandez, Kalaw, and Osias and thus was too old to benefit from the pensionado program. However, his scholarly interest in Philippine languages, as well as his close working relationship with the colonial state, qualified him as a textbook writer and contributor. Romualdez helped revise *The Philippine Progressive Music Series* by including traditional songs.²⁰ Francisca Reyes, meanwhile, was a decade younger than Benitez, Fernandez, Kalaw, and Osias, but like Romualdez also worked on cataloging Philippine folk culture. While a master's student at the University of the Philippines, she compiled games and dances from throughout the Philippine

²⁰ See Thomas P. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and Philippines: American Songs of War and Love, 1898-1946* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 205; Mellie Leandicho Lopez, *A Handbook of Philippine Folklore* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 15.

archipelago. She used this collection for her 1927 thesis, which was later published for use in the schools as *Philippine Folk Dances and Games*.²¹ Romualdez and Reyes's textbooks contained songs about rice cultivation, games similar to hopscotch and hide-and-seek, and harvest dances. They helped promote Philippine culture and cultivate a sense of national identity without challenging American colonialism.

To a certain extent the new textbooks departed from the American-authored textbooks of the early 1900s by being much more Philippines-focused. The differences were most apparent in history and civics textbooks. While the earlier textbooks had attempted to present local conditions and encourage students to identify with the Philippines, they were nonetheless Eurocentric. In their coverage of Philippine history, for example, Jernegan and Barrows discussed the Protestant Reformation, the Age of Discovery, and the Enlightenment. By contrast, the new textbooks increased coverage of the Philippines, placing Filipinos at the front and center of their history, and at times even subtly challenging American colonial rule.²² Along with Osias, two other prolific Filipino textbook writers merit close study: Leandro H. Fernandez and Conrado Benitez. Besides the two aforementioned history textbooks, Fernandez and Benitez wrote or co-wrote several other texts such as *The Story of Our Country* (Fernandez), *Philippine Civics: How We Govern Ourselves, Philippine Social Life and Progress, Stories of Great Filipinos*, and *Philippine History in Stories* (Benitez).

Fernandez and Benitez's texts differed from the earlier textbooks in their localism. In *A Brief History*, Fernandez made extensive use of native terms and place names. Terms like *simbahan* (church), *anito* (a spirit), and *salambao* (fishing net) appeared in regular type and with

²¹ Mellie Leandicho Lopez, *A Handbook of Philippine Folklore* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 232. Francisca Reyes would later be sent to the United States for advanced studies by the University of the Philippines. She attended Boston University. National Centennial Commission, Women Sector: Task Force for the Librarians' Group, *Filipino Women Writers and Their Works* (Manila: National National Centennial Commission, Women Sector: Task Force for the Librarians' Group, 1999), 29. While I focus on Reyes here because her work helped canonize certain games and dances as "Filipino," Reyes was not the only Filipina to write textbooks for Philippine public schools. Paz Policarpio Mendez, an instructor at the University of the Philippines, edited and compiled the *Philippine High School Readers* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1932). These readers contained essays or literary works by Filipinos, such as Jose Rizal and Dean Jorge Bocobo, alongside writings by Americans. Sofia R. De Veyra, wife of Resident Commissioner Jaime C. De Veyra, helped author *Character and Conduct* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1932) along with Carmen Aguinaldo Melencio. This textbook, which stressed patriotism in a few passages, replaced Gertrude McVenn's *Good Manners and Right Conduct* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1918). For more on the textbooks used in the primary grades, see the appendices in Ma. Lina Nepomuceno-van Heugten, "From the Baldwin Primer to the Monroe Survey, A Short History of Public Elementary School Textbooks, 1901-1932," *The Journal of History* (Philippine National Historical Society) 48, no. 1-2 (2010): 28-61. Last, Encarnacion Alzona, a professor of history at the University of the Philippines, wrote several monographs on Philippine history. Two that appeared during the period of direct American colonial rule were *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932); and *The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic, and Political Status, 1565-1933* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1934). Alzona's monographs were generally for a scholarly readership rather than for primary or secondary school students.

²² In particular, see Roland Sintos Coloma and Malini Johar Schueller's work on Camilo Osias. Roland Sintos Coloma, "Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling under United States Rule, 1900-1910" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2004); "Care of the Postcolonial Self: Cultivating Nationalisms in *The Philippine Readers*," *Qualitative Research in Education* 2, no. 3 (October 2013): 302-327; "Disidentifying Nationalism: Camilo Osias and Filipino Education in the Early Twentieth Century" in *Revolution and Pedagogy: Interdisciplinary and Transnational Perspectives on Educational Foundations*, ed. E. Thomas Ewing (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 19-37; and Schueller, "Colonial Management, Collaborative Dissent."

little explanation.²³ Some of the early textbooks, by contrast, placed indigenous terms in quotes or italics and provided pronunciation guides.²⁴ What is important to note here is the assumption that lay behind such choices. Fernandez drew upon terms that were used in students' everyday life and assumed his readers would readily understand a word such as *simbahan* or *anito*. Philippine terms were not foreign and exotic, but instead quite normal and quotidian.

This insistence on the normativity of the Philippines was part of an intellectual reconquest of Philippine history. Conrado Benitez's *Philippine History in Stories* (1928) is perhaps the best example of this effort. Foregrounding Filipinos in his narrative, Benitez emphasized Filipino agency, the richness of Filipino culture and its non-European influences. The very first chapter of *Philippine History in Stories*, entitled "The Crowning of a Malay King," described a ritual undertaken by a Brunei sultan wherein the sultan must change clothes four times before he is crowned. Benitez wrote that each costume represented the four different cultures that influenced the Malay race: Indian, Chinese, Arab, and their own. Filipinos, Benitez explained, originated from the Malay race and thus were also influenced by Indian, Chinese, and Arab civilizations. With this chapter, Benitez asserted a Filipino identity that was not wholly beholden to the West.

Whereas the early textbooks' predominant historical actors were either Spanish or American, Benitez and Fernandez portrayed Filipinos as taking an active part in the shaping of Philippine history. Filipino soldiers had fought alongside the Spanish to defend the islands against the Chinese and the British, and it was a Filipino, not a Spaniard, whom the conquistadores depended upon for their cannons.²⁵ The new textbooks presented conflicts between Filipinos and Spaniards, and later, Americans, as between evenly matched, rational actors. For instance, Fernandez explained how Filipinos practiced civilized warfare during the Philippine-American War, and that it was only with Antonio Luna's death and Aguinaldo's retreat north that Filipinos resorted to guerilla tactics.²⁶ Where American authors depicted rebel leaders Diego Silang and Apolinario de la Cruz as hot-blooded, superstitious, and self-serving traitors, Filipino authors instead portrayed them as men troubled by Spain's oppression of their people.

Additionally, Fernandez and Benitez left some events in Philippine history open to students' interpretation. In *A Brief History of the Philippines*, Fernandez explained that with the exception of combatants in the Philippine-American War Filipinos in general did not continue to fight for independence after 1898 because of the law on treason and sedition. The author wrote the law was "perhaps necessary." By describing the law in this manner, and keeping his discussion brief, Fernandez questioned the 1901 Sedition Law's validity and opened the matter up to students' interpretation. In the textbook's review questions, Fernandez invited students to think about the Sedition Law by asking them why the Filipinos did not continue to fight the United States for their independence.²⁷ The answer, based on Fernandez's telling, would be the Sedition Law. Students could then interpret the Sedition Law's impact in two ways: one, that

²³ Leandro H. Fernandez, *A Brief History of the Philippines* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1919), 63, 69-70.

²⁴ A case of this would be Adeline Knapp's *The Story of the Philippines* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1902). While Jernegan's *A Short History of the Philippines* eventually became the standard text for the primary grades, the Bureau of Education did order copies of Knapp's history in 1903. See Bureau of Education, *Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1904), 74.

²⁵ Conrado O. Benitez, *Philippine History in Stories* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1928), 71, 78-81, 87.

²⁶ Leandro H. Fernandez, *A Brief History of the Philippines* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1919), 269-270.

²⁷ Leandro H. Fernandez, *A Brief History of the Philippines* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1919), 291, 307.

Filipinos were absolved from not taking up arms against the United States as they were following the law, and two, that the law was harsh enough that it demanded compliance. Fernandez had described Filipinos as being afraid of breaking the law. Either way, Fernandez's treatment of the Sedition Law implied that Filipinos might have continued to fight for independence had the law not been enacted.

The Filipino-authored history textbooks were not radical texts. They were still colonial textbooks and therefore in many ways replicated the narrative of older textbooks. In their histories for the primary grades, Fernandez and Benitez also concentrated on the Spanish period and presented colonial relations between the U.S. and Philippines as being of friendship and partnership. Like the earlier authors, they also minimized the violence of the Philippine-American War. Benitez described it as a "misunderstanding" between "two former friends," while Fernandez portrayed it as a war that Filipinos were "sorry" to have to fight.²⁸ No doubt that since these textbooks had to be approved by the Bureau of Education they had to be fairly innocuous. In his preface to *A Brief History*, Fernandez admitted that he omitted controversial topics.²⁹

While the textbooks gave Filipinos a starring role in their own history, they still favored western knowledge and ideas of "progress," "rationality," and development. The works were consistent with Reynaldo C. Ileto's analysis of Conrado Benitez's *History of the Philippines*, which Ileto finds not so different from Barrows's because it presented Filipinos' uprisings and revolution as politically immature. According to Ileto, Benitez still plotted Philippine history along Western lines and narrated it such that Spanish and American colonial rule were almost necessary stages in Philippine national development.³⁰ Nonetheless, we see in these new histories an attempt to localize Philippine history, assert Filipino agency, and rescue the Filipino reputation. What had bothered Filipino critics of the early textbooks was the ability of those texts to teach the "sentiment of nationality," and it is in this realm that Fernandez's and Benitez's books excelled. However, the "sentiment of nationality" that the new textbooks promoted was not political in the sense that they did not attempt to inculcate in students a sense that colonialism was somehow wrong or that the Filipinos should eject the United States. Instead the new textbooks attempted to instill a sense of Filipino-ness, national loyalty, and pride in the Philippines. It was a cultural and civic nationalism produced from within the structure of American colonial rule.

The embeddedness of Philippine nationalism within American colonialism can best be seen in the language of the textbooks: English. As Fernandez, Benitez, and others were producing textbooks for the public school system and its mandated medium of instruction was English, it is not surprising that they wrote in this language. The effect of writing history and civics textbooks in English, however, meant that Filipino students developed their understanding of the Philippines through a language they used only during school hours. In this case, one might ask how effective these textbooks were in teaching Philippine patriotism. Additionally, by being in English the new textbooks continued to divorce Philippine languages from national identity. Fernandez might sprinkle Tagalog terms throughout his text, but *A Brief History of the Philippines* was still an English-language textbook.

²⁸ Conrado O. Benitez, *Philippine History in Stories* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1928), 189; Leandro H. Fernandez, *The Story of Our Country* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Co., 1927), 141.

²⁹ Leandro H. Fernandez, *A Brief History of the Philippines* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1919), v.

³⁰ Jose Teodoro, "The Unifying Influence of Education," *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 1 (June 1929): 64.

The Filipino textbook authors' use of English points to the new language's ascendance in the intellectual scene. By the mid-1920s, English had become the language of "modern," scientific knowledge, of academic discourse, and even of Philippine nationalist expression itself.³¹ It is uncertain whether Fernandez and Benitez would have written their textbooks in a Philippine language if they had had the option.³² For many Filipino intellectuals reared in the American colonial educational system and trained in the United States, English was the language in which they had learned to produce scholarship, and many preferred to communicate their ideas in it.³³

Over the years, proposals for, and debates over, the use of Philippine languages as the medium of instruction had cropped up. In 1908 the Philippine Assembly passed a bill requiring schools to use local languages for instruction, but the Philippine Commission vetoed it. Eight years later, an intense debate between University of the Philippines law professor Jorge Bocobo and division superintendent Camilo Osias flared up about using English as the language of instruction. Bocobo criticized the current policy, warning that English would attenuate the youths' sense of being Filipinos. Osias defended it, citing the expediency of using one common language for instruction. Even in these debates, Bocobo and Osias—both former pensionados—still used English to argue their points. Additionally, as Maria Teresa Trinidad P. Tinio demonstrates, the two educators still relied on Western knowledge, its experts, and its prevailing pedagogies, as a metric by which to understand language and education.³⁴ The point here is that many of the important discussions and portrayals of the Philippines made *by* Filipinos for nationalist purposes happened in English and within the belly of American colonial institutions.

The textbook revisions that followed the passage of the Jones Act is significant for two reasons. First, they provided Filipinos the opportunity to define "national" identity, history, and "Philippine" culture. As Mojares has noted, American colonial rule provided space for Filipinos to define and investigate Philippine national culture and identity. The Bureau of Education, University of the Philippines, and National Library and Museum are just some of the institutions that provided Filipino intellectuals with the resources and latitude for these nationalist projects.³⁵

Their direct involvement in these efforts points to the second significance of the textbook overhaul: Filipinos' willing participation in the American colonial project and the complexity of

³¹ Barbara S. Gaerlan has shown, for instance, that English became the language through which Filipinos expressed national sentiment in these years. These Filipinos, however, would be those who were highly educated, like Benitez and Fernandez. See Barbara S. Gaerlan, "The Consolidation of English and the National Language Debate," chap. 3 in "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines: The History of English as the Medium of Instruction and the Challenge Mounted by Filipino" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998).

³² Conrado Benitez did favor the use of vernacular languages as the medium of instruction in the primary grades and to promote nationalism. See Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines: The History of English as the Medium of Instruction and the Challenge Mounted by Filipino" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 142-43.

³³ Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use," 155-162.

³⁴ Maria Teresa Trinidad Pineda Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English: Language Politics in the Philippines during the American Colonial Period" (PhD diss., National University of Singapore, 2009), 195.

³⁵ According to Mojares, the American colonial government tolerated this cultural nationalism because it was "confident" in its "partnership" with the Filipino elite and thus "had relaxed restrictions on expressions of nationalist opinions by the second decade of the century." Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule" *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (March 2006):16.

that participation. American colonial rule gave educators and intellectuals like Fernandez and Benitez the opportunity to tell Philippine history from the Filipino perspective; yet, they had to do this from within the confines of the colonial bureaucracy. We can explain the lack of overt challenges to American rule by, first, their close ties to the colonial state, and second, that Filipino intellectuals in the American period were largely resigned to U.S. rule.³⁶ The passage of the Jones Act guaranteed independence, and there was no need to depict American colonial rule as unjust. Moreover, the textbook writers of the 1920s and 1930s understood their generation to be the generation of Filipino leaders that would finally bring the Philippines to nationhood. With such an understanding of their time and place, they would not privilege events such as the Philippine Revolution or the Philippine-American War as the height of Philippine history and achievement. There was more work to be done. As Fernandez wrote at the end of *The Story of Our Country*:

We have done much since 1901, the year in which Mr. Taft became governor of the Philippine Islands. During this time, Americans and Filipinos have worked together for our native land. They have built new roads and bridges; they have made our schools better; they have driven away cholera, smallpox, and other dangerous diseases from our country; they have increased farming, trading and manufacturing. So you see that they have made our people happier. But there is still much for us to do. Every Filipino must do his work well. We owe this to our people. In this way, our land will continue to be the Pearl of the Orient.³⁷

The Place of the West in the Philippines

In defining what made the Philippines “Philippine,” writers, intellectuals, educators, and politicians had to wrestle with the Philippines’ western heritage. Their relationship with the West was complex. In general, many early twentieth-century Filipinos did not balk at their country’s westernized aspects. While they had rejected Spanish rule, they nonetheless took pride in their country’s Spanish cultural patrimony: Catholicism, European-style education, and Spanish-influenced arts and music. These institutions and products, though of foreign origin, had become “Philippine” over time. And in many instances, what was considered “Philippine” were those art forms, fashions, or practices that emerged from European contact: *rondalla* music or the *pasyon* plays—syncretic re-enactments of Christ’s passion—for instance. In pro-independence literature, Filipinos often stressed that the Philippines was the only Christian nation in the Orient and that it had the first and oldest university in Asia: the University of Santo Tomás—which, they liked to remind Americans, was older than Harvard. From their perspective, the features of the Philippines with western origins made the islands more advanced, modern, and “civilized” than neighboring countries and peoples. Moreover, many Filipinos understood the possession of western forms, knowledge, or technologies as a form of social and cultural capital.

This is not to say, however, that all Filipinos embraced the West without question. Rather, early twentieth-century Filipinos, especially those who sought to modernize their country, saw what Vicente Rafael calls “the promise of the foreign,” or the ability of western

³⁶ Resil B. Mojares, “Time, Memory, and the Birth of the Nation,” in *Waiting for Mariang Makiling* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 286.

³⁷ Leandro H. Fernandez, *The Story of Our Country* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Co., 1927), 151-152.

knowledge, forms, and practices to enhance life and national formation. In looking at late nineteenth-century Philippine society, Rafael has found that for educated Filipinos, foreign goods, technologies, capital, and ideas “brought the promise of the colony’s transformation. They circulated the expectation of society becoming other than what it had been, becoming that is, modern in its proximity to events in the metropole and the rest of the ‘civilized’ world.”³⁸ During the American period, the promise of the foreign persisted but it now leaned towards the United States. Filipinos’ pursuit of an education in the United States was one example of this persistence, as was the genuine admiration for American democratic ideals. Nonetheless, critiques of the foreign appeared too. Many intellectuals and public figures criticized the Americanization of Filipinos, most notable among them Lope K. Santos, Rafael Palma, and Teodoro M. Kalaw (brother of textbook author Maximo M. Kalaw). Whereas cultural products and practices of Spanish origin could become “Philippine,” those of American provenance, being new and set in opposition to local or Spanish-influenced customs and traditions, stood out as alien. Most importantly, Americanization commenced at the same time that Philippine self-assertion was at its height. It thus met resistance from moral conservatives, traditionalists, and *hispanistas* or Filipinos who identified strongly with the islands’ Spanish heritage.

Critiques of Americanization

One early critique of Americanization was the derision expressed towards returning pensionados, such as that presented in the editorial “Snake in the Jungle” (see chapter 5). Already palpable in the early 1900s, the fear that Filipinos were perhaps becoming too Americanized grew stronger in the 1920s as American goods, fashions, and entertainment forms flooded the Philippines. Filipinos could buy American products like Singer sewing machines, Kodak cameras, and Carnation evaporated milk. *Bodabil*, or vaudeville, replaced the *zarzuelas*, a popular form of native theater, and the old *zarzuela* theaters in turn morphed into movie houses that screened the latest Hollywood films.³⁹ Women began alternating between the *baro’t saya* or Maria Clara dress, named after the mestiza heroine of *Noli Me Tangere*, and western-style dresses called *vestido*. Men discarded the *baro*, a loose embroidered shirt made of pineapple or abaca fibers, for the *amerikana* or shirt, jacket, and tie.⁴⁰ Of the change in women’s fashion and beauty routines, one columnist remarked: “I know it was imported from abroad. The Philippines and the United States, as you know, have a free trade both in fashion and products. . . . That is another reason why I want independence, — to stop free trade.”⁴¹

To conservatives, college students and coeds embodied the worst kind of Americanized Filipino. Editorials and cartoons deplored the transformation of the young Filipina from a demure Maria Clara-type into the “modern girl”—one who bobbed her hair, dabbed on lipstick, wore stockings and slid into skin-tight dresses. Asserted one alarmed Filipino, “everything she

³⁸ Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 5.

³⁹ Though a local film industry developed as well. The first Filipino film, a Tagalog feature called *Dalagang Bukid*, appeared in 1919.

⁴⁰ According to Nick Joaquin, it was during these years that the *baro* shirt became known as the *barong tagalog*, which translates to “clothing of the Tagalog.” Prior to this, the *baro* shirt was known as the *barong lalake de pechera* (“male clothing with chest decoration”). See Ma. Corazon Alejo-Hila, Mitzi Marie Aguilar-Reyes, and Anita Feleo, *Garment of Honor, Garment of Identity* (Manila: EN Barong Filipino, 2008), 51. As the change in nomenclature shows, the *baro’t saya*-turned-Maria Clara and the *baro*-turned-*barong tagalog* had taken on nationalist meanings by the 1920s.

⁴¹ From “In and Out of School” column by “Lady Andrea,” *Sunday Tribune* [Philippines], July 3, 1927.

[the modern Filipino girl] saw in the movies or read in the magazines about her sister in the West, she imitated.”⁴² Her male counterpart, meanwhile, was a regular Joe College who danced the Charleston, played the ukulele, and wore ties, Stetson hats, and loose pants known as “Oxford bags.”⁴³ Editorials, magazine articles, and political cartoons depicted these young modern or westernized Filipinos as garish copycats.

For example, in August 1923 the satirical Tagalog weekly *Lipang Kalabaw* published two cartoons mocking such Filipinos. One cartoon, titled *Alin ang Maganda? Alin ang Kaayaaya sa Dalawa?* (“Which is Attractive? Which is More Delightful of the Two?”), compared two couples, one in western clothing and the other in native dress. The artist gave the couple in western dress coarse and exaggerated features—a clear message that those Filipinos who dressed in foreign fashions were unattractive. The artist also portrayed this couple with a forward-leaning stance that recalled the American emphasis on action. Here, however, the artist translated the American veneration for vigor and activity into boorish overeagerness. Meanwhile, the couple in native dress embodied bourgeois gentility. Their faces, though a bit taken aback by the approach of the couple on the left, were serene and dignified, suggesting self-control. The male wore a striped *barong tagalog*, and the female a Maria Clara dress. The *barong*-attired male had a proportional physique in contrast to the spindly body of the male on the left, while his companion’s narrow stance was demure compared to the wide-legged one of the westernized Filipina on the left. The traditional Filipina exhibited modesty and grace. The cartoon’s artist intended for readers to find this couple more attractive and more delightful.⁴⁴

Another cartoon, *Estudyanteng Sitsiriko*, or Dapper Student, depicted the shallow, hedonistic lifestyle of urban Filipino youth. This four-panel cartoon presented a young high school student who plied his time chasing girls, playing pool, and watching movies rather than going to school. At one o’clock in the afternoon, the student loitered about “standing like a post” (*pumoposte*), hoping to see his girlfriend pass by. The two made plans to meet at the movies, and the dapper student assured his female friend that “Olrait yes, weting weting” (All right, yes, waiting, waiting”) he would be at the theater. That the cartoonist recreated the student’s accented pronunciation is likely less a criticism of the student’s imperfect grasp of English than a commentary on the student’s attempts to sound American and the awkwardness of the English language’s fit to the Filipino tongue. *Lipang Kalabaw*, after all, was critical of Americanization and proudly published in Tagalog. At two o’clock the dapper student played pool, and at three he met his girlfriend. According to the text, when the two arrived at the theater, they had the physical intimacy of a married couple (*pumasok n’a halos yakap parang mag-asawang libre*), and as the movie played, they imitated whatever they saw onscreen (*kung anu ang pelikula’y ginagayang buong buti*), in this case, kissing. After the movies, the student returned to the billiard hall. Finally, at four o’clock, the dapper student left the billiard hall to rush back to school and catch his classmates before they headed home. In the text, the student was revealed to be frantically asking his classmates what he missed in class and if he was in trouble. The cartoon ended with a message to the dapper student’s parents: “Oh, parents, see how your child lives!” (*Oh, magulang, pagmasdan mo ang buhay ng iyong anak!*). The cartoon proposed that this

⁴² Pablo T. Anido, “Something’s Wrong With Filipino Girls,” *Sunday Tribune* [Philippines], June 5, 1927.

⁴³ Pablo T. Anido, “Something’s Wrong With Filipino Girls,” *Sunday Tribune* [Philippines], June 5, 1927.

⁴⁴ “*Alin ang Maganda? Alin Ang Kaayaaya sa Dalawa?*” *Lipang Kalabaw*, July 18, 1923.

hedonistic and irresponsible lifestyle was the outcome of modern education and Americanization.⁴⁵

Character, Moral Regeneration, and Nation

What the *Lipang Kalabaw* cartoons depict is a concern that Americanization would bring about the loss of character, *national and personal*, among Filipinos. Critics like *Lipang Kalabaw* feared that Americanization would attenuate Filipino national identity. At the same time they also feared that it would lead to degeneracy of the individual Filipino's character. The above cartoons associate Americanization with superficiality, materialism, vulgarity, and irresponsible behavior. Such qualities did not make for a good citizenry.

This linking of foreign influence—as embodied in Americanization—and the corruption of character went as far back as 1887, when Jose Rizal lampooned Filipinos who tried to cast off their indigeneity in *Noli Me Tangere*. In the novel the characters of the cruel Doña Consolacion, and gaudy, social-climbing Doña Victorina represented such Filipinos. Rizal, of course, was not anti-foreign; he preferred instead to take from the West those materials which could improve Philippine life. This stance is evident in the fact that he made the protagonist of *Noli* a mestizo who was recently returned from Spain and who was eager to apply his new knowledge to his home. Through the characters of Doña Consolacion and Doña Victorina, Rizal sought to point out hypocrisy and vulgarity in Philippine society. At the same time, though these characters were reprehensible they were still representations of the Philippines in that they, like the archipelago, had been corrupted by Spanish colonialism.

The idea that the Philippines was somehow in a state of moral degeneration because it had been stunted or corrupted by colonialism held great currency from Rizal's time up to and through the American colonial period.⁴⁶ Both the proponents and detractors of western influence and Americanization held this view. To be clear, they did not think that Filipinos suffered from a congenital immorality; rather they thought that Filipinos had been “held back” from fully developing their faculties. Until Filipinos could achieve self-realization, the nation would be incomplete or weak.⁴⁷ Where critics and supporters of Americanization differed is in their understanding of which path would help Filipinos realize themselves. On the one hand, Filipinos might find moral regeneration in tradition, indigenous customs, and native values. This option would help solidify national character—one that was distinctly Filipino—alongside individual character. On the other hand, they might be able to fully develop their faculties through modernization and selective adaptation of foreign forms. In the 1920s and 1930s, debates about American influence in the Philippines revolved around the question of whether Americanization would produce better Filipinos and model citizens.

Two prominent figures that discussed Americanization's ability to help or harm Filipino character were Francisco Benitez and Jorge Bocobo, both of the University of the Philippines (UP). Francisco Benitez, dean of the university's College of Education was favorable to

⁴⁵ “*Estudyanteng Sitsiriko*,” *Lipang Kalabaw*, August 15, 1923.

⁴⁶ Jim Richardson, *Komunista: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2011), 8, 16.

⁴⁷ A wide range of figures held this view, from the *propagandistas* in Madrid to *ilustrados* in Manila, revolutionary leaders in the Katipunan, and even labor advocates and unionists (*obreristas*). In seeing individual self-realization as being necessary for nation formation, these figures, consciously or unconsciously, were subscribing to *Bildung*. That they did so is consistent with the fact that 19th-century Filipino nationalist thought (as expressed by the *propagandistas* and *ilustrados*) found inspiration in the Enlightenment.

Americanization and the West in general, while Bocobo was more critical. The two were both powerful figures at the university. Benitez not only held a deanship but also had several members of his family working in education. His wife Paz Marquez Benitez taught in the English department and was the Philippines' first English-language short-story writer, while his brother Conrado taught economics and served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts. As discussed earlier, Conrado also wrote several widely used textbooks. His wife, Francisca Tirona Benitez, founded Philippine Women's College, a teacher training school. The Benitezes thus had something akin to a monopoly on Philippine higher education.

Jorge Bocobo, the dean of the law school, was not part of such a clan but his influence was no less great. Even before he became dean, he publicly declared his criticisms of American educational policy and Americanization in general in several media outlets. His debate with Camilo Osias on the English language was one such public critique. Bocobo wanted to promote the study of local customs and traditions so as to shore up Filipinos' sense of national identity and make them culturally independent from the United States. It was Bocobo who encouraged Francisca Reyes in her work cataloguing Filipino folk dances.⁴⁸ Although Francisco Benitez predominated the field of education, Bocobo would outrank him as an administrator. In 1934, he became the third Filipino president of UP, and during the Commonwealth, he served as Secretary of Public Instruction from 1939-1941. Previously, during the years of direct U.S. rule, the American vice governor-general always held this position.

Born within a year of each other, Francisco Benitez (1887-1951) and Jorge Bocobo (1886-1965) belonged to the same generation of pensionados-turned-bureaucrat intellectuals. Bocobo was one of the first pensionados to go to the United States in 1903, while Benitez was a member of the pensionado class of 1905. Prior to their pensionado appointments, Benitez and Bocobo attended the Philippine Normal School in Manila. In the United States, Benitez matriculated at the Western Illinois State Normal School in Macomb, where Camilo Osias was his classmate. Bocobo, meanwhile, went to Indiana University where he studied law.⁴⁹ As discussed in chapter 5, Benitez and Bocobo returned to the Philippines at an opportune time and were readily able to advance within the colonial bureaucracy. They had similar career trajectories and moved in similar circles. Benitez began teaching at the University of the Philippines in 1913, two years after Bocobo, and both educators were promoted to dean within a year of each other. Outside of the university, the two men were both members of the Philippine Columbian Association, a social club for Filipinos who had studied in the United States. In the 1920s and 1930s, Bocobo and Benitez were just entering the prime of their careers: in their thirties by then, they both occupied leadership positions at the university and had established themselves as public intellectuals worth listening to. Francisco Benitez, as we have seen, was publishing essays about education in Gregorio Nieva's *Philippine Review* as early as 1916, and later that year Jorge Bocobo began his famous debate with Camilo Osias in the pages of the *Manila Daily Bulletin*.

The essential difference between Benitez and Bocobo lay in their understanding of how to facilitate Filipino moral regeneration. Like others before them, they considered moral regeneration essential to national development. The Filipino who was disciplined and dutiful, honest and sober would be the good citizen who would contribute to his nation's own strength

⁴⁸ Barbara S. Gaerlan, "In the Court of the Sultan: Orientalism, Nationalism, and Modernity in Philippine and Filipino American Dance," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 2, no. 3 (1999): 263.

⁴⁹ Although he was a normal school graduate, Bocobo took on a job as a law clerk after graduation, which led him to study law once in the United States.

and greatness. Bocobo thought this moral regeneration could be achieved through a firm grounding in what he understood as traditional Filipino values—strong family ties, simplicity, humility, and for women, modesty. Benitez, on the other hand, concentrated on the Filipino traits, values, and traditions that he felt were rooted in superstition, fatalism, and conservatism. The antidote to these anemic traits lay in westernization, specifically in adopting its scientific and problem-solving way of thinking. Despite this difference, the two deans nonetheless bought into the idea that the Philippine nation was still in formation and that Filipinos themselves were still subjects in formation as well. For both, the Filipino was in need of uplift.

Benitez understood Philippine progress to lie in westernization, which he equated with modernization. In particular, he wanted Filipinos to modernize their mindsets and to think in scientific rational terms. He declared: “The way of the West is the way of progress. It is change and movement instead of passivity and quiescence. It is science and investigation instead of fatalism and traditionalism. . . . It is *doing* instead of *being*.”⁵⁰ Here again Benitez propounded an action-oriented philosophy; it was this emphasis on doing, on refusing to settle and on instead constantly striving for improvement that he saw as the key to the West’s success. As Caroline Hau has noted, from the very beginning with Rizal and his peers, the Filipino concept of nation always contained a notion of progress and the perfection of both the nation and the citizen.⁵¹ This notion of nation as a perfectible, forward-moving, and progressing entity influenced Benitez’s thinking about the West.⁵²

In response to the criticism that westernization would weaken Filipino national identity, Benitez held that the West was in fact a part of the Philippines as it had incorporated western elements after three hundred years of Spanish rule. According to Benitez, this assimilation of western elements was something that Filipinos had done willingly to adapt to and survive in the new order. Additionally, the ancient Filipino had only “assimilated those elements of Western culture to which his nature tend or which did no violence to any deep rooted trait.”⁵³ This selective adaptation suggested an affinity between the two cultures and that the West was perhaps not so “foreign” or incompatible with the Philippines after all.

Because progress was paramount to national development for Benitez, he considered the cultural revivalism in Asian and European nationalist movements retrogressive. He argued that revivalist movements in the Philippines only destroyed the possibility for a strong sense of national character as they attempted to excise the longstanding western features of Filipino culture. “Our pride in being Western has been decided unworthy of an Oriental people. Hence

⁵⁰ Francisco Benitez, “National Culture and the Integration of Our Character,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 8, no. 1 (June 1930): 6-7.

⁵¹ Hau finds applicable to the Philippines Terry Eagleton’s observation that nation and nationalism speak to the “full self-realization” of a people. As Hau puts it, “Nationalist rhetoric and practice are grounded in assumptions that basically define the history of the nation in terms of the progressive and complete development of human faculties.” Caroline S. Hau, *Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation, 1946-1980* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 24. Hau shows that early Filipino nationalists, such as Mabini and Rizal, saw the nation as not only the expression of a people’s full self-realization—their achievement of political sovereignty, for example—but also as a vehicle for the individual citizen’s own self-realization.

⁵² Progress and a sense of history, of course, are all concomitant parts of the “nation.” The nation has been understood, for instance, as an advanced stage in the development of a people’s political and social organization. Under this view, the nation is therefore not only a geographic space but also a point in time. One of the paradoxes of the “nation” is that it is at once a stage to be reached—a telos—but it is also something that nationalists typically argue already exists, often in an ethnocultural sense.

⁵³ Benitez, “National Culture and the Integration of Our Character,” 6.

there has arisen confusion in our mind an uncertainty and hesitation that are inimical to stability and strength of national character.” In the end, Benitez reaffirmed the Philippines’ commitment to the West. “Our progress must follow Western lines. There must be no turning back, for it would be a retrogression, to ways that we mistakenly support are our own merely because they are Oriental. We are Oriental by virtue of race and geography, but our faces are set to the West.”⁵⁴

Whereas Benitez understood westernization as modernization, Jorge Bocobo equated it with Americanization and moral degeneration. Consequently, Bocobo believed the key to national strength was the preservation of Filipino traditions, which would promote Filipino moral rectitude. Bocobo acknowledged Filipinos’ material conditions had improved under American rule but argued their moral conditions had declined. The Filipino was “losing his faith in God,” and had “a tendency to imitate American vices and American weakness, instead of American virtues and strength.”⁵⁵ Unlike Benitez, Bocobo was critical of American colonial education. He found that the new system produced graduates who were technically proficient and ready to work, but who were not creative, original, or cultured.⁵⁶ In a 1921 address at UP, Bocobo provocatively suggested to the graduating class that the university had only served to “uneducate” them in that it had encouraged them to “think of nothing but how to accumulate data; hence, their capacity for clear and powerful thinking is paralyzed.”⁵⁷ Bocobo also observed that family ties, the pillar of Philippine life, were dissolving; Americanization no doubt contributed to the “growing freedom of the Filipino woman and the increasing disrespect of Filipino children for their parents.”⁵⁸

At the same time that he thought Americanization led to moral decline (of the individual character), Bocobo also feared that it would subsume Filipinos’ sense of nationality, or their national character, which he located in tradition and local culture. Benitez did not have such concerns. For Benitez, Filipino nationality lay not in tradition, but in Filipinos identifying as “Filipino” and in feeling kinship with one another. Committed to progress and modernization, Benitez worried little about the preservation of tradition and culture. Bocobo, however, thought that the Philippines should preserve, a la Herder, its peculiar genius. He wanted Philippine national identity and culture to remain its own and to not be in the shadow of the West. In doing so, the Philippines could be culturally independent of the United States. In 1925, Bocobo remarked that, “side by side with our campaign for political independence, we should now begin to lay deep and wide the foundations of our own national culture.”⁵⁹ By cultivating its peculiar

⁵⁴ Benitez, “National Culture and the Integration of Our Character,” 7.

⁵⁵ Jorge Bocobo, “Filipino Contact With America,” in *Thinking for Ourselves*, ed. Eliseo Quirino and Vicente M. Hilario, (Manila: Oriental Commercial Company, 1924), 297, 299-300. From an address delivered before the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, September 1923.

⁵⁶ This is in contrast to Spanish education. Spanish, or European-style education, to Bocobo, was more refined and paid more attention to the arts and classics. See “Filipino Contact With America,” 301. As we can see, Bocobo was not necessarily anti-Western, but anti-American. Bocobo saw value and sophistication in a European education, for example.

⁵⁷ Jorge Bocobo, “College ‘Uneducation’,” in *Filipino Essays in English: A Historico-Critical Anthology In Two Volumes, 1910-1954*, Volume 1: 1910-1937, ed. Leopoldo Y. Yabes (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines, 1954), 23.

⁵⁸ Bocobo, “Filipino Contact With America,” 303.

⁵⁹ Jorge Bocobo, “Cultural Independence of the Philippines,” *Filipino Essays in English: A Historico-Critical Anthology In Two Volumes, 1910-1954*, Volume 1: 1910-1937, ed. Leopoldo Y. Yabes, (Quezon City, Philippines:

genius, the Philippines would become a fully realized nation and it could in turn contribute “its genius to the culture of the world.”⁶⁰ Bocobo saw the Philippines as having something to offer the rest of the world, a not uncommon view. Among many intellectuals, there was the hope that the Philippines would bridge East and West and serve as a model for other Asian nations. Both Benitez and Bocobo shared this view. Despite their differences, Bocobo, like Benitez, wanted the Philippines to take its place among the world’s nations but whereas Benitez preferred national self-realization-via-westernization route, Bocobo located the nation’s self-realization in the cultivation of its own traditions and culture.

Bocobo’s nationalism was adamant; he was willing to challenge American colonial rule even at a young age. As a student at Indiana University, Bocobo spoke publicly against the growing influence of the United States, fearing that the conversion of Filipinos to the American way of life would make independence a lost cause. Bocobo used his fluency in English to advocate for the use of the local vernacular languages in the primary grades. His outcry against the lower salaries that returning pensionados received relative to their American counterparts (see chapter 5) indicated a more adversarial relationship with the colonial state than that of Benitez. At the same time, he was a product of that state, particularly its educational opportunities. As Maria Teresa Trinidad Tinio has found, it was in the United States and through its principles that Bocobo sharpened his politics.⁶¹ While Bocobo would not publicly praise the United States in the way that Benitez did, he was still firmly established in American colonial structures, and he would use his position at UP (as well as his American training) to offer a more critical view of American colonialism. While it is easy to label Benitez as someone who fully bought into American colonial education, it is more difficult to place Bocobo. At the end of the day he was a conservative who would work within the colonial system even as he critiqued it.

This debate between modernization and the preservation of traditional morals and values was not unique to the Philippines nor to the 1920s and 1930s. Benitez and Bocobo were continuing an earlier debate that emerged in the beginning of the century between proponents of *filipinismo*—the promotion of Filipino culture—and *sajonismo*, or Anglo-Saxonization, which was also understood as Americanization or *americanismo*. In many ways Benitez echoed the sentiments of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, an ardent *americanista*, while Bocobo shared the views of writer Teodoro Kalaw and former UP president Rafael Palma.⁶² Pardo de Tavera in 1906 had famously defended American education and spoken out against figures like Kalaw, who feared that the new American-style education would corrupt the “Filipino Soul.” Like Benitez, Pardo de Tavera had believed American education would help improve and perfect the Filipino. Palma and Kalaw, meanwhile, thought that rapid westernization would cause Filipinos to abandon long-held values, traditions, and even sense of nationality.⁶³

University of the Philippines, 1954), 31-36. As quoted in Resil B. Mojares, *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel: A Generic Study of the Novel until 1940* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1983), 306.

⁶⁰ As quoted in Theodore S. Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed: Performing in the Filipino/American Diaspora* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 41.

⁶¹ Maria Teresa Trinidad Pineda Tinio, “The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English: Language Politics in the Philippines during the American Colonial Period” (PhD diss., National University of Singapore, 2009), 196.

⁶² Teodoro Kalaw and Rafael Palma were affiliated with *El Renacimiento*, the paper most critical of U.S. government in Philippines. Kalaw even served as its editor.

⁶³ Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 220.

Both Benitez and Bocobo were educated in the United States and active participants in colonial state-building projects and institutions. What explains the different stances of these two intellectuals? It is too simplistic to locate their differences in the “success” or “failure” or American education to take root in each of these individuals. Personality differences and life experiences were significant factors. According to Theodore Gonzalves, Bocobo, being from Gerona, Tarlac, grew up in “a microcosm of cultural activity, commerce, and information—a place where residents claimed complex regional affinities.”⁶⁴ Located in central Luzon and surrounded on all sides by provinces whose inhabitants spoke a mix of languages, Tarlac province was a crossroads for speakers of Ilocano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, and Tagalog. By contrast, Benitez grew up in Laguna, a Tagalog-speaking province, deep in the Tagalog region. His upbringing was in a more culturally and linguistically homogenous location. Tarlac’s multilingual environment exposed Bocobo to the richness and varieties of Philippine languages and local cultures. Later on in life, his Protestant faith may also have contributed to his disdain for materialism and superficiality. At the same time, Bocobo’s background also shared similarities with Benitez’s: both grew up in a Spanish-speaking milieu and came from educated, landholding families.⁶⁵ Bocobo admired certain aspects of Spanish colonial rule. For one, he thought that the education the older generation of Filipinos (the *ilustrados*) had received under it was more sophisticated, refined, and cultured.⁶⁶ Benitez, for his part, wanted to do away with the old and seize the new. As dean of the College of Education, Benitez was no doubt invested in the new methods and pedagogies, imported from the United States by former pensionados like him, and he derived his livelihood from the training of corps of scientifically-informed and “modern” educators. His particular role in education helps explain his openness to westernization.

It would be a gross oversimplification to say Benitez and Bocobo were merely pro- and anti-West, respectively. According to Mojares, the figures Bocobo allied himself with, Rafael Palma and Teodoro Kalaw, were not nativists, but instead favored selective adaptation of what the West had to offer.⁶⁷ Bocobo shared these views as well. This sentiment was apparent in his comment that Filipinos took only American vices and not American virtues. In the end, though they held different views, both Bocobo and Benitez were concerned with nation-building and Filipino uplift.

Debating the Basis of Filipino Nationality

The debate over the effects of westernization in Philippine culture and society overlapped with another debate, that of the basis of Filipino nationality. Intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s sought to prove that Filipinos were a unified people despite the diversity of their languages, local cultures, and faiths. These two debates, of the place of the West in Philippine life and the basis of Filipino nationality, were at their core questions about Philippine national identity. Was the Philippines western or Asian? What gave its people coherence as “Filipinos” besides geography? Was it a shared genealogy, history, or something else?

⁶⁴ Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed*, 41.

⁶⁵ For Bocobo, see Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed*, 41. For Francisco Benitez’s background, see Virginia Benitez Licuanan, ed., *Paz Marquez Benitez: One Woman’s Life, Letters, and Writings* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995), 36-41.

⁶⁶ Resil B. Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (March 2006): 24; Jorge Bocobo, “Filipino Contact With America,” in *Thinking for Ourselves*, ed. Eliseo Quirino and Vicente M. Hilario, (Manila: Oriental Commercial Company, 1924), 301-302.

⁶⁷ Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 222.

With independence guaranteed by the Jones Act, Filipino intellectuals increasingly turned to the question of what the foundation of Filipino nationality was. Their preoccupation came because the U.S. had set the achievement of Filipino “nationality” and unity as a requirement for independence. In terms of who counted as “Filipino,” it was unclear whether this identity was based on ethnicity or affiliation with the Philippines. Again, the nineteenth-century nationalists had been vague on this issue. When Rizal first used the word “Filipino” to refer to *indios* and mestizos in addition to creoles, he expanded the term’s meaning but still associated it with race and ethnicity: a Filipino could be a full-blooded *indio*, Spaniard, or mestizo, which could mean part *indio* and part-Spanish (*mestizo de español*) or part Chinese (*mestizo de sangley*). At the same time, Rizal’s definition indicated that a shared racial ancestry was not a requirement to be a Filipino: a full-blooded *indio* and *criollo*, for instance, would be of completely different ethnic descent but could still be Filipino. That a creole could be a Filipino in Rizal’s view suggested more flexible possibilities.

The reason that shared ethnic descent did not matter so much for Rizal was because he was more concerned with *amor patria*, or love and loyalty to the Philippines. As Floro C. Quibuyen puts it, “For Rizal, what matters is not so much being a ‘Filipino by blood’ but being a ‘Filipino at heart.’”⁶⁸ Hence, a *criollo* but not a peninsular (a Spaniard from Spain) could be a Filipino. The former, by having been born and bred in the Philippines, could possess *amor patria*. Additionally, first and foremost for Rizal was the idea that the Philippine nation should be a moral community.⁶⁹ Unlike the hypocritical and small-minded characters that populated *Noli*, Rizal’s desired moral community would be composed of virtuous citizens who possessed a strong sense of the common good.⁷⁰ Overall, Rizal, along with his fellow propagandistas, envisioned a civic nation where people had *amor patria* and formed a true *communitas*. Elsewhere around the world in the late nineteenth century, ethnicity as the basis of nationality fueled many nationalist movements. In the Philippines, however, the civic vision dominated, largely because Rizal and his peers were greatly influenced by the Enlightenment and its view of the nation as a contractual and voluntary association. As we shall see, this civic notion persisted into the American colonial period.

During Rizal’s time, the civic definition butted with an ethnic vision of the Philippine nation. The late 1880s and early 1890s witnessed the publication of several Philippine histories and studies that identified the ancient Filipinos as Malays, thus advancing a Filipino identity and nationality based on race. As Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr. has noted, “nation flirted dangerously with race” in these histories and here the slippage between *Filipinas* as a civic nation and *Filipinas* as an ethnic nation began.⁷¹ This tension between civic and ethnic notions of Filipino nationhood would impact succeeding nationalists and intellectuals.

⁶⁸ Floro C. Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony, and Philippine Nationalism* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 185.

⁶⁹ Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted*, 166; Cesar A. Majul, *A Critique of Rizal’s Concept of a Filipino Nation* (Diliman, 1959), 2.

⁷⁰ According to Quibuyen, Rizal wanted “to lay down the foundations of the Filipino nation” on “the concept of a national community founded on virtue and sacrifice.” Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted*, 175.

⁷¹ These histories and studies were Isabelo de los Reyes’s *El folk-lore filipino* (1887), Rizal’s annotated version of Antonio de Morga’s *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1889), and Pedro A. Paterno’s trilogy on the ancient Tagalogs, *El Barangay* (1892), *La Familia Tagalog* (1892), and *El Individual Tagalog* (1893). For the early nationalists’ use of race science, see “Tracing Origins: *Ilustrado* Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 630.

In the twentieth century, the discourse of “race” and “civilization” was an important component of American colonial rule and determining whether Filipinos had achieved nationhood. Starting with the Schurman Report, the American colonial state classified the inhabitants of the Philippines into the so-called Negrito, Indonesian, and Malayan “races” and used ethn racial characteristics to determine Filipino capacity for self-government.⁷² The emphasis on Filipinos’ ethnicity and race gained even more currency in the last two decades of U.S. rule, when retentionists—American political leaders who wished to keep the Philippines—pointed to Filipinos’ still-present ethn racial and religious diversity to delay the granting of independence. In response, twentieth-century Filipino nationalists and intellectuals asserted that all Filipinos came from the same race, differences in language and faith notwithstanding. “The imperialists cannot speak of the Filipinos as being composed of heterogenous tribes, for certainly we do not trace our origin separately but from a common Malay stock. We all have a common history and the same customs and traditions prevail all over,” maintained Jose Ledesma Jalandoni in 1913.⁷³ In schools, Filipino youth learned from Leandro Fernandez’s *The Story of Our Country* that “Almost all the people of Luzon, the Bisayas, and Mindanao belong to the Malay race. Therefore Tagalogs and Ilocanos are Malays, and the Bisayans and the Mohammedan Filipinos are Malays also.”⁷⁴ Having established that the Tagalogs, Ilocanos, Moros, and Visayans were all Malays, Fernandez then cast aside these regional, religious, and ethnolinguistic identities. Continued Fernandez, “But we now call ourselves Filipinos. We are all one people.” Fernandez’s declaration of one-ness might have been more of an insistence rather than a statement of what actually was. Nonetheless, for Fernandez and Jalandoni, race was an important tool for proving Filipino nationality and unity. In their view, it was a common Malay origin that united the peoples of the Philippines and made them “Filipino.”⁷⁵ In this way, racial origins served as a proxy for national unity and nationhood.

Insisting that Filipinos were of a single racial origin was especially useful in claiming unity between Christian and Muslim Filipinos. One of the key arguments in retentionists’ arsenal was to claim that Muslims did not want independence. Francisco Benitez hotly contested this allegation in 1930: “There are those who believe that Mohammedans and Christians in our country are not bound by the same historical past, and, therefore, are not united at present in their aspirations for a common destiny. Historians and anthropologists assure us that our people had the same civilization for a thousand years before the coming of the Spaniards.” It was Spanish rule, Benitez claimed, that had bifurcated Filipinos into Christian and Muslim. In the American era, however, “now these two groups of our people, belonging to the same race, are united once again in one mighty effort to strengthen and solidify our national structure.”⁷⁶ The implication was that American colonial rule, through its nation-building efforts (education, a national representative assembly, infrastructure), was helping reunite Christians and Muslims. Additionally for Benitez, Christians and Muslims, having a shared historical past therefore had

⁷² U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1900), 1:13-14.

⁷³ Jose Ledesma Jalandoni, “The Philippine Question,” *The Filipino Student*, January 1913, page 12.

⁷⁴ Leandro H. Fernandez, *The Story of Our Country* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Co., 1927), 6.

⁷⁵ Still they excluded Negritos or Filipinos whom they considered “uncivilized.”

⁷⁶ Francisco Benitez, “Our Educational Policy in Relation to Independence,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 10 (March 1930): 380. Note here, however, that Benitez only included Christians and Muslims in his definition of “Filipinos,” leaving out “primitive” animist groups like the Mangyans and Aeta.

the same historical destiny: nationhood. Using this logic, Benitez insisted that Muslim and Christian Filipinos wanted the same thing, and that was independence.

Although Benitez denied that racial homogeneity was a necessary condition for nationhood, he was drawn to using race to prove the existence of Filipino unity and a common “Filipino” identity. Race seemed to solve the problem of linguistic, regional, and religious differences on the islands. In 1930 he wrote that, “while nationality need not be based primarily on race, . . . in our own case race has been and is a fundamental condition of our national consciousness and solidarity.”⁷⁷ In stressing that race was the fundamental condition of their national consciousness and solidarity, Benitez was calling upon his countrymen to recognize one another as Filipinos and unite. Certainly, his brother Conrado, in a 1926 editorial stressed the importance of Filipino unity for achieving not only political independence, but for being a fully-realized nation too.⁷⁸

Other Filipino intellectuals also stressed the need for unity. For Jorge Bocobo, of particular concern was regionalism. He declared that to “invoke any regional sentiment” was “improper and unpatriotic.”⁷⁹ So great was his repudiation of regionalism that Bocobo softened his stance on the superiority of vernacular languages since language groups often corresponded with a region. He later upheld English as the language that united Filipinos. Of the same mind as Bocobo on regional affinities was educator Ramona S. Tirona of Philippine Women’s College, who affirmed that there was “nothing more harmful and destructive” to the development of national consciousness “than to persist in exaggerating unimportant regional differences.”⁸⁰

To combat regionalism, educators eagerly offered the public school as the vehicle through which Filipinos could achieve a sense of commonality and social cohesion. Cebuano educator Jose S. Reyes, for instance, was convinced that schools would produce a unity in thought among Filipinos and teach them the principles of nationalism.⁸¹ This of course was the same view that American colonial officials held at the turn of the century.

At the close of the 1920s Filipino educators and intellectuals sought to prove Filipino nationality and unity. It was at this time that the Philippines sent delegates, or “independence missions” to the United States to press Washington to set a deadline for independence. It was thus at this time that the need to prove unity and nationality was at its greatest. The intellectuals discussed here turned to race, language, and schools as either proof of a pre-existing unity by blood (in the case of race) or as nation-building agents (in the case of language and schools) that would make hearts and minds beat and think alike. In doing so, they unwittingly subscribed to the Schurman Commission’s contentions two decades earlier that the Philippines needed a common language, unity among its people, and a sense of nationality. They also even prescribed the same solution: education.

Because of their close working relationship with the American colonial state and their subscription to Western methodologies and ideas, it is easy to characterize U.S.-trained intellectuals as collaborators with colonial mentality. However, their situation was more complex. The figures discussed here understood the Philippines as being on the verge of

⁷⁷ F. Benitez, “The Foundations of Nationality,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 1 (June 1929): 14.

⁷⁸ Conrado Benitez, “Will Philippine History Repeat Itself?” *The Sunday Tribune* [Philippines], March 14, 1926.

⁷⁹ As quoted in Gonzalves, 39-40.

⁸⁰ Ramona S. Tirona, “Outgrowing Our Regional Consciousness,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 6 (November 1929): 216.

⁸¹ Jose S. Reyes, “Education as a Means of Unification of the Christian and the Non-Christian Filipinos,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 5 (October 1929): 173, 205.

independence and nationhood, and they understood themselves as having an integral role in their country's self-realization. All educators, they understood their work as that of imbuing their countrymen with national consciousness and of directing Filipinos' loyalties and energies towards the nation. This work, Anthony Smith tells us, is one that intelligentsias in settings with budding nationalist movements often undertake.⁸² It is similar to what the German Romantics thought about the need to subordinate "individual self-determining wills in the collective Will of the community or the state. This was to be achieved by the correct determination of individual wills in through a process of national education in the vernacular language."⁸³ Filipino intellectuals and educators certainly thought that a system of national education in a common (but not vernacular, which they were divided about) language would help channel Filipinos' "individual self-determining wills" correctly. Their circumstances, however, were such that the system of national education was itself a colonial project. If American colonial officials in the early 1900s found that they had to engage with Philippine nationalism, then the Filipino intelligentsia, represented here by educators, had to engage with American colonialism.

Crafting a Civic Nation: Camilo Osias and *The Filipino Way of Life*

In *National Identity*, Anthony D. Smith recalls Friedrich Meinecke's distinction between *Kulturnation*, a "largely passive cultural community," and *Staatsnation*, "the active self-determining political nation."⁸⁴ Smith finds that ethnic intelligentsias in nationalist movements, typically in non-Western polities, sought to turn the *Kulturnation* into a *Staatsnation*.⁸⁵ In the Philippines during the American colonial period, this concern was apparent among intellectuals. It was not enough to assert "Filipino" as a national identity or insist on unity. Common civic values were also necessary to ensure that Filipinos exercised their duties to the future independent Philippine nation-state properly.

One intellectual who took on this task was Camilo Osias. In 1940 Camilo Osias published *The Filipino Way of Life*, a book that aimed at character education and the provision of secular and civic but distinctively *Filipino* values. In doing so, we may understand Osias as attempting to furnish Filipinos with a civic ideology, or "a set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas, that bind the population together in their homeland."⁸⁶ In defining a civic ideology for Filipinos, Osias drew from both his Philippine and American experiences. Osias applied American knowledge and theories, especially those ideas he had acquired at Teachers College, to Philippine conditions. Nonetheless, he sought to identify values common to all Filipinos and which also exuded their national character. *The Filipino Way of Life* was a book that subordinated American knowledge to Philippine needs.

A book such as *The Filipino Way of Life* could only have appeared after 1934, when the Tydings-McDuffie or Philippine Independence Act was passed. This act was the act that finally set a date for Philippine independence. It set aside a ten-year period, to begin in 1935, in which Filipinos would govern themselves and the Philippines would be a commonwealth. Gone would be the appointed American governor-general and in his place instead would be an elected

⁸² Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 64.

⁸³ Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 10.

⁸⁴ Smith, *National Identity*, 10.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

Filipino president. During the Commonwealth, Filipino intellectuals sought to shore up Filipino's sense of nationality and citizenship even more so now that they had a date for independence. Thus, books like *The Filipino Way of Life* appeared. In his preface, Osias explained that once the Philippines was independent, Filipinos would be utterly responsible for the success or failure of their nation. "It is therefore incumbent upon us to formulate a philosophy and adopt a way of life that serves as a guide to the citizen and the nation—a philosophy that gives cohesion to individual and collective endeavor and make life purposive and meaningful," he wrote.⁸⁷

As can be seen in his preface, Osias was looking for a way to ensure social cohesion among Filipinos. Race and a shared historical past was a starting point for the Filipino national community, but in order for it to be an active political community, it needed civic values. Osias was emphatic that a "philosophy" was necessary to ensure the Philippines' integrity as a nation. "Not race, not language, not religion, not territory, important though every one of these is can be the foundation of unity. The enduring foundation, I repeat, lies in a recognition of interdependence and a consciousness of the organic community and continuity of common interests among people and peoples."⁸⁸ For Osias, Filipino social cohesion, or unity, was to be achieved through common interests above all. Osias, like Rizal before him, was concerned with the question of how to instill in Filipinos a sense of the common good. Osias's articulation of what he called a "pluralized philosophy" reflects this concern.

Simply put, Osias's "pluralized philosophy" rested on the idea that an individual moved from egocentrism to sociocentrism as she grew older. This idea bore a striking resemblance to Jean Piaget's theories of childhood development although it is unclear whether Osias was directly borrowing from Piaget or not. Certainly Osias did not use the terms egocentrism or sociocentrism, but it was these concepts exactly that he described. He called egocentrism and sociocentrism the "I" stage and "we inclusive" stage, respectively. With the "I" stage as a singular and selfish outlook, Osias understood the "we inclusive" stage as involving a plural and altruistic mindset, hence his description of the philosophy of "pluralized." Osias likened the transformation from "I" to "we inclusive" to the ripples that formed in a pond: "From the point where the pebble drops, a number of concentric circles form, each broadening and enlarging from center to circumference." He explained that so too did the individual develop. "The concept of a healthy, thinking individual develops, expands, deepens. We say it becomes pluralized."⁸⁹

According to Osias, the evolution from "I" to "we inclusive" happened in four stages: at first a child was completely egocentric, thinking only of herself. Next she became aware of two or three individuals, typically the family. This awareness grew in the third stage, which was when the individual became part of a larger community outside of the family. In this third stage, the individual was still not altruistic. It was in the fourth stage that the individual's sense of humanity expanded to encompass an even larger community, one that included people an individual did not know. In this stage, the individual's sense of "we" was at its highest expression and thus truly altruistic: "One who has reached the extreme 'we' stage is capable of conceiving of humanity as a unified and co-operating whole, as a family. Such a person treats human beings without distinction of race, color, class, or creed."⁹⁰ According to Osias, the fourth

⁸⁷ Camilo Osias, *The Filipino Way of Life: The Pluralized Philosophy* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940), x.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

stage was a rare achievement among individuals, but it was one to which all Filipinos should inspire. As his remarks demonstrate, it was the fourth stage through which Filipinos could develop a sense of unity amidst their diversity.

In formulating this philosophy, Osias turned to Philippine languages' schema of personal pronouns to prove that pluralization, or sociocentrism, was inherently a part of Filipino culture. Using Ilocano, his birth language, as an example, Osias elaborated on Filipino conceptions of society and community by reminding his readers of the four personal pronouns used throughout the Philippines. These included an "I" a "we two," a "we exclusive" (a "we" that does not include the person being addressed) and a "we inclusive" (a "we" that includes the person being addressed). The two forms of "we" were especially important, as they distinguished between the third and fourth stages, and they were pronouns that did not exist in English or Spanish. Thus, the concept of "we inclusive," or *tayo* in Tagalog and *datayo* in Ilocano, was distinctly Filipino.⁹¹ Osias asserted: "We believe the Filipinos, more or less unconsciously for the most part, have been guided by the *Tayo*, or pluralized idea. It is inherent in their language. It pervades their conscious thought processes. It should be ingrained in their being."⁹² It was in language that Osias could locate Filipino conceptions of society and community, and it was through the Philippine languages' uniform pronoun structure that he could pluck out a unity amidst the diversity.

Osias considered the *tayo* idea as being applicable to both individuals and nations, and in this manner he envisioned the *tayo* idea as a philosophy that Filipinos could offer to the rest of the world. Wrote Osias, "To live in the pluralized world is the way of Filipino life. We believe it should be *the way of life* for the individual, for the nation, for like-minded nations, and for humanity."⁹³ Following the *tayo* principle, the individual would develop an awareness of belonging to a nation, and the nation would develop an awareness of belonging to a larger international system. Because it was inclusive, the *tayo* principle would provide a sense of the common good as well as a consciousness of individuals' and nations' dependence on one another. This recognition of interdependence was essential for peace. Writing at a time when the prospect of another world war loomed, Osias was particularly troubled by what he called "chauvinistic" nationalism, a narrow-minded and bigoted sense of national pride that led to international conflict. While he thought that the *tayo* principle was distinctively Filipino, Osias nonetheless thought it was a principle from which the whole world could benefit.

In the pluralized philosophy or *tayo* idea, Osias saw a way to facilitate national cohesion among Filipinos that would still allow, even encourage, them to be aware of other worlds and other peoples. Other U.S.-trained educators, such as Francisco Benitez and Jose Teodoro, who like Osias had warned against a narrow form of nationalism, also wanted this cosmopolitan outlook among Filipinos. In his May 1929 speech before the National Federation of Teachers, Teodoro announced:

What the present and the immediate future needs most is a broader, more cosmopolitan culture. This is especially important in our country that is aspiring for a place in the sisterhood of nations. If we are to lead a successful and independent political existence in

⁹¹ The exclusive and inclusive forms of "we" appear in Austronesian languages, to which the Philippine languages belong.

⁹² Osias, *The Filipino Way of Life*, vi.

⁹³ Ibid.

the future, we must cultivate the good-will of all, especially the nations of Asia. Education for world understanding is the call of the hour.⁹⁴

This desire for “world understanding” and international cooperation was especially strong among the educators and intellectuals associated with Francisco Benitez. These figures, like the generation before them, wanted to see the Philippines as a full member of the modern world. At the same time, aware of Japan’s imperial designs in Asia and the Philippines vulnerable position, they saw it as an outlook necessary for the Philippines’ survival in the international system once the islands became independent.

Besides the *tayo* principle, Osias also identified several essential Filipino traits, positive and negative, which he thought was displayed by all the peoples of the archipelago. On the positive side, these traits were hospitality, modesty, strong family ties, stoicism and resignation, self-sacrifice and dignity and honor, bravery, and love of home. On the negative side were sensitiveness and a penchant for gambling. In enumerating these traits, Osias attempted to offer what made Filipinos identifiably “Filipino” to activate their sense of civic duty and sense of unity. He explained that it was only in knowing who they were that Filipinos could fully realize themselves. In so doing, the nation would be fully realized as well. Hence it was important for Filipinos to know their traits as a people. He wrote, “The people need to find themselves. They must know the soul of the nation. When the citizens are conscious of the national spirit, when the nation has come more clearly to see and appreciate its own soul, efforts will become more coherent, activities will become more purposive, and life in all its aspects will become richer, more meaningful, and more abundant.”⁹⁵ He hoped that his articulation of the pluralized philosophy would help Filipinos know themselves, triumph over their negative traits, and help the nation remain “wedded to the philosophy of right and justice”—in short, to be a moral community.⁹⁶

The Filipino Way of Life displayed Osias’ assimilation of American knowledge and his adherence to the action-oriented philosophy discussed in chapter 5. In it, for instance, Osias declared that “all citizens must be prepared for active participation in group activities” and that “participating, thinking and doing” were all part of the pluralized philosophy.⁹⁷ Of greater influence to Osias, however, was the concept of social efficiency, an idea that he picked up from his professors at Teachers College. Osias drew from John Dewey’s interpretation of social efficiency. Rather than the vocational education-oriented notion of efficiency that David Snedden advanced, John Dewey defined social efficiency as the “capacity to give and take of experience” and the “socialization of mind which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others.”⁹⁸ Dewey’s concept of social efficiency, which emphasized communication, understanding, and the common good resonated with Osias in light of the Philippine situation.

⁹⁴ Jose Teodoro, “The Unifying Influence of Education,” *Philippine Journal of Education* 12, no. 1 (June 1929): 65.

⁹⁵ Osias, *The Filipino Way of Life*, 120.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, xi, xii.

⁹⁸ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1916), 141.

Osias was proud of his American training and did not hesitate to cite Dewey, George Strayer, Edward Thorndike, David Snedden, and Paul Monroe as his influences and instructors. Even so, certain pre-existing currents in Filipino nationalist thought also influenced his views. In *The Filipino Way of Life*, for example, Osias stressed that Filipinos must continually strive for democracy and that they must “be guided by a genuine faith in perfectibility.”⁹⁹ The nation, for Osias, was always in formation, and to secure its virtue and strength, its subjects had to actively work to ensure its democratic and ethical nature. It required the following traits from its people: self-control, self-reliance, self-discipline, initiative, self-assertion, and self-direction. These traits had to be constantly cultivated. This constant work in service of the nation Osias called “dynamic Filipinism” and “Filipino dynamism.” The former phrase referred to Filipino nationalism, while the latter referred to Filipinos’ constant development of their faculties and their striving for progress. In *The Filipino Way of Life*, Osias blended concepts he learned from the United States with Philippine nationalist thought. For Osias, there was nothing incompatible between the two. Indeed, he saw his U.S. training as a means through which to serve his country and help it progress.

In writing about Osias’s admixture of American and Philippine ideals, Roland Sintos Coloma and Malini Johar Schueller have described Osias as exercising the following: “hybrid nationalism” and “disidentifying nationalism” for Coloma, and “collaborative dissent” for Schueller. Sintos Coloma sees Osias as an educator who mixed western ideas and knowledge with native perspectives to subversively advocate for Philippine causes. Hence, Osias practiced a hybrid nationalism. Sintos Coloma also sees Osias as exercising a “disidentifying nationalism” in that while he accepted and believed in certain American ideals (the American form of democracy, for example), he also “disidentified” himself from the United States. Schueller has disagreed with Sintos Coloma, arguing that Osias never distanced himself from the United States. Instead she finds Osias employing “collaborative dissent,” which allowed for Osias to identify with the United States despite his advocacy for Philippine independence and his critiques of colonial rule. On the whole, both Sintos Coloma and Schueller agree more than they disagree: Osias did combine American and Philippine concepts, and perhaps the question of to what degree he identified or disidentified with the United States is less important than understanding why Osias did not see anything incompatible between admiration for the United States on one hand and defense of Philippine’s right to nationhood on the other. For Osias, the United States helped provide the means through which the Philippines could realize itself.

Conclusion

In 1916 the passage of the Jones Act ushered in an era where Filipino intellectuals were highly involved in Philippine colonial nation-building. In the area of education and intellectual production, the Bureau of Education invited educators and academics to further Filipinize the colonial curriculum and supported Filipino-led projects to catalog and define Philippine culture. The promise of independence also revived discussions about the nature of the Philippine nation. Intellectuals such as those discussed here continued to debate whether the Philippines was an ethnic or civic nation, and what it meant to be “Philippine” when the country was as westernized as it was. U.S.-educated Filipino intellectuals debated the merits of Americanization and struggled with defining the Philippine nation in an age when homogeneity in race, ethnicity, and

⁹⁹ Osias, *The Filipino Way of Life*, xiii, 22.

culture reigned supreme in nationalist movements throughout Asia and Europe. Intellectuals like Osias, Benitez, and Bocobo, educated in the United States and deeply enmeshed in the American colonial educational system, had a complex relationship with America, rejecting and embracing it in varying degrees. Contact with America and the West promised modernization—long a dream of the early Filipino nationalists—but it also threatened traditional values and national identity. These figures, especially Osias, tried to find ways to combine the best of the West with the Philippine traits and values that they were in the process of defining. In the 1950s and 1960s, Philippine social scientists would place great attention on identifying Philippine values. The roots of the postcolonial period’s emphasis on Philippine values may be found in this earlier debate about the nature of the Philippine nation.

As Resil B. Mojares has noted, the American colonial period in the Philippines was marked by the twin projects of Americanization and Filipinization, referring with the latter to the development of Filipino nationality. “It was in the first half of the twentieth century—more than at any other time—that ‘Filipino nationality,’ the shared sense and sentiment of being *Filipino*, was formed. It was in the American ‘gaze’ that much of what subjectively constitutes *nation* for Filipinos was formed.”¹⁰⁰ The colonial state created opportunities for Filipino intellectuals and scholars to define and debate Filipino nationality. It also encouraged Philippine nationalism in the schools and in public life. As Mojares rightly notes, the nationalism the United States encouraged was “benign” and “civic,” cultural rather than political.¹⁰¹ Mojares has brilliantly traced the transformation (“mutation”) of revolutionary Philippine nationalism into “canonical, *civic* nationalism,” and offers a few answers as to why cultural and civic nationalism triumphed over revolutionary nationalism. One reason, he muses, is that this nationalism, in its emphasis on the past and tradition, served as “a refuge of the subjugated.”¹⁰² As this chapter shows, U.S.-trained figures like Bocobo, Benitez, and Osias were integral to the development of this benign, civic nationalism.

The analysis offered so far uncovers three other reasons for why Filipino intellectuals turned away from political nationalism and towards cultural nationalism. First, the conservatism of Filipino intellectuals; second, their understanding that national development lay in individual uplift; and third, their auxiliary role in facilitating independence. Even critics of Americanization like Bocobo understood that U.S. colonial rule would only end on the United States’s own terms.

The Filipino intelligentsia in the U.S. colonial period was relatively conservative in its politics. This was true whether speaking of pensionados like Benitez, Bocobo, and Osias, or non-U.S.-educated figures like Teodoro M. Kalaw and Rafael Palma. Since Rizal’s generation, Filipino intellectuals and nationalists had counseled their compatriots to exercise discipline, hard work, and moral behavior. Even “radicals” like the nineteenth-century socialist Isabelo de los Reyes, whose political activities the U.S. colonial state viewed with suspicion, believed ethical behavior and self-discipline would reduce conflict between capital and labor.¹⁰³ Filipino intellectuals considered individual development to be the foundation of national development. They located the Philippines’s problems in the individual and found solutions within the

¹⁰⁰ Resil B. Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality under U.S. Colonial Rule,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34 (2006), 12.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 12, 14, 17.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁰³ Jim Richardson, *Komunista: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2011), 16.

individual accordingly. This orientation made Filipino educators and intellectuals responsive to the colonial curriculum's program of citizenship education. Hence Filipino educators like Camilo Osias emphasized values formation, character education, and qualities like hard work, self-discipline, and self-reliance. In turn, the teaching of good character and correct conduct focused on identifying Philippine cultural traits or values.

The conservative outlook explains in part why Filipino intellectuals did not lead radical political movements or turn in great numbers towards socialism and communism in the American Philippines. The revolutionaries' defeat in the Philippine-American War also extinguished any hopes Filipinos had of removing the United States by force. With the passage of the Jones Act and the promise of independence, which happened just when the generation of Benitez, Bocobo, and Osias entered professional maturation, the need to stir up a political and anticolonial nationalism was rendered moot. In addition, as described in chapter 5, opportunities for educated Filipinos to work within the colonial bureaucracy and contribute to nation building preempted radicalization. Their work in the bureaucracy, in the schools, and other institutions of intellectual production, combined with the fact that Philippine independence would be legislated and not "won," meant that the work of negotiating Philippine independence would fall not in the hands of Filipino intellectuals, but rather career politicians like Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña.

The role Filipino intellectuals played instead in the campaign for independence was to prove the existence of Filipino nationhood, the achievement of national sentiment, and evidence of Filipino unity. The need to prove Filipino nationhood—the sentiment of "nationality," evidence of Filipino "unity"—rewarded the production and propagation of cultural nationalism.

Chapter 7 **Epilogue – Commonwealth Education: Change and Continuity**

On November 15, 1935, the Philippines became a commonwealth, ushering in a ten-year period of self-government while Filipino citizens continued to owe allegiance to the United States. The year before, responding to American nativist and protectionist interests protesting the exemption of Filipino nationals from Asian immigration restrictions and continued entry of Filipino products into the United States at a time of worldwide economic depression, Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which finally set a date for Philippine independence.¹ After over a decade of campaigning for Philippine independence, Filipinos achieved their goal.² The Philippines would become independent on July 4, 1946. But first the Philippines would be commonwealth for ten years. This status was a requirement of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, and it represented the Philippines' final transition to sovereign nationhood.

As a commonwealth, the Philippines had greater levels of self-government. Instead of an appointed American governor-general, the islands' chief executive would be a Filipino president that the Filipino people elected. The nation had its own constitution, and the new Commonwealth government was fully in charge of the country's domestic affairs. The United States government remained responsible for the islands' defense and its foreign affairs. Additionally, the United States retained the right to review and veto acts that the National Assembly (the Philippine legislature) passed, executive orders from the president, and decisions made by the Philippine Supreme Court. The Tydings-McDuffie Act restricted Filipino immigration to the United States and placed duties and quotas on Philippine sugar, coconut oil, hemp, twine, and cordage—the most crucial revenue-generating exports of the islands. As these restrictions show, the Tydings-McDuffie Act reflected anti-Filipino undercurrents in U.S. politics, but many in the Philippines nonetheless celebrated its passage as a milestone towards sovereign nationhood.

Manuel L. Quezon, leader of the Philippine Senate, a favorite of General Douglas MacArthur, and one of the brokers of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, was elected president of the Commonwealth in September 1935. In his November 1935 inaugural address Quezon praised the United States for its work in the Philippines and reaffirmed Filipinos' friendship, gratitude, and allegiance. Quezon also paid homage to the fathers of Philippine nationalism and the Revolution of 1896: Jose Rizal and Andres Bonifacio. In doing so, Quezon officially reconciled American colonial rule with Philippine nationalism. In his formulation, the current generation of Filipinos owed as much to the United States as they did to Rizal and Bonifacio. This position aligned neatly with the narrative presented in Philippine history textbooks of Philippine-American

¹ Congress set a date for Philippine independence not because the United States deemed the Philippines “ready,” but rather because the United States no longer wanted the burdens that came with the Philippines: immigration and competition with domestic products. See Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 392-431; Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 116-120. Rick Baldoz provides an excellent account of the legislation of Philippine independence and its connection to immigration in *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

² The Philippines began sending official delegations to lobby Congress for independence in 1919. See Bernardita Reyes Churchill, *The Philippine Independence Missions to the United States, 1919-1934* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983).

partnership. Most striking about Quezon's speech, however, was his commitment to building the new Philippines on American colonial foundations:

We shall build a government that will be just, honest, efficient and strong so that the foundation of the coming Republic may be firm and enduring—a government, indeed, that must satisfy not only the passing needs of the hour but the demands of the future. *We do not have to tear down the existing institutions in order to give way to a statelier structure. There will no violent changes from the established order of things, except such as may be absolutely necessary to carry into effect the innovation contemplated by the Constitution. A new edifice shall arise, not out of the ashes of the past, but out of the standing materials of the living present.*³

Thus, for Quezon the Commonwealth would not be a time for revolution or for turning back the clock to the state of affairs before the American occupation. Rather, it would be a time of continuity. Quezon's inaugural speech set the tone for many Commonwealth policies and initiatives, and his ideas were especially important for the educational system. While Quezon was not a pedagogist by any means, he, like the American colonial officials before him, understood education as being important for social control. Similarly, Quezon agreed with his American predecessors and with the leading Filipino educators of his time that schools were integral for inculcating and disseminating Philippine nationalism. Thus during his presidency, the Philippine government continued on the path of using education as a means of instilling nationalism.

During the Commonwealth, the Philippine public education system retained the same features that it had under direct American rule. As Donald E. Douglas puts it, the "Filipino leadership simply perpetuated it [the educational system] in toto."⁴ Commonwealth educators and administrators stuck to the objectives and principles that had guided the Bureau of Education the previous thirty years: expanding primary education and increasing enrollments, a commitment to vocational education, and the molding of citizens. These educators were inclined to follow the same objectives and principles because they had long worked for the bureau and established successful careers in it. In short, they considered the system and methods of the Bureau of Education to work. They would thus support Quezon's vision for a more nationalist education. This vision, after all, already aligned with preexisting educational aims.

There were changes, to be sure, but they were in intensity rather than in structure. Quezon's personality and vision for the Philippines dominated Commonwealth policies. He envisioned the Philippines having a strong central state, able to implement policies that he developed as the country's leader.⁵ This vision required a citizenry fully aware of its civic duties and compliantly devoted to the state. Consequently, during the Commonwealth, character and citizenship education received considerably greater attention than it had during direct American

³ Manuel M. Quezon, "First Inaugural Address of Manuel L. Quezon as President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines (November 15, 1935)," in *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, vol. 11, ed. Gregorio F. Zaide (Manila: National Book Store Inc., 1990), 414. Emphasis mine.

⁴ Donald Edward Douglas, "American Education in the Creation of an Independent Philippines: The Commonwealth Period, 1935-1941" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1979), 8.

⁵ The Commonwealth government gave the president, in this case Quezon, great authority. See Frank Hindman Golay, *Face of Empire: United-States Philippine Relations, 1898-1946* (Madison: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998), 354.

colonial rule. Additionally, now that a date for independence had been set, defining the nation and Philippine identity, culture, and values took on even more importance. The Commonwealth state accordingly sponsored projects aimed at strengthening Philippine national identity and creating a Philippine-centered civic ideology. The Commonwealth curriculum turned more nationalist.

This chapter examines education during the Commonwealth and its role in the Commonwealth's nation-building projects. Since the Commonwealth years (1935-1946) coincided with World War II, and Japanese occupation of the Philippines led to changes in the educational system, this chapter only looks at the peacetime years of the Commonwealth (1935-1941). As this chapter demonstrates, the Commonwealth period was a time of intensified nationalism in Philippine education. In seeking to inculcate nationalism among Filipinos, the Commonwealth curriculum was congruent with the earlier American colonial educational goal of cultivating a "sentiment of nationality." Nonetheless, an intensified teaching of nationalism during the Commonwealth was also a departure from earlier policies. During Quezon's presidency, the powers of the Philippine government expanded. Whereas the purpose of creating a nationalist colonial curriculum in the early days of U.S. occupation was to pacify Filipinos and counteract revolutionary nationalism, during the Commonwealth the purpose of teaching nationalism was to make Filipinos reliable, dutiful subjects of the new state. In this way, Commonwealth education realized Quezon's declaration that the new Philippines would be built on what the United States had begun.

Relative to other moments in Philippine history, the Commonwealth period has been little looked at, sandwiched as it is between the drama of the Philippine-American War and Japanese occupation. Compared to these events, the Commonwealth is a period of bureaucracy, of planning and preparation, of lawmaking, and of Quezon's consolidation of power. Most studies of the Commonwealth thus look at this decade for its politics and administration or the Sakdalista uprisings of the 1930s.⁶ I take a different approach by focusing on Commonwealth education. The Commonwealth period and its educational program in particular are important for three reasons. First, the Commonwealth offers an early case study in decolonization. It provides insights as well into the methods the United States used to remove itself from direct responsibility for the Philippines while retaining the benefits of a colonial relationship. Second, Commonwealth status for the Philippines was a halfway house between colonial dependency and sovereign nationhood. Consequently, Filipinos during this decade had to negotiate continued acceptance of U.S. rule with an expanding assertion of their own nationhood. As this chapter will show, Commonwealth educational initiatives tried to decolonize education by increasing the Filipinization of the curriculum, but these initiatives also renewed the educational objectives of the American colonial educational system. Finally, the Commonwealth can be understood to be the Philippines' "final exam," so to speak. After three decades of direct colonial tutelage, how would Filipinos fare on their own? Studying Commonwealth educational policies and initiatives allows for a deeper understanding of how Filipinos took on the task of nation-building in a general context demanding neither revolution nor even repudiation of colonial domination.

⁶ See Frank Hindman Golay, *Face of Empire*; Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965); Alfred W. McCoy, "Quezon's Commonwealth: The Emergence of Philippine Authoritarianism" in *Colonial Democracy*, ed. Ruby Paredes.

The Conservative Nature of Commonwealth Education

Public instruction in the Philippines during Commonwealth rule retained many of the features of the educational system that had been present during direct American rule. The chief educational arms of the state remained the Department of Public Instruction and Bureau of Education, and the educational system remained highly centralized and under state regulation. During direct colonial rule, the vice-governor, who was also a Washington appointee, had traditionally served as the Secretary of Public Instruction. The new Commonwealth government kept this arrangement for the first few years by having Vice-President Sergio Osmeña serve as the Secretary of Public Instruction. Luther B. Bewley, who had served as the Bureau of Education's director since 1919, stayed on until he retired in 1938. A Filipino, Indiana University-graduate and longtime bureau employee Celedonio Salvador, replaced him.⁷

During the Commonwealth, many of the leading Filipino educators discussed in chapter 6 received appointments to oversee the education or advise the president on educational matters. In 1935, Quezon created the Educational Survey Committee to review the educational system. He appointed Jorge Bocobo as chairman of the committee, while Francisco Benitez served as chairman of the subcommittee on vocational education. In 1939, Bocobo succeeded Osmeña as Secretary of Public Instruction, serving until 1941. Camilo Osias, meanwhile, chaired the Philippine Educational Mission between 1938-1941, which Quezon tasked with investigating the educational systems of other nations. Osias also served as chairman of the National Council of Education and as Acting Director of Private Education.

As Bocobo, Benitez, and Osias's appointments indicate, many of the leading figures of Philippine education continued to work in the field, and in fact occupied even more prominent positions after 1935. When Filipinos replaced Americans, such as Salvador did with Bewley, the Filipinos who did so were long well-established figures within the Bureau of Education. Celedonio Salvador, for instance, had worked for the bureau since at least 1907.⁸ The Philippines might have had a change in status, but its state infrastructure—the departments and various branches of the colonial bureaucracy—and personnel remained the same. That Filipinization of these branches and bureaus had begun two decades earlier meant that no major overhaul in personnel was necessary.

The twenty-year-long Filipinization of the Bureau of Education reinforced the status quo in another way as well: the Filipino educational leadership was reared within this organization and believed that its methods worked effectively. When Commonwealth rule began, Filipino educators and administrators thus tended to continue on carrying out the bureau's work in the same way that they had before. Although they were aware of the Philippine public school system's weaknesses, namely funding and an inability to provide free education to all school age children, Filipino administrators and educational leaders considered its structure modern and complete. While the educational system could always be improved, its curricula and infrastructure seemed to Commonwealth educators to provide an excellent foundation.⁹ It offered a basic primary education that was proven to have increased education and literacy levels. The primary curriculum included not only the "three R's" but also physical education, health education, a course in "good manners and conduct," science, geography, drawing, and music.

⁷ Salvador is listed in Zoilo M. Galang's *Builders of the New Philippines*, Encyclopedia of the Philippines, vol. 9 (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1936) as having attended Indiana University.

⁸ Salvador is mentioned as a teacher in Camarines Division in the November 1907 issue of *Philippine Education*.

⁹ "The Educational Philosophy of our Constitution," *Philippine Journal of Education* 17, no. 10 (March 1935): 648.

The intermediate and secondary school grades continued instruction in these courses but also offered students the option of pursuing an academic or vocational track. Within the vocational track, students chose from agriculture, industrial arts or trade, home economics, teaching, or commerce. The system included agricultural, trade, arts, and normal schools, as well as the University of the Philippines.

The opinions of the *Philippine Journal of Education* on the eve of Commonwealth rule reveal this adherence to the colonial educational system's methods and educational objectives. In June 1934, three months after the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the journal shared its ideas on what education during the Commonwealth ought to do: it should "provide at least four years of elementary instruction to every child born in the Philippines," offer both academic and vocational education, and train "illiterate adults" in the "essentials of civic, social, and vocational education."¹⁰ The journal was essentially describing the current system, which had a primary course of four years, offered academic and vocational education, adult education, and citizenship training. In a similar vein, Cecilio Putong, the chief of the curriculum department of the Bureau of Education, argued that vocational education should receive extra support during the Commonwealth. Repeating a lament of early American educators, Putong reflected on the low enrollment of Filipino high school students in vocational courses and opined that a "campaign of education is needed in order to enlighten our people on the importance of educating their children for the demands of life rather than for the requirements of college."¹¹

Official pronouncements also illustrate the Commonwealth's maintenance of the existing school system and its educational aims. Article 13, Section 5 of the 1935 Philippine Constitution stipulated that education should aim to "develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and vocational efficiency, and to teach the duties of citizenship."¹² The constitution's language reflected the ideas of Camilo Osias, who had taken part in the Constitutional Convention.¹³ Likewise in his inaugural address, Quezon announced that the Philippine Commonwealth would have an "adequate system of public instruction to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and vocational efficiency."¹⁴ This emphasis on character, discipline, and citizenship and vocational education were already present in the educational system prior to the Commonwealth. Nonetheless, these areas took on new significance as the Philippines prepared itself for independence in 1946.

The Commonwealth retained the organization and features of the educational system in part because it could little afford not to. In 1935, the Philippine public school system included 6,437 schools, 1,279 intermediate schools, and 114 secondary and special schools.¹⁵ The educational infrastructure was already there, complete with textbooks, teaching materials, courses of study, curricula, and a teaching staff. Although 20% of the annual insular budget went

¹⁰ "Educational Provisions of Our Constitution," *Philippine Journal of Education* 17, no. 1 (June 1934): 3.

¹¹ Cecilio Putong, "Building a Curriculum for an Independent Philippines," *Philippine Journal of Education*, 17, no. 5 (October 1934): 293.

¹² "The Philippine Constitution of 1935 As Amended," in Zaide, 372. With the exception of the period of Japanese rule, the 1935 constitution remained in effect until 1973. Thus, this commitment to character education, civics, and vocational education persisted long past the Commonwealth and end of American colonial rule.

¹³ Eleanor M. Dallo-Antonio, "Educational Ideas of Camilo Osias" (master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1971), ix.

¹⁴ Manuel M. Quezon, "First Inaugural Address," in Zaide, 416.

¹⁵ Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1936), 3.

to financing the school system, the Bureau of Education suffered from shortfalls each year.¹⁶ A major overhaul of the educational system during the Commonwealth might prove costly, especially if it meant printing new teaching materials and re-training teachers. Hence the Commonwealth was inclined to maintain the status quo. Additionally, despite having a greater degree of autonomy, the Philippine Commonwealth was still under the authority of the United States. It could not simply do away with the educational system that the United States had set up. Indeed, the United States required the Commonwealth to retain at least one of the longstanding features of the system: the Tydings-McDuffie Act stated that the Philippine Commonwealth was to have public instruction “primarily conducted in the English language.”¹⁷ Although the act softened the language requirement by asking for instruction to only be “primarily” in English, which allowed for some use of local languages, it nonetheless demonstrated U.S. dominance and its leaders’ insistence that the Philippines should be an Anglophone nation. In the next section, we will look more closely at the language policy and changes the Commonwealth initiated in the educational system.

Nation-Building In The Commonwealth Curriculum

While the Commonwealth government overall retained the basic educational infrastructure and objectives of the direct colonial period, it did make changes that affected the focus and content of public instruction. These changes involved establishing a national language and increasing citizenship training and the teaching of patriotism. These initiatives were efforts by the Commonwealth to assert the Philippines’ national identity. To a certain degree, they were attempts to decolonize Philippine education in that they reduced American elements in the curriculum and increasingly promoted Philippine identity and culture. However, Philippine educators and policymakers could not completely strip away American influence from the educational system. They could not, for example, do away with English. The continuing colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines complicated, and often limited, the Commonwealth’s efforts to assert Philippine national identity. Nonetheless, the Commonwealth government moved towards increasing the teaching of patriotism, citizenship, and nationalism in the schools. In making the curriculum more Philippines-oriented, the Commonwealth sought instead to direct Filipino loyalties to the state—the Commonwealth government and its institutions.

Installing a National Language

While framing the Philippine constitution between July 1934 and February 1935, Filipino leaders turned their attention to resolving the language issue once and for all. The 1935 Constitution required the government to “take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages.” In 1936 the National Assembly passed Commonwealth Act No. 184, which created a National Language Institute to take on this work. President Quezon appointed seven distinguished Filipinos to serve on the institute, each of whom spoke a different native language.¹⁸ Institute Chairman Jaime C. de

¹⁶ Douglas, 43.

¹⁷ “The Tydings-McDuffie Law of 1934,” in Zaide, 322.

¹⁸ In their meetings, they communicated to each other in Spanish. See Emma J. Fonacier Bernabe, *Language Policy Formulation, Programming, Implementation and Evaluation in Philippine Education (1565-1974)*, Monograph No. 25 (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1987), 62.

Veyra was a Samareño-Visayan (Waray) speaker, while members Filemon Sotto and Felix S. Salas Rodriguez spoke the Cebuano and Panay versions of Visayan, respectively. The four remaining members represented the Ilocano, Bicolano, Moro, and Tagalog languages. In November 1937, the Institute recommended Tagalog as the basis of the national language. The reasons for choosing Tagalog were that it had the greatest number of speakers, the largest literary production, and was supposedly the most developed of the Philippine languages in terms of its grammar.¹⁹ The following month, on Rizal Day, December 30, 1937, Quezon issued Executive Order No. 134, which legally made Tagalog the basis of the national language.²⁰

With the creation of the National Language Institute and the adoption of Tagalog, the Commonwealth asserted that the Philippines' national language was to be one indigenous to the islands. "Despite the fact that English has been taught in all our public schools for more than a generation, it has not become the language of our people," Quezon declared.²¹ Even so, the Commonwealth retained English as an official language, as the U.S. Congress had required. In its recommendation, the National Language Institute stated that the adoption of Tagalog should not "be understood as in any way affecting the requirement that the instructions in the public schools shall be primarily conducted in English."²² After signing Executive Order No. 134, Quezon reiterated that English would remain in the Philippines. "The fact that we are going to have our national language does not mean that we are to abandon in our schools the study or the use of the Spanish language, much less English, which, under our Constitution, is the basis of primary instruction." Spanish, Quezon maintained, would preserve Filipinos' Latin heritage and allow them to remain in touch with Spain and Latin America; English on the other hand would "bind us forever to the people of the United States and place within our reach the wealth of knowledge treasured in this language."²³ For Quezon, knowledge of foreign languages like Spanish and English would enable the Philippines to converse with much of the rest of the world.

The adoption of Tagalog as the basis of the national language complicated Philippine education. In 1940, Executive Order No. 263 mandated the teaching of Tagalog in all public and private schools.²⁴ The government called for an official Tagalog-English dictionary and Tagalog grammar book, *Ang Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa* (Grammar of the National Language), for which it commissioned the Tagalog novelist Lope K. Santos to create.²⁵ The Bureau of Education ordered two types of textbooks to teach the national language, one for native Tagalog speakers, the other for non-Tagalog speakers.²⁶ For non-Tagalog students, the new language policy posed an extra burden, since they now had to learn Tagalog in addition to English. Tagalog speakers found the new course challenging as well. The official form of Tagalog taught

¹⁹ Bernabe, 62.

²⁰ Ibid., 63.

²¹ Manuel L. Quezon, "Speech on the Filipino National Language, December 30, 1937," Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, accessed July 30, 2015, <http://www.gov.ph/1937/12/30/speech-of-president-quezon-on-filipino-national-language-december-30-1937/>.

²² As quoted in Emma J. Fonacier Bernabe, *Language Policy Formulation, Programming, Implementation and Evaluation in Philippine Education (1565-1974)*, Monograph No. 25 (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1987), 63.

²³ Quezon, "Speech on the Filipino National Language, December 30, 1937."

²⁴ Bernabe, 65.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ The *Forty-First Annual Report* lists a *Course of Study in the National Language (For Non-Tagalog-Speaking Provinces)* and a *Course of Study in the National Language (For Tagalog-Speaking Provinces)*. See Bureau of Education, *Forty-First Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1941), 20.

in schools was not the Tagalog to which they were accustomed. Both the National Language Institute and Lope K. Santos had taken an academic approach to the language, filling the official dictionary and grammar book with older, complex words and sentence structures that were no longer common. According to Barbara Gaerlan, this official Tagalog was a “highly esoteric, literary language” that did not resonate with younger, especially urban-dwelling, Filipinos.²⁷ While Commonwealth policymakers and leaders like Manuel L. Quezon thought that Tagalog could serve as a means of instilling national identity and uniting Filipinos, the new national language felt like a foreign language even to its native speakers. It also sowed the seeds for creating another wedge in Philippine society, that between native Tagalog and non-native Tagalog speakers.

Last, on top of these difficulties in learning Tagalog, education during the Commonwealth was still largely in English. Although all students had to learn Tagalog starting in 1940, it was not the primary medium of instruction. English was. In 1939, during Jorge Bocobo’s term as Secretary of Public Instruction, the Bureau of Education allowed for the use of local languages to assist with instruction, but only minimally and as a last resort, such as when students could not understand their teacher in English.

The language policy of the Commonwealth failed to make the national language truly national. On the one hand, it succeeded in making an indigenous language the official national language and quickly established Tagalog as a mandatory school subject; on the other hand, it continued to privilege English in the classroom. Neither language, as they were taught, spoke to Filipinos. The national language, like English, was something one only used in the schools or in official settings.

Teaching Nationalism During the Commonwealth

If during direct colonial rule English was the most important subject in the Philippine curriculum, then it was nationalism during the Commonwealth. Philippine nationalism, of course, was not a subject in it of itself, but it was imbedded in courses such as character education, civics, Philippine history, in English and Tagalog courses’ reading selections, and even in vocational education. After the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippines witnessed an intensification in the teaching of nationalism and in defining Philippine national identity.

One of the ways the state sought to assert Philippine national identity was to establish its symbols. In 1934 Governor-General Frank Murphy, the last governor-general of the Philippines, issued Proclamation 652 which declared the sampaguita (*Jasminum sambac*) the national flower and the narra (*Pterocarpus indicus*) the national tree.²⁸ The 1935 Constitution specified that the Philippine flag would be the red, white, and blue flag with the sun and three stars. In 1938, Commonwealth Act No. 382 made the 1899 revolutionary anthem “Filipinas,” which had been banned during the early years of American colonial rule, the Philippines’ official national anthem.²⁹ It did, however, adopt an English translation of the anthem, which was originally in Spanish. Camilo Osias provided the translation and renamed the anthem “The Philippine Hymn.”

²⁷ Barbara S. Gaerlan, “The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines: The History of English as the Medium of Instruction and the Challenge Mounted by Filipino” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 174.

²⁸ Emma Osterman Elmer, *Our Philippine Trees* (Manila: D.P. Perez Co., 1965), 37.

²⁹ Today this anthem is sung in Tagalog and called *Lupang Hinirang*.

As with the national language, the Philippine national anthem had to coexist with the American national anthem. The United States required a singing of “The Philippine Hymn” to be immediately followed by a singing of the “Star-Spangled Banner.”³⁰ In this way, Commonwealth acts to assert Philippine national identity were tempered by requirements to show Filipinos’ allegiance to the United States.

The 1935 Constitution specified that education during the Commonwealth should focus on moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and vocational efficiency. The Bureau of Education accordingly made moves to meet the constitution’s requirements, particularly in the areas of civics and discipline. It created a new course in character education, which replaced the Good Manners and Right Conduct course of the direct colonial period.³¹ The themes of the two courses were virtually identical, however: cleanliness, orderliness, punctuality, obedience, loyalty, patriotism, self-control, honesty, thrift and industry.³² Character education in fact served as a citizenship and patriotism course. The bureau created a new text for this course called *Course of Study in Character Education and Citizenship*, but there were other texts to choose from as well.³³ In light of the Commonwealth government’s emphasis on citizenship, a new crop of manuals to teach patriotism and citizenship appeared during the late 1930s. Some of these new texts were Cloduardo Razon’s *The Teaching of Patriotism (in the Division of Tarlac)*, A. D. Gonzales’s *More About the Teaching of Patriotism in the Division of Tarlac*, and Salud Dizon and Irineo Miranda’s *Training Citizens of the New Philippines*.³⁴

Character education was not the only subject through which the Bureau of Education taught citizenship and patriotism. Philippine history courses, of course, helped to teach patriotism, but so did the language arts. In considering the design of primary and intermediate grade readers and the high school textbook *Philippine Prose and Poetry*, the bureau favored selections that could speak to the following themes: citizenship, vocational and economic efficiency, ethical character, health, and the wise use of leisure.³⁵ In the case of *Philippine Prose and Poetry*, only Filipino-authored writings were used. The bureau also encouraged student participation in extra-curricular activities such as Boy Scouts, junior-citizen clubs, and student councils to instill civic-mindedness and discipline.³⁶

To assist with the teaching of patriotism, the bureau continued the trend of Filipinizing the curriculum. In 1936, it reduced the teaching of a yearlong United States history course to one semester to create room for a new semester-long “Philippine Social Life” course. In the agricultural course of study, the bureau removed a course on plant pests and diseases and

³⁰ Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 31.

³¹ Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1937), 6.

³² Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1938), 20.

³³ Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report*, 15.

³⁴ Cloduardo Razon, *The Teaching of Patriotism (in the Division of Tarlac)* (Manila: Imprenta Manila, 1936); A.D. Gonzales, *More About the Teaching of Patriotism in the Division of Tarlac* (Manila: Imprenta Manila, 1937); Salud Elejorde Dizon and Irineo L. Miranda, *Training Citizens of the New Philippines* (Manila: Progressive Schoolbooks, 1936).

³⁵ Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report*, 52-53.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

replaced it with a course on Philippine history, government, and rural social problems.³⁷ The greatest period of curricular Filipinization, however, began in 1939, when Jorge Bocobo became Secretary of Public Instruction. Under his leadership, the Bureau of Education embarked on projects to collect Filipino proverbs, folk songs, legends, famous writings and speeches, the “desirable customs of unlettered Christian Filipinos,” and the “good customs of primitive non-Christian Filipinos.”³⁸ Incorporating these proverbs, folk songs, writings, and customs into the curriculum would not only instill national pride but also mold character. Gathering the data was a massive undertaking. The collection of proverbs, for example, involved sending questionnaires to all fifty-two school divisions. At the end of the collection period, the bureau had found 8,568 proverbs, which it then classified according to character traits and then further analyzed for provenance.³⁹ Additionally during Bocobo’s term, the Bureau of Education created a patriotic calendar to promote “sound nationalism” and a “better understanding of and appreciation for Philippine history.”⁴⁰ It included thirty-three significant events in Philippine history, and all schools received a copy. Starting in January 1939, schools also held patriotic exercises twice a week that included the singing of the Philippine and United States national anthems, recitation of a patriotic pledge, and a flag ceremony.⁴¹ Finally, the Bureau of Education requested schools to have a Filipiniana section in their libraries or a Filipiniana corner in their classrooms.⁴²

Citizenship training during the Commonwealth was mandatory not only for Filipino youth but for the adult population as well, especially since the vast majority of adult Filipinos did not have a formal schooling. For these “illiterate adults,” the bureau provided citizenship training by holding community assemblies. The aim of these assemblies was to “develop an intelligent and enlightened public opinion, to foster better community spirit, and to instruct citizens on subjects of health, economics, agriculture, citizenship, etc.”⁴³ The idea of providing citizenship training for adults through community assemblies was not new. In 1907, the Bureau of Education launched the Civico-Educational Lecture Series, which offered also offered lectures on health, agriculture, and citizenship. During the Commonwealth, the bureau redoubled its efforts to provide such lectures and delivered them in local languages. Some popular lectures offered during the Commonwealth were: “The Return of Your Peso Invested in Taxes,” “Our Municipal Officers and Their Duties,” “The Philippines and the Commonwealth,” “Teaching Our Children Nationalism,” and “The Meaning of Your Vote and How to Use It.”⁴⁴ In 1937, the bureau reported that it had delivered 1,818 lectures at 1,579 assemblies by the middle of the year.⁴⁵

The focus of the lectures, as indicated by their titles, was to provide Filipinos with an understanding of the role of government in their lives and their obligations as citizens. The purpose was to bind Filipinos more closely to the state. Quezon wanted Filipinos to be less individualistic and more socially cooperative.⁴⁶ He therefore gave utmost importance to

³⁷ Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report*, 16-17. The bureau folded the plant pests and diseases materials into the farm crops course.

³⁸ Bureau of Education, *Forty-First Annual Report*, 22.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 27.

⁴³ Bureau of Education, *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report*, 17.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁶ Douglas, 181.

citizenship training and to the development of moral character and discipline. Like so many other Filipinos, he subscribed to the prevailing belief that the Philippines was in need of spiritual regeneration. In a 1938 speech Quezon stressed the importance of character and discipline. “National strength can only be built on character,” he declared.

Show me a people composed of vigorous, sturdy individuals, of men and women healthy in mind and body; courteous, brave, industrious, self-reliant; purposeful in thought as well as in action; imbued with sound patriotism and a profound sense of righteousness; with high social ideals and a strong moral fiber; and I will show you a great nation.

Quezon reminded his audience that the Philippines was “engaged in the epic task of building our nation,” and he called upon them to awaken their “spiritual and moral forces” so as to be “morally strong, virile, hard-working, refined, enterprising, persevering, public-spirited.” He suggested that the Filipinos needed their own *Bushido*, a simple code of ethics that could be “explained in the schools, preached from the pulpits, and taught in the streets and plazas, and in the remotest corners of our lands.” No less than the indoctrination of “every man, woman, and child in its precepts” was his goal.⁴⁷ A year later, Quezon issued his own code of ethics, which contained sixteen rules. The code stressed patriotism and duty, instructing Filipinos to love their country and to be willing to sacrifice and die for it. Its tenth rule urged them to “live up to the noble traditions of our people” and to “venerate the memory of our heroes.” Other rules emphasized hard work and industry: “Be industrious. Be not afraid or ashamed to do manual labor. Productive toil is conducive to economic security and adds to the wealth of the nation,” intoned the eleventh rule.⁴⁸ The Commonwealth government distributed Quezon’s code of ethics throughout the Philippines. Every school, public and private, received a copy, and the Bureau of Education supplied instructions on how to use the code in the classroom.⁴⁹

In many ways, character and citizenship education, and the teaching of patriotism and nationalism were not new. These subjects and their themes—hard work, right conduct, loyalty to the Philippines—were present and even encouraged during the direct colonial rule. What changed during the Commonwealth was the intensification of these subjects. In his 1942 study on the Philippines, Joseph Ralston Hayden, a scholar of Philippine affairs and the last American vice governor-general of the islands, expressed concern about the Commonwealth’s intensification of nationalism under Quezon’s watch. Hayden remarked that with its “predominant emphasis” on “moulding national character,” the Philippine educational system more closely resembled the world’s totalitarian states than it did the United States. Hayden did not think that the United States was responsible for this turn, but to a certain degree it was. It had stressed nationalism in the curriculum early on and provided the Commonwealth government with a highly centralized infrastructure through which it could carry out its educational objectives.

⁴⁷ Manuel L. Quezon, “Address of President Manuel L. Quezon on Policies and Achievements of the Government and Regeneration of the Filipino, August 19, 1938,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, accessed July 30, 2015, <http://www.gov.ph/1938/08/19/address-of-president-manuel-l-quezon-on-policies-and-achievements-of-the-government-and-regeneration-of-the-filipino/>.

⁴⁸ “The Quezon Code of Ethics (August 19, 1938),” in Zaide, 435.

⁴⁹ Bureau of Education, *Forty-First Annual Report*, 25-26.

A Final Assessment

The Philippine public school system under U.S. rule failed to accomplish the primary objectives of the early American colonial officials and educators. They had envisioned education as the primary means through which Filipinos would learn democratic values and the duties of citizenship, but the public school system could at most only reach a third of school age Filipinos. The early American colonial administration in the Philippines had succeeded in creating an educational infrastructure that was at once complete and inadequate. On the one hand, the Philippines had public primary, secondary, and vocational schools, as well as professional schools and a university. On the other hand, these schools still remained out of reach for two-thirds of school age Filipinos.

The educational system's major weakness was insufficient funding, which meant that there were never enough schools or teachers to serve the entire school age population. As a result, schooling was not compulsory. Additionally, all instruction was conducted in a foreign language. These two conditions led to students often repeating grades or dropping out before completing the primary course offered in Grades I-IV. Between 1908 and 1923, as many as a third of students failed their grade level.⁵⁰ While the Bureau of Education always met its annual enrollment target of a third of the school age population (about a million students from in 1920s and 1930s), the vast majority of this enrollment was in the primary grades. In September 1932, total enrollment was 1,194, 802; of this number 929, 390 students or 79% were in the primary grades and only 15% (174, 307) and 5% (62,155) of students were in the intermediate and secondary grades, respectively.⁵¹ During the beginning of American colonial rule, when the Bureau of Education was still setting up the system of public instruction, the emphasis on primary grade education had made sense. But after thirty years, the bureau was still largely supplying the Philippines with a primary education, and it accepted this as a fact of Philippine life; it did not expect most Filipinos to attend high school or college or even need to. On the eve of Commonwealth rule, Filipino educational experts estimated that not more than 65% of the enrolled students would attend school beyond Grade IV.⁵² The academic track—that which led to a college or university education—was available only to an elite group of students.

During the first decade of U.S. rule, American educators and colonial officials resigned themselves to the fact that they could not educate the entire nation.⁵³ At variance with the goal of democratization but in line with their limited resources, they created a tiered educational system implicitly pegged to class and future occupations. They imagined that the primary and intermediate grades would be the level of education that most manual workers and peasant producers would attain. Those Filipinos who completed secondary schools could become clerical workers, teachers, or skilled tradespeople. Post-secondary education would produce leaders—men and women who would occupy positions in the colonial bureaucracy, government, and academia. The architects of American colonial education considered the system meritocratic in that any Filipino, regardless of his or her background, could obtain a primary, secondary, and even a university education simply because the facilities existed. At the same time, however,

⁵⁰ Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 216.

⁵¹ U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Education, *Public Education in the Philippine Islands*, by Katherine M. Cook (Washington, DC: GPO, 1935), 33.

⁵² Douglas, 122.

⁵³ See, for example, Director of Education Frank. R. White's comments in the *Tenth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1910), 10.

they understood that only a few Filipinos would be able to complete the highest levels of education available. Leading Filipino educators—those who *had* obtained the highest levels of education—later shared this view. With a lean budget, the Bureau of Education both during the direct American colonial and Commonwealth periods poured its energies into primary education and industrial or vocational training. Primary education was an area of great need, while industrial and vocational training could potentially yield the greatest economic benefit.

The educational system thus tended to preserve pre-existing social divisions. Filipino students from wealthier backgrounds were more likely to attend secondary school and college or university, and, as they had more years of schooling, were also better able to speak, read, and write English. Like the *ilustrados* before them, their educational attainment levels and language skills would mark them as *edukado*, “educated” or “well-learned.” While schools did bring Filipinos of different class backgrounds together, and a degree of socioeconomic mobility was possible, overall public education did not prove to be an equalizing force.⁵⁴ That said, the Philippines enjoyed the highest education enrollment rate among its neighbors. In the late 1930s, the Philippines could boast that 11.54% of its total (not school age) population was enrolled in schools, beating out Taiwan (11.36%) and Thailand (10.65%). Western-controlled Southeast Asian colonies were behind by at least three percentage points: British Malaya at 7.76%, Burma at 5.45%, and Indonesia and Indochina at 4.01% and 2.47%, respectively.⁵⁵ Despite the limitations and flaws of the school system it created, the American colonial state expanded education, made it available to more Filipinos than before, and increased literacy rates from less than 10% at the end of Spanish colonial rule to 65% at the start of the Commonwealth period.⁵⁶

Scholars and observers of Philippine affairs typically discuss American colonial education in the Philippines (and American colonial rule more generally) in terms of success or failure. Those viewing it from the American side of Philippine-American historiography conclude that American colonial education was a failure in that it did not adequately educate Filipinos or democratize Philippine society.⁵⁷ By contrast, for those viewing American colonial education from the Philippine side, the project was successful in the negative sense: it effectively captured the Filipino mind, creating a love for the United States and a conviction that the American chapter of their history, especially when it came to education, was indeed benevolent.⁵⁸ Despite American historians deeming American colonial education a failure and Philippine historians calling it a success, both sides share the same motives: an interest in revealing the negative consequences of American colonial rule, debunking the myth of its benevolence, and explaining the Philippines’ weak democracy despite the installation of American-style institutions and practices.

⁵⁴ Mary Racelis, “Bearing Benevolence in the Classroom and Community,” in *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines*, ed. Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 10-11.

⁵⁵ Anne Booth, “Measuring Living Standards in Different Colonial Systems: Some Evidence from South East Asia, 1900-1942,” *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 5 (2012): 1163.

⁵⁶ Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, fifth ed. (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1977), 424.

⁵⁷ Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 123-126; Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 198-209.

⁵⁸ Renato Constantino, “The Mis-Education of the Filipino,” in *The Filipinos in the Philippines and Other Essays* (Quezon City, Philippines: Filipino Signatures, 1966).

I offer two critiques of these assessments to reorient our thinking of American colonial rule in the Philippines away from measuring its success or failure and to refocus it instead on impact. First, the claim that American colonial education failed to democratize Philippine society assumes that American colonial education *should* have produced these outcomes. This elides the fact that the purpose of colonial tutelage was not to create an exact replica of the United States but to create a Philippines amenable to U.S. interests. It was at the end of colonial rule, 1946, that the United States got the Philippines it wanted in 1898: an autonomous country that would cooperate with and support American interests in the region with a minimal outlay of manpower and resources on the United States' part. Additionally the claim that American colonial education failed unwittingly absolves the United States of responsibility for the Philippines' current state of affairs: if the Philippines of today is a weak democratic state, it is because Philippine society, culture, or values were resistant to the transformative power of American colonial education. In reality American colonial education had design flaws that made it a weak force for democratizing the Philippines. Inadequate funding limited the number of schools and American colonial educators' and policymakers' were convinced that education would be enough to create an egalitarian society. American colonial education preserved the undemocratic aspects of Philippine society by making the full benefits of education accessible only to the most elite.

On the other hand, the claim that American colonial education succeeded in colonizing Filipino minds removes agency from Filipinos and overstates the power of the American colonial project. In "The Mis-education of the Filipino," Constantino depicts American colonial education as an inescapable force that led Filipinos to forget their language and culture, and that made Filipinos admire all things Western or American. Constantino does not explain what made American colonial education so effective beyond stating that it was designed to pacify and Americanize Filipinos. A look at the reach of the Philippine public school system under U.S. rule, however, reveals that American colonial education's impact was limited: only a third of the school age population attended school, the majority of which attended for only a few years.. Writing in the 1960s, a decade of decolonization, Constantino demanded from his countrymen a decolonized nationalism, one that was unmoved by Western achievements and methods, and which derived its identity from indigenous practices, customs, and conditions. And yet, as Vicente Rafael has shown, the origins of early Philippine nationalism, that which emerged among the *ilustrados* and propagandistas in the late nineteenth century, lay in a desire to be closer to the West (Spain) and the center of modernity (Europe). Filipinos saw promise in the foreign. In this study I have argued that Filipinos' openness to the foreign, their desire for progress and modernization, and their understanding of education a means of improving status, made them receptive to American colonial education. They saw in it a path to improving their lives. What made American colonial education effective, so to speak, was that it resonated with these preexisting orientations within Filipino society. Additionally, American colonial education had greater effect on Filipinos after the end of direct American rule, that is, during the Commonwealth. It was during the Commonwealth, after all, that educators intensified efforts to teach character, discipline, and citizenship. In this manner, American colonial education's achievement was in producing educators who would carry on its values, principles, and methods.

American colonial education impacted the Philippines in three significant ways. First, it created an official, state-sponsored form of Philippine nationalism that replaced the revolutionary nationalism of the late nineteenth century. This official nationalism stressed a common Filipino identity, loyalty and love to the Philippines, and service to the nation through economic self-

sufficiency and productivity. It stressed Filipinos' relationship to the state as citizens rather than the *patria* as patriots. When it did talk about patriotism, it suggested that the best way for Filipinos to show their patriotism was through their labor and helping the Philippine economy grow. In this way, the official, colonial state-sponsored nationalism mitigated radical anticolonialism. To a certain degree, it even promoted a conservative anticolonialism in that it encouraged Filipinos to think of independence from the United States. American colonial rule was capacious enough for Philippine nationalism, so long as that nationalism did not threaten U.S. interests in the archipelago.

The second impact of American colonial education is that it created a stratum of elite educated Filipinos who worked in close partnership with American officials and administrators. These U.S.-trained bureaucrats, intellectuals, and educators were successors to the *ilustrados* of the late-nineteenth century. As chapters 3 and 4 have shown, the pensionado program was to a large extent a program for replacing the Spanish-trained *ilustrado* with the American-trained expert. The highly-educated Filipinos and *ilustrados* of Rizal's time were gentleman scholars. While many of them were trained as doctors or lawyers, their intellectual output defined them rather than their professional work. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, for instance, was a medical doctor but better known for his work on Filipiniana. Similarly, Rizal was an ophthalmologist better known for his novels and political writings. During the American colonial period, a great number of Filipinos who received the highest levels of education, such as a doctorate, earned their living through their expertise. That is, unlike Rizal or Pardo de Tavera, their intellectual and professional lives were identical. Moreover, if during the Spanish period, a Filipino with Rizal or Pardo de Tavera's credentials would be an independent scholar, in the American period, he would be a bureaucrat, administrator, or educator working for the state.

The cultivation of the American-trained Filipino expert was important for American colonial rule. Although early American officials had cultivated patron-client relations with *ilustrados*, most notably Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legardo, and Jose Luzuriaga, they soon found these figures too independent-minded to work with. What was needed was a new class of highly educated Filipinos who could work within the system of the colonial state. U.S.-trained Filipinos like Camilo Osias, Jorge Bocobo, and Francisco Benitez were the technocrat counterpart to the more canny politicians, Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña, that the American colonial officials later partnered with and preferred over *ilustrados* like Pardo de Tavera, Legardo, and Luzuriaga.

U.S.-trained intellectuals and educators like Osias, Bocobo, and Benitez would prove to influential in determining educational policies and articulating ideas about Philippine nationhood. After the end of U.S. rule, Filipino educators would also uphold many features of the American colonial era's official nationalism: economic labor as patriotism, obedience to the state, pride in Philippine culture. They did so because the colonial era's official nationalism and educational system provided the means for nation-building. During the Commonwealth and postwar, post-independence decade, Filipino political leaders, educators, and intellectuals faced the same concerns as the early American colonial officials: how to promote Filipinos' identification with the Philippines and how to stimulate the economy, both of which were understood as necessary for successful independent nationhood. By extolling good citizenship and the necessity of performing one's civic duties, the official nationalism of the direct colonial period stressed Filipinos' relationship to the state; this was important for a new independent nation like the Philippines. The public school system through its program of industrial and

vocational education offered one strategy for fixing a weak Philippine economy. Colonial education thus provided Commonwealth and postcolonial Filipinos with a basic civic ideology and educational apparatus on which to build the Filipino nation.

It must be stressed that the official, colonial state-sponsored nationalism that appeared between 1900-1934 was not solely the creation of American colonial officials and Bureau of Education directors; Filipino educators and intellectuals working within the colonial bureaucracy and educational system also contributed to this official form. They were also the greatest beneficiaries of this educational system. Consequently, they were inclined to maintain its use. In their view, the values and objectives that the American colonial educational system endorsed were not American values alone; they were also Filipino. Given the Filipinization of the Bureau of Education and curriculum, they would not have considered education in the Philippines as being wholly of a colonial type. Indeed, Filipinization of the Bureau of Education blurred what was “American” and “colonial” with what was “Philippine.”

The third, and arguably most important, impact of American colonial education is that its imprint is still present in Philippine education. The system is still highly centralized, with the Department of Education or DepEd calling all the shots for the instruction of the nation. Character education, a subject introduced during the American period, persisted up to the 1990s under that name and now finds new life in the 21st century as the ethics and morals course *Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao* (literally, “Education in Being Human”).⁵⁹ The current curriculum also possesses a vocational track that, like the colonial curriculum, encourages students to begin specialization in the intermediate grades.⁶⁰ Although it is no longer the language of instruction, English is still taught, beginning in kindergarten.⁶¹ Heated debates about the use of English over Filipino, the national language, chronically erupt.⁶² These curricular initiatives and controversies have their roots in American colonial education. Most telling is DepEd’s vision statement:

⁵⁹ Bella O. Marinas and Maria P. Ditapat, “Philippines: Curriculum Development,” UNESCO International Bureau of Education, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/curriculum/Asia%20Networkpdf/ndrepph.pdf>; “Grades 1 to 10 Curriculum Guides: Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao,” Republic of the Philippines Department of Education, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://www.deped.gov.ph/sites/default/files/Edukasyon%20sa%20Pagpapakatao%20Curriculum%20Guide%20Grade%201-10.pdf>. See also list of subjects offered in Grades 1 to 10 (<http://www.deped.gov.ph/k-to-12/curriculum-guides/Grade-1-10>).

⁶⁰ The vocational curriculum is known as “Technology and Livelihood Education” or TLE. In Grades 7-8, students may take “Exploratory TLE.” Within TLE they may choose from the following tracks: agri-fishery, home economics, industrial arts, and information and communications technology. See “Technology and Livelihood Education (TLE) and Technical-Vocational Livelihood (TVL) Track,” Republic of the Philippines Department of Education, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://www.deped.gov.ph/k-to-12/curriculum-guides/Technical-vocational-track>.

⁶¹ Currently the Philippine Department of Education requires “mother tongue-based learning” from kindergarten to Grade III, meaning that the student receives instruction first in her local vernacular, while building proficiency in English and Filipino. See “Building Proficiency (Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education,” Republic of the Philippines Department of Education, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://www.deped.gov.ph/k-to-12/features>.

⁶² For example in August 24, 2011, the *Manila Bulletin* published an essay by Ateneo de Manila University student James Soriano that asserted that English was the “language of learning” and Filipino the language used to speak to household help. Soriano’s essay raised so much ire that the *Manila Bulletin* removed it from its website. The full text may be found here: James Soriano, “Language, Learning, Identity, Privilege” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://opinion.inquirer.net/11649/language-learning-identity-privilege>. For scholarly analyses on the debates over the place of English language instruction in the Philippines, see Allan B. I. Bernardo, “English in Philippine Education: Solution or Problem?” in *Philippine English*, ed. Maria Lourdes S. Bautista and Kingsley Bolton (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 29-48; D.V.S. Manarpaac, “‘When I Was a Child I Spoke As A Child’: Reflecting on the Limits of a Nationalist Language Policy,” in *Philippine English*, ed. Maria Lourdes

We dream of Filipinos
Who passionately love their country
And whose values and competencies
Enable them to realize their full potential
And contribute meaningfully to building the nation.⁶³

In this statement three objectives stand out: love of country, self-realization, contribution to nation-building. These were the goals of Filipino educators and intellectuals during the American colonial period, and they are the goals of Filipino educators and leaders today. The Philippines is in a perpetual state of nation-building and education continues to play a large role in this project.

S. Bautista and Kingsley Bolton (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 87-100. The Philippine national language today is now known as Filipino. In 1959 Secretary of Education Jose Romero changed the name of the national language to Pilipino, to make the language more “national” and less associated with the Tagalog ethnic group. The 1973 Constitution changed the name from Pilipino to Filipino. The 1987 Constitution further revised the national language to make it more inclusive of the archipelago’s other languages. Thus, while the national language Filipino today is primarily based on Tagalog, it contains words from other Philippine languages. See Andrew B. Gonzalez, “The Language Planning Situation in the Philippines,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19, no. 5 (1998): 487-525.

⁶³ “The DepEd Vision,” Republic of the Philippines Department of Education, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://www.deped.gov.ph/about/mandate>.

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