Colonial Articulations: English Instruction and the 'Benevolence' of U.S. Overseas Expansion in the Philippines, 1898-1916

By

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Professor Daniel Perlstein, Chair
Professor Zeus Leonardo
Professor Beth Piatote

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Abstract

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Even though historians are increasingly pointing to the importance of colonialism in U.S. history, an investigation of the role of colonialism in the shaping of American public schooling has been largely unexamined in education. This dissertation focuses on the colonial legacy as it pertains to English instruction, highlighting the case of the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century. This project provides a close examination of Philippine Public Law 74, the colonial education policy that mandated English as the language of instruction, and investigates the social and political conditions that motivated the policy. Employing a historical methods approach, this study examines how the U.S. education policy of English instruction organized both the school system and the broader project of American colonialism. Moreover, this dissertation examines the process by which the history of U.S. overseas conquest in the Philippines has been forgotten.

This dissertation demonstrates that a gendered and racialized discourse of education was central to efforts in reconciling the contradiction that U.S. colonialism posed to American democracy. It illuminates the manner in which gendered constructions of the American English teachers as feminine and nurturing-- as juxtaposed with the image of the aggressive male soldier—enabled the institution of American colonial education in to create a domesticating illusion of peace. Through the mechanism of English instruction, American officials were able to articulate their presence as "benevolent tutelage" rather than imperial expansion, thereby erasing the violence of colonialism and instructing the forgetting of U.S. overseas conquest. In other words, English instruction provided an ideological justification and institutional method to literally rewrite the history of U.S. empire. This study highlights the political role of English instruction in U.S. colonial expansion; and it examines the manner in which notions of gender, domesticity, and race were embedded in the ideology and implementation of U.S. colonial English instruction.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to 溫細琴/Wendy Hsu & 徐正陽/Cheng Yang Hsu. The poetry of your lives exceeds the limits of our society. I am always listening and learning.

This dissertation is also dedicated to my former students at Carson St. Elementary School, my rambunctious and brilliant teachers. You are connected to a history and a world beyond that which you are taught. It transforms with your every intention.

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The Vietnamese Buddhist Monk Thich Nhat Hanh points out that "if you are a poet, you will see clearly that there is a cloud floating in this sheet of paper." He reminds us that paper is made up of non-paper parts, like rain, trees, sun, loggers, fathers and mothers.

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Preface

As an elementary school teacher, I came across an educational conundrum that has served as the motivation for this study. Quite a few of my students of color were mislabeled as English Language Learners. Many spoke English as fluently as their "English Only" counterparts, yet they were still categorized as English Language Learners. Many of these students were Filipino American and came from a history of English language familiarity due to the legacy of American conquest. This illuminated the complex historical context embedded within this contemporary educational concern. Yet our language classification system did not account for this legacy.

It was clear to me that my students' language misclassification could only be partially explained by faulty assessment tools and inefficient policies. Rather, I had a haunting sense that there were much larger historical forces at play, and that they continue to shape the lives of today's students. This study is an examination of some of these historical forces and the ways that they have emerged through English instruction. In doing so, it highlights an important manner by which we as a society have learned to forget our history.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Instructions for Nationhood

"The White Man's Burden."
The Journal (Detroit), also published in The Literary Digest, Vol. XVIII,No. 7,
February 18, 1899 [artist: Thomas May][1]

The United States entered into the 20th century amidst gunshots and battle cries. It was the sound of a nation bursting at its seams. Geographically, the U.S. was asserting its expansion beyond continental boundaries. Politically, tensions were surmounting on the issue of overseas conquest and its threat to the very foundations of American republicanism. Opposing the expansionists, anti-imperialists adamantly decried the U.S.'s role in overseas territorial acquisition, finding it contrary to the American pillars of democratic self-rule. Indeed, the United States was facing a crisis of self.

The issue of the Philippines, that is, the U.S. colonization of the islands, was at the center of the most heated political debates of its time. It played a central role in the presidential campaign of 1900, which gave incumbent McKinley reign to pursue an imperialist agenda in the Pacific archipelago. Leading American figures, from politicians

[1] As cited in Abe Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book* (San Francisco, CA: T'Boli, 2004), 30.

and business elites to literary titans such as Mark Twain, were involved in catapulting the conversation into the public sphere.[2]

In 2009, a century after the onset of American overseas conquest, the Presidio Trust in San Francisco hosted an exhibition entitled "War & Dissent: The U.S. in the Philippines, 1898-1915" and invited the public to "Explore the little-known war in the Philippines."[3] That the once highly charged issue of American imperial expansion in the Philippines has become a "little-known war"--even in a city whose development was deeply dependent on its participation in sponsoring and staffing the war[4]-- presents a profound conundrum: How did the history of U.S. colonization in the Philippines get erased?

A March 18, 2009 Los Angeles Times article, published a month after the Presidio's exhibit, provides a telling example of how this erasure influences our daily lives. Entitled, "Filipino Teachers Exchange Homeland for Jobs in America," the article demonstrates the startling subtlety in which erasure occurs in, and manages, our educational system.[5]

Reporting on Los Angeles Unified School Districts recent recruitment of teachers from the Philippines to fill shortages in urban schools, the article noted that language, particularly the Filipino teachers' English fluency, served as a practical motivation for this hiring practice. "[M]ost Filipinos speak English and can understand some Spanish, which is embedded in the Filipino language as a result of Spain's 300-year colonization of the islands," it explained.

While the article directly attributes familiarity with the Spanish language to Spain's colonization of the islands, inquisitive readers are left to wonder about the relationship between the Filipino teachers and English. The article makes no attempt at addressing this puzzle and instead moves on to discuss the teachers' interest in immigrating to the United States to seek better financial opportunities. The mystifying relationship between Filipinos and English lingers between the words like a ghost, only visible to those who sense a haunting feeling of something not being quite right. We are thus presented with a profoundly unsettling example of historical erasure in effect. A negation occurs within the blank spaces of the article, silencing the history of a contentious colonial enterprise that had Americans and Filipinos reeling in political and moral disgust.

English was, in fact, a crucial element of the U.S. colonial project in the Philippines. Indeed, the order for English instruction was first outlined in President McKinley's April 7, 1900 Letter of Instruction to the Philippine Commission which

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[2] Though he had initially supported both the Spanish and Philippine-American Wars, Twain soon became one of the most prominent forces behind the Anti-Imperialist movement, see Jim Zwick, *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War*, Philippine ed, Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, Manila: Popular Book Store [distributor], 1992).

[3] Presidio Trust, "War and Dissent: The U.S. in the Philippines, 1898-1915." (San Francisco, CA: Presidio Trust, 2009).

[4] For a detailed treatment of San Francisco's involvement, from financing, profiteering, and military preparation, in the Spanish American and Philippine-American Wars, see. Gray A Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*, 2007 ed., California Studies in Critical Human Geography 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[5] Teresa Watanabe, "Filipino Teachers Exchange Homeland for Jobs in America," *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 2009.5/16/13 8:48 PM

detailed the guidelines for American colonial governance in the colony.[6] One year later, Philippine Public Law Act 74 would stipulate that instruction in the American colonial schools was to be conducted in English. [7] This policy set into motion an enduring legacy of U.S. conquest in which generations of Filipinos were instructed in English and exposed to the American ideals embedded within the context of the language. Therefore, the English spoken by the Filipino teachers in the article was as much a direct result of American colonialism as Spanish was a result of Spanish colonialism. This article evidences that contemporary educational practices and policies are often constructed upon precarious historical erasures.

English and the Instruction of Colonial Erasure

This dissertation is an examination of the history that lies in the blank spaces, between the words that spell out a narrative of American exceptionalism, to illuminate the history of U.S. conquest and its intimate relationship with education. It illustrates how education was a crucial element in establishing empire. Drawing from archival sources--documents from the U.S. government as well as the colonial administration, military communications, memos between colonial officials, educational reports, teacher memoirs, and political cartoons[8]-- this study details the development and implementation of English instruction in the Philippines as mandated by section 14 of Philippine Public Act 74. Chronicling events from 1898 to 1916, it begins after the Spanish-American War and examines the role this policy served in organizing both the colonial school system and the broader project of U.S. overseas expansion during the initial period of American rule.[9]

In addition, this work provides a critical response to the question, 'How did the history of U.S. colonization in the Philippines become erased? *This study demonstrates that English instruction served a vital role in erasing empire.* It illuminates the manner in which English instruction was established within the rhetoric of colonialism as

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[6] Allan BI Bernardo, "McKinley's Questionable Bequest: Over 100 Years of English in Philippine Education," *World Englishes* 23, no. 1 (2004): 17–31.

[7] Philippine Commission, "Public Laws Passed by the Philippines Commission: During the Period from September 1, 1900, to August 31, 1902. Comprising Acts Nos. 1 to 449, Inclusive." (Manila, Philippines: Bureau of Public Printing, 1903).

[8] I utilize primary source materials from the U.S. federal government, the Philippine colonial administration, Congressional meetings, the Anti-Imperialist League, and media outlets in both the Philippines and the continental U.S. Specifically, I have examined military orders issued by President McKinley and the military government in the Philippines, interpersonal communications between the different U.S. presidents and colonial administrators, correspondences between colonial officials, newspaper articles and political cartoons. Primary source materials from to the Department of Education include annual reports from the Superintendent of Schools in Manila, the General Superintendent of Education, as well as the Secretary of Public Instruction. Correspondences between colonial education administrators in the Philippines, such as Philippine Commissioner Bernard Moses and Superintendent David P. Barrows, and U.S. based educational figures, particularly in institutions of higher education, were an important source of information in depicting the formation of the initial teaching force. Many of the political cartoons in this study can also be found in *The Forbidden Book*, perhaps the most comprehensive assemblage of cartoons related specifically to the Spanish and Philippine-American Wars.

[9] I close my analysis with the passage of the 1916 Jones Act, which expressed vague intentions toward establishing Philippine independence.

benevolent tutelary. In such, it was couched within a sentimental paternalism that saw English instruction as an educational practice essential for nurturing Filipinos into modern civilization.

This study demonstrates that the policy of English was thus situated in a framework of bourgeois domesticity wherein the U.S. colonial administration was imagined as a caring father figure to the infantilized Filipino dependents of the territory. American teachers, known as Thomasites, [10] were brought in to complete the colonial family. They served as the maternal figures of empire, instructing the colonial children into democratic adulthood. Through the 'benevolence' of this sentimental paternalism, Filipinos were domesticated, in both a familial and political sense, under the direction of empire. Thus, this work illuminates how domestication through English instruction naturalized the oppressive conditions of occupation as a normal function of developmental growth and political progress. In other words, English performed a sentimental erasure of the violent realities of colonialism, masking them with benevolent narratives of American good-will.

The function of domesticity, as described by Anne McClintock, is central to this research. Employing the lens of domesticity, as presented by Anne McClintock,[11] this research illuminates the manner in which English instruction functioned as a tool of benevolent pacification, constructing what Ann Stoler identifies as "the tense and tender"[12] sentiments of colonialism. It created intimate, familial depictions of the educational work of colonialism as well as the colonial dimensions of education, transforming American imperialism from a project of violent military occupation to Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden" of global salvation.[13] Domesticity produced a presentable face for U.S. colonialism, transforming oppressive, hierarchical relations of power relations into a naturalized and sentimental familial dynamic. It is applied to examine both the rhetoric of benevolent tutelage,[14] the curricular development of narrative of American benevolence, and the white American teachers imported for the purpose of carrying out the mandate of English instruction.

This study is in direct conversation with other scholars, namely Filipino and Filipino American, who have attempted to uncover the enduring impact of American colonialism in the Philippines. Ignacio, de la Cruz, Emmanuel, and Toribio argue that early attempts at excluding historical facts regarding the Philippine-American War began as soon as the project of overseas expansion was initiated.[15] In *The Forbidden Book*, they illustrate the erasure of U.S. colonialism as narrated through the political cartoons of the time. This study draws from several of the cartoons in their book to highlight the

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[10] Ronald Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901," in *To Islands Far Away: The Story of the Thomasites and Their Journey to the Philippines* (Manila, Philippines: Thomasites Centennial Project, 2001), xii–76.

[11] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

[12] Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829–865.

[13] Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *McClure's*, February 1899.

[14] Paul A Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 201.

[15] Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*.

pervasiveness of the narrative of benevolence and the role of English instruction in maintaining this rhetoric.

THE FORBIDDEN BOOK.

—*The Chicago Chronicle*

"The Forbidden Book."
Chicago Chronicle, also published in The Literary Digest, Vol. XX, No. 4. January 27, 1900, p. 105
[artist: Charles Lederer][16]

In regards to erasure, historian Renato Constantino declared that education under American colonial rule, was a "miseducation" precisely because it instructed forgetting; "[The Filipino] had to forget his past and unlearn the nationalist virtues in order to live peacefully, if not comfortably, under the colonial order."[17] The colonial institution of education, argued Constantino, was indispensable in erasing Filipino history and creating an intellectual culture of forgetting. Relatedly, English instruction scholar T. Ruanni Tupas examines the role of English in the Philippines in organizing a deep-seated "political imperative to forget."[18] Situating historical forgetting within Bourdieu's notion of misrecognition, Tupas argues that current language and education policies in the Philippines-- English instruction, in particular—stem from structural misrecognition

[16] As cited in Ibid., 1.

[17] Renato Constantino, *The Mis-education of the Filipino* (Manila, Philippines: Erehwon, 1966), 8.

[18] T Ruanni F Tupas, "Bourdieu, Historical Forgetting, and the Problem of English in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 56, no. 1 (2008): 58.

traced back to U.S. colonial education. In doing so, Tupas provides a valuable analysis of historical forgetting directly tied to power and structural violence. He maintains that English in the Philippines is imbued with the violence of historical forgetting.

While the latter two works investigate the relationship between forgetting and education in the Philippines, this dissertation extends the examination of the role of U.S. colonial education in erasing American empire in *both* the Philippines and the United States. Indeed, the challenges posed by American expansion included not only the resistance of subject peoples but also the threats to American political life. Anti-Imperialists, such as Mark Twain and Republican Senator George Frisbie Hoar, argued that U.S. colonial acquisition was antithetical to the very pillars of self-rule and self-representation that upheld the American republic. A deep political fissure had developed within the continental U.S. While America was expanding into the various Oceans, it faced a simultaneous threat of internal rupture.

"Worse than Assassins" denounced an August 18, 1900 article in the San Francisco Star. Americans in the U.S. were increasingly alarmed by the violent occupation carried out by the U.S. military government in the Philippines. Referencing published stories from letters sent home by American soldiers, the article critiqued the brutal "methods employed by our 'advanced guard of civilization' to bring about 'benevolent assimilation'." The nation was in a fraught moment, moving from a state that looked convincingly like a republic to one that bore a troubling resemblance to an empire. This study reveals that English instruction also served to reconcile the contradiction that colonialism posed to American democracy by deploying the rhetoric of benevolence and benevolent tutelage of the Philippines. It contributes an analysis of such educational practices as a function of what I term "colonial articulations."

Colonial Articulations

This study utilizes the analytic of articulation to uncover the 'hidden curriculum' of American colonialism and its practice of English instruction. It offers the term "colonial articulation" as both a reference to the idea of an articulation as an expression and a specific reference to Stuart Hall's mobilization of articulation.[19] Employing the concept of colonial articulations to read expressions of American intentions in the Philippines allows us to better comprehend the incoherent logic of conquest and how it was rendered intelligible through the sentimental grammar of English. At the same time, colonial articulations partakes in a study of these expressions as instances in which dimensions of power are combined, or linked together, as in the British use of 'articulation,' at specific moments in time.

Hall explains that an articulation is "the form of a connection that can be make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask under what conditions can a connection be forged or made?"[20] This approach is useful in the study of

[19] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," *Media, Culture and Society* 2, no. 1 (1980): 57–72.

[20] Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (Routledge, 1996), 115.

English instruction in the Philippines, then, because it captures the interplay of power structures, such as race, class, gender, and language within its specific temporal and spatial context. Like the notion of intersectionality, articulation understands that these relations of power are co-constitutive, however it differs in its recognition of the non-essentialness of the combination, that it is not everlasting, teleological, or deterministic. The use of colonial articulations, as established in this dissertation, then situates English instruction within an understanding of racial, gender, and class politics that is particular to the moment of examination.

Hall's notion of articulation is especially productive in that its understanding of the contingent nature of these links of power acknowledges the different possible combinations of connections. Therefore, it allows for a rearticulation of any articulation. The colonial articulations in this work, then, also represent critical opportunities to adjust the dimensions of power and read expressions of colonialism in another light. Indeed, this study concludes with a discussion of the possibilities within oppressive colonial articulations.

This dissertation uses colonial articulations to analyze the rhetoric of benevolence and discuss how American colonialism was recast as literal and institutional expressions tutelary. It examines English instruction as both the material practice of such colonial articulations and a crucial source for generation colonial articulations through curricular texts. These articulations were not merely expressed through words, but on a deeper ideological level, expressed through the vocabulary and economy of sentimental feelings. Colonial articulations thus sanctioned historical erasure as benevolent imperial care. This study looks at four specific expression of colonial articulation, each pivotal to the establishment of U.S. governance in the islands, to demonstrate the dual function of English instruction in providing lesson plans for colonial education practice and the broader project of American empire.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2, *Schooling Hearts and Minds: The Tender Violence of Colonial Education in the Philippines* takes up President William McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation of 1898 as a colonial articulation. It examines civilian and military officials' invocation of sentiments, particularly the gendering of feelings, and paternal domesticity to substantiate colonialism. It interrogates American racial structures as a crucial element of paternal sentimentality and details the racial construction of Filipinos as uncivilized and childlike. This chapter connects the racialized American imagination of the Filipino subject to the system of American public education developed for their 'moral and social uplift.' It demonstrates that by deploying the racial rhetoric of sentimental benevolence, the U.S. military used education as a specific military strategy for the purpose of pacification.

Chapter 3*, Grammar of Empire: English Instruction and (Curricular) Narratives of Benevolence,* provides an in depth examination of Public Law 74 which formally established the policy of English instruction. Investigating this law as a defining colonial articulation, this chapter explores the ideological motivations that led to the expression of this mandate. This chapter demonstrates how the policy of English instruction guided the so-called transition from U.S. military rule to civil government in the Philippines.

English instruction then provided a sanitized grammar for continued--and often invisibilized-- military engagement. It highlights the manner in which McKinley's program of 'Benevolent Assimilation'[21] was carried out in large part by tutelage provided through English instruction in the public schools. This chapter reveals how English served as the grammar of empire.

It demonstrates how the colonial articulation of English instruction, as expressed in Public Law 74, was situated in a framework of domesticity and a time and space of Western linear historicism which reduced Filipinos to infantilized, incoherent savages. This naturalized a disavowal of Filipino claims to independence as they were deemed unintelligible and incapable of self-rule. Furthermore, Ch. 3 highlights how the mandate of English established the organizational need for new curriculum in English, which paved the way for colonial articulations of American benevolence to be taught as historic fact. It examines Superintendent David P. Barrow's widely used text, The History of the Philippines as an example of the colonial narrative of American benevolence institutionalized through education.

The next chapter, *Maternal Soldiers of Conquest: Domesticity, English Instruction, and the American Teachers in the Philippines*, examines section 15 of Public Law 74 which established the deployment of American teachers for the purpose of teaching English in the colonial classrooms. It investigates how these teachers were positioned within the organizational framework of bourgeois domesticity and their subsequent roles in serving empire through the institution of colonial education. In particular, I focus on the gendered rendering of this teaching force, and the sentimental values that were attributed to their specific form of maternal patriotic duty. The public calls for teachers from the continental U.S. served as an important colonial articulation that intimately reframed, through gender binaries, and related sentimental values, perceptions of war and peace. The Thomasites came to embody a colonial maternalism, through their role as English instructors, that delineated times and space of peace. They served as feminine markers of conquest, naturalizing the realities of an ongoing war through articulations of sentimental tutelary.

The concluding chapter, *Colonial Rearticulations: The Impossibilities and Possibilities of English Instruction*, highlights the colonial articulation known as the Jones/Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916, the first official American recognition of the intended objective of Philippine Independence. Despite this declaration, Philippine independence would not be granted until 1946. This chapter investigates the Jones Act as a primary example of English functioning as the grammar of empire. It draws parallels between the failed program of English instruction and the rhetorical claims of colonialism as tutelary.

In 1925, the Monroe Report found American colonial education, particularly English instruction, to be far from successful. This exemplified the inherent ideological impossibilities of the articulated expressions of benevolence. The sentimental benevolence that motivated English instruction required the hierarchical maintenance of Filipinos as infantilized, incoherent children, therefore it failed by design. The utility of English instruction, then, was not in its educational practice, but rather, in its creation of an illusion that violence and colonial rule was no longer part of the American presence in

[21] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 119.

the Philippines. While the earlier chapters examine the role of English instruction as colonial articulations, the conclusion extends this analysis to illuminate the alternative articulations that can be derived from English instruction. It provides a discussion on colonial rearticulations as critical mimicry, moments where the 'colonized' challenges the philosophical and political ideologies of conquest by employing the very grammar of empire.

Thus, the conclusion discusses how the colonial educational structure also provided moments of decolonial knowledge. Filipino activists at the turn of the 20th century had studied previous American colonial projects and contested American rule on the basis of past atrocities. This chapter argues that we, too, need to take up a rigorous study of American colonialism to construct more equitable social systems. I reiterate the case for examining educational issues with an analysis of colonialism in order to highlight deeply embedded dynamics of power such as gender, race, and class. Finally, I make connections to invocations of educational development as articulated by American military and government officials in the current wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The parallels between the extension of American global power at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries are striking. The need for serious investigations of American colonial practices in education is urgent.

Chapter 2

Schooling Hearts and Minds: The Tender Violence of Colonial Education in the Philippines

U.S. soldiers in the Philippine-American war were issued Krag-Jorgensons, or Krags, the standard military rifle at the turn of the 20th century. The Krag was celebrated for its smokeless powder and its subsequent ability to allow the shooter to attack without betraying his location. Perhaps even more effective than the Krag in the campaign to pacify Filipinos, was the U.S.'s reliance on an arsenal of feelings. American colonial officials invoked sentimental feelings of benevolent care in order to present the U.S. occupation as a civilizing, democratizing mission. Colonial schools became one of the primary expressions of the American policy of benevolence.[1] Upon occupying towns in the Islands, U.S. forces immediately set about establishing schools.[2] "Benevolent" colonial education, like the smokeless powder of the Krag, allowed the U.S. to participate in imperialism without betraying the contradiction it posed to American democracy.[3]

This chapter examines the initial establishment of the system of American public schools in the Philippines, highlighting the deeply intertwined elements of sentimental benevolence, race, bourgeois domesticity, and pacification. It investigates the manner in which schools, under the cloak of benevolent care, were employed as a primary institution for carrying out the task of racial exclusion. It details how an important function of the "benevolent" education program was the normalization of a racial hierarchy, steeped in notions of bourgeois domesticity, which constructed Filipinos as underdeveloped and child-like. By infantilizing Filipinos as children,[4] the "little brown brothers"[5] and dependent "wards"[6] of the U.S., colonial administrators employed sentimental paternalism to construct a system of education that was touted as providing democratic tutelage.

This chapter also investigates colonial education as violence. In *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an age of U.S. Imperialism*, Laura Wexler demonstrates how bourgeois domesticity was employed to produce sentimental, sanitized images of U.S. empire that left the brutality of conquest out of the picture. Imperial violence, as Wexler shows, took several forms: as the *physical violence* of occupation and also, the more

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[1] Roland Sintos Coloma, "Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling Under United States Rule, 1900-1910" (Ohio State University, 2004); Kimberly A Alidio, Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation: Racial Discourse, US Colonial Education and Filipino Ethnicity, 1901-1946 (University of Michigan., 2001).

[2] John M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Praeger, 1973), 136.

[3] Edward Said demonstrates the force of this educational structure as it manifested through Orientalism. For a discussion of how the West constructed notions of the Orient (and itself in relation to the Orient) through the mechanics of academia, see Edward W Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 2–4.

[4] Julian Go, "'Racism' and Colonialism: Meanings of Difference and Ruling Practices in America's Pacific Empire," *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no. 1 (2004): 40.

[5] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 200.

[6] William McKinley, "Fourth Annual Message" (Online-The American Presidency Project, December 3, 1900), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29541.

appealing *tender violence,* which transformed the former into sentimental, domestic relationships.[7] Education was central in institutionalizing such tender violence. In fact, Wexler notes that the very phrase "tender violence" is a reference to Hampton Institute founder General Samuel Chapman Armstrong and his description "of the kind of education he believed it was necessary for the nation to undertake in order to prepare American ex-slaves and newly pacified Native Americans for citizenship."[8] This chapter details the "tender violence" of colonial education in the specific context of U.S. overseas expansion in the Philippines, focusing on the tender violence of "benevolent" education and its function in military pacification.

In addition, this chapter draws upon what Wexler calls "sentimental continuities," to situate the development of American education in the Philippines within the broader history of American nationhood. Sentimental feelings were operationalized as a dimension of power rooted in the ever-expanding project of American nation building, "grounded historically in the institutions of slavery and subsequently extended to colonization."[9] Weaving the thread of sentimentalism through different racialized U.S. populations and geographic regions, Wexler details how the tender violence of education served the purpose of nation building by domesticating the "colonized." Drawing from the idea of continuities, this chapter illuminates the ways in which 'benevolent education' in the Philippines was linked to domesticating sentimental and colonial programs across the continental U.S. and in other overseas territories. It demonstrates that the institution of American colonial education in the Philippines was constructed along what I define as the "colonial lessons" of previous experiences of U.S. empire, domesticating Filipinos in the service of American empire.[10]

In this chapter, I argue that through deploying the racial rhetoric of sentimental benevolence, the U.S. military employed the tender violence of education as a strategy for pacification. Additionally, I demonstrate that colonial education in the Philippines was situated within a racial framework of bourgeois domesticity, which relied on the trope of family to present American foreign rule as paternal care or "benevolence." American foreign rule was imagined as a stern yet caring Uncle Sam, burdened with the responsibility of rearing the racially infantilized Filipinos into democratic adulthood. Domesticity was central to the mission of "benevolent" education; representing both the moral framework of bourgeois domesticity embedded in the gendered academic

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[7] For a discussion on the role of education in the enactment of violence, see Bourdieu's conceptualization of symbolic violence in Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (SAGE, 1990); Peter McLaren, Zeus Leonardo and Ricky Lee Allen's analysis of discursive or "cool violence" in Peter McLaren, Zeus Leonardo, and Ricky Lee Allen, "The Gift of Si (gh) Ted Violence: Toward a Discursive Intervention into the Organization of Capitalism," *Discourse* 21, no. 2 (1999): 139–162; and Zeus Leonardo and Ronald K. Porter's identification of the varied forms of violence in "safe" classroom discussions of race as laid out in Zeus Leonardo and Ronald K Porter, "Pedagogy of Fear: Toward a Fanonian Theory of 'safety' in Race Dialogue," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 13, no. 2 (2010): 139–157.

[8] Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*, Cultural Studies of the United States (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 52.

[9] Ibid., 53.

[10] Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *The Global Servants: (im)migrant Filipina Domestic Workers in Rome and Los Angeles*, 1998; Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*, American Encounters/global Interactions (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

curriculum, and the political economic objective of pacifying and domesticating the colonial subjects and territory under the service of American empire.

I argue that the system of "benevolent" education in the Philippines was linked to the sentimental continuities of American educational programs carried out against other racialized populations in the United States. In this manner, colonial administrators in the Philippines benefited from the colonial lessons of previous episodes of U.S. expansions. Finally, I argue that, packaged as benevolent tutelage, American education performed the important colonial function of presenting U.S. colonialism as an act of caring self-sacrifice rather than a violent imposition of imperial power. "Benevolent" education carried out a tender violence that attempted to pacify Filipinos by rearticulating the American occupation as a mission of social and democratic uplift. Moreover, American colonial education created an image of peace and civility (the establishment of the Philippine Commission and civilian governance) that masked the violence (the ongoing military campaign) of U.S. colonialism. The "benevolence" of American colonial education schooled the hearts and minds of Filipino and American resisters of U.S. colonialism, instituting a tender violence with a damaging effect equal to any military rifle.

Feelings, Nothing More Than Feelings

The U.S. takeover of the Philippines was according to President William McKinley, an act of caring benevolence. Immediately following the signing of the Treaty of Paris, McKinley issued his December 21, 1898, "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation," declaring the good intentions of the American regime in the Philippines:

> *[I]t should be the earnest wish and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION* [sic]
> *substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule.*[11]

The U.S. articulated its presence in the Islands as fulfilling a benevolent purpose designed to bring about democracy, as contrasted with what was deemed the imperial objective of Spain. American colonialism, unlike the Spanish variety, McKinley insisted, was in the best interest of the Filipino people. "It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation," the President ordered, "to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights." Americans, he declared, came not as occupiers, but as "friends," guardians of the Filipino dependents. Those who cooperated with the American colonial program would be permitted a peaceful existence, experiencing the fruits of American benevolence, "All

[11] William McKinley, "Message from the President of the United States" (U.S. Congress, December 21, 1898), 82–83, 56th Congress, 1st sess., 1898-1900, S. Doc. 208.

persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the Government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes will receive the reward of its support and protection." However, embedded within this sentimental proclamation was a clear warning: those who did not welcome the forceful imposition of this new friendship would face disciplining, "All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be, but without severity, so far as possible."[12]

McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation officially declared U.S. imperial actions as demonstrations of democratic good will. Sentiments of good intentions were self-righteously announced as both the motivations and justifications for colonial rule. Benevolence became the ideological foundation upon which the military occupation was rationalized. "In the fulfillment of this high mission," the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces reasoned, "there must be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority, to repress disturbance and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States."[13]

Though Filipino nationals had already declared independence from Spain before the islands were ceded to the U.S. for $250 million, the American attempt to occupy the Islands culminated in the Philippine-American war. As prominent Anti-Imperialist Carl Schurz noted, the pernicious irony of the American politics of benevolence was that it "directed our military commander at Manila to extend the military government of the United States over the whole archipelago." Schurz identified McKinley's declaration of benevolence as the moment that "the slaughter of our late allies began "[14] Reading between the lines of the proclamation, between the sentiments of good will and friendliness, exposed the contradiction of the project of American overseas conquest in the Philippines.

The Social Grammar of Benevolence

Benevolence as a social and political movement was historically associated with the reading practice of sentimental literature, a genre written with the purpose of eliciting particular emotional and moral responses from its readers. The sentimental novel aimed to draw in the reader with a dramatic tale of injustice, compelling the reader to situate herself in a realm of feeling dominated by tenderness, sympathy, and familial intimacy. Often, such novels served as a call to action, encouraging "benevolent" social intervention projects that were embedded with ideologies of racial and gender hierarchies.[15] With advancements in printing methods, benevolence leapt from the pages of the sentimental novel onto the social stage, finding its way into social texts such as

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Carl Schurz, *The Policy of Imperialism: Address* (American Anti-imperialistic League, 1899), p. 8.

[15] Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is perhaps one of the most well known examples of a sentimental novel which stirred the American public into "benevolent" mobilization around the antebellum cause de jure of slavery.

society pamphlets and educational materials.[16] Sentimental benevolence thus shaped the development of American nationhood from Indian removal, antebellum abolitionism, to overseas expansion and colonial education in the Philippines. Benevolence was a thread that wove the different periods and projects of American nation building together, what Laura Wexler noted as the sentimental continuities of U.S. Empire, into a patchwork quilt of American contradictions.

One of the most obvious contradictions these various projects of sentimental benevolence presented was the direct challenge to the declaration that all men are created equal. The disconnect between this "truth" and the race based slave-holding economy of the time was undeniable, leading abolitionist Thomas Day to announce, "If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with the one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves."[17] Sentiments, such as benevolence, then, provided a social grammar for Americans to articulate a self-narrative of their exploits that belied the foundational contradictions to democracy. "[W]hile Anglo-Americans figured the nation's nonwhite populations as its most dangerous elements," writes Susan Ryan in *The Grammar of Good Intentions: Race and the Antebellum Culture of Benevolence*, "they also characterized intervention into such lives as whites' greatest opportunity for redemption. Through benevolence, they could claim a caretaking quality that might counterbalance the aggressiveness and expansionism for which they were becoming known."[18]

Benevolence served as just the mechanism by which whites could rewrite their exploitative history into one of heroism, without the responsibility of confronting their contradictory actions. Benevolence as "caretaking" transformed the exclusionary relationship between white bodies and the nonwhite bodies positioned outside of the national body, into an imagined familial dynamic where racialized bodies were rendered dependent upon white care. The metaphor of family became an integral feature of benevolence, bestowing a patronizing sense of tenderness, intimacy, sincerity, and moral obligation into this particular brand of caretaking. More specifically, the tenets of heterosexual bourgeois domesticity defined the hierarchical lines of relations (paternal father figure, nurturing mother, dependent children) so that the caretaking served to maintain unequal positions of power.

Though expressed as an attempt to provide social uplift for the downtrodden, benevolence was never intended to raise the nonwhite population into a position of full recognition by the state. "The impossibility of complete sentimental benevolence," Ryan explains, "is a phenomenon integral to what sentimental benevolence is and how it works. The simultaneous erasure and persistence of difference facilitates both the sentimental bond that creates the desire to give and the maintenance of hierarchy that suggests that such giving is safe, that it does not threaten the identity or the status of the giver, that it does not, ultimately, make helper and helped the same."[19] English writer

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[16] Susan M Ryan, *The Grammar of Good Intentions: Race and the Antebellum Culture of Benevolence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 12.

[17] David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007), 76–77.

[18] Ryan, *The Grammar of Good Intentions*, 5.

[19] Ibid., 19.

Rudyard Kipling demonstrates perhaps one of the most well known examples of linking concepts of benevolence and U.S. imperial expansion in the Philippines.

Published in the February 1899 issue of McClure's, "The White Man's Burden" became recognized as a powerful reflection on U.S. overseas acquisition, presenting American empire as a moral obligation.[20] Kipling draws upon popular discourse and positions Filipinos on the lower end of the social hierarchy, describing them as "new-caught, sullen peoples, half devil, half child." This imagery constructs Filipinos as underdeveloped, semi-persons, tainted by a satanic savagery. The passage also serves to illuminate the hierarchical safety that allows Americans to "Take up the White Man's Burden" and assume their 'obligatory' role as guardians of the Filipino 'devil-children.' The sentimental benevolence complicit with domestic expansion was now repackaged for the overseas market as McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation."

Colonial Benevolence, Difference, and Power in the Philippines

"Popular Song Illustrated-'Because I Love You.' "
The Chicago Record, November 28, 1899 [artist: Werntz][21]

American sentimental benevolence in the Philippines positioned the U.S. national body as a father figure and the Philippines, in contrast, as Kipling's 'children.' This imagined hierarchical line of distinction thus allowed for punishment of Filipinos under the framework of domestic guidance. The November 28, 1899 political cartoon "Popular

[20] Kipling, "The White Man's Burden."
[21] As cited in Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 103.

Song Illustrated-'Because I Love You'," printed in *The Chicago Record,* demonstrated that American colonial benevolence in the Philippines was, like its domestic counterpart, entangled in the complex power structures of race, gender and domesticity. Depicting McKinley as a disciplinary father figure preparing to spank the backside of the barefooted Filipino held down over his knees, the cartoon illuminated the central the role of power--or more accurately the struggle to assert power over Filipinos--in colonial benevolence. Moreover, it highlighted the role of violence in enforcing this power.

It was a paradox that worked precisely because it hid the paradox in blind sight. The benevolent violence of McKinley's spanking differed from the typical portrayal of the kinds of military violence associated with occupation: that of guns, soldiers, and bloody battles. Instead, it was a "gentler" violence, portraying a familiar and familial scene: that of the caring father doling out a dose of necessary tough love to keep his child in line. Benevolent violence created a binary difference, then, between the brutality of colonial military violence and the "tender violence"[22] of discipline. What made this difference possible was that it was mapped onto a framework of "teaching," specifically, teaching the Filipino a lesson for his own good. Benevolent violence was acceptable because it was educative. Spankings as a form of punishment were acceptable in the schools and in the home, further situating the constructed educational element of the discipline within the realm of intimate tutelage.

The project of colonial benevolence thus removed the Filipino from the context of war and positioned him in the moral home of well-intentioned Americans. The cartoon depicts McKinley sitting on a chair and the blank space behind him indicated that he is not in the tropics of the Philippines, but rather in a controlled environment such as a home. The title, "Because I Love You," places the element of sentimental caretaking in the foreground, calling attention to the tenderness of the violence. Within the context of the post-slavery era and the eradication of legally sanctioned racial violence, one manner in which government oppression persisted was through the mask of care. Colonial benevolence, therefore, evidenced the sentimental continuities of the developing nationhood by modifying continental violence to fit new models of conquest.

In addition to constructing binary differences in relation to violence and race (via the infantilization and subsequent tutelage of Filipinos), the project of benevolence in the Philippines narrated differences in regards to gender, as expressed in its obsession with white masculinity, bourgeois domesticity, and virility. Benevolence, as a means of narrating a story of American selfhood, relied upon a self-identity hinged upon illusions of authority expressed as paternalism, the U.S. as patron or patriarch. The cartoon demonstrates the fantasy of colonial power and illustrates a scene with homoerotic, sadomasochistic overtones. Western imperialism has long been tied not only to constructs of race, but to the related psychological anxieties of gender and sexuality as well. "For centuries the uncertain continents – Africa, the Americas, Asia – were figured in European lore as libidinously eroticized," Anne McClintock explains in *Imperial Leather*. "Renaissance travelers," she notes, "found an eager and lascivious audience for their spicy tales, so that, long before the era of high Victorian imperialism, Africa and the Americas had become what can be called a porno-tropics for the European imagination –

[22] Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 143–144.

a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears."[23]

The turn of the twentieth century was a moment of heightened anxiety and fear about the state of American manhood.[24] Kristin Hoganson argues that American involvement in the Spanish and Philippine-American wars was deeply connected to gender politics and anxiety-ridden feelings over a wavering national manhood. 1893 marked the beginning of a gripping economic downturn that would last until 1897. Unemployment rose to 12%, posing an economic challenge to men (as the dominant wage earners at the time) and a social threat to the gendered role of the male breadwinner as well as the stability of the white, middle-class family unit. Financial instability thus spelled a crisis for both masculinity and bourgeois domesticity.

The country was just beginning to take steps to recover from the recession when McKinley declared war against Spain in 1898. The omnipresent anxiety over the sensitive subject of American masculinity found its way into the discourse for war. Hoganson notes that prevailing theories of U.S. involvement in the Spanish and Philippine-American wars "fail to explain the pervasiveness of gendered rhetoric in debates over war and empire."[25] Gender, she asserts, functioned "As both motive and method,"[26] uniting American men under the banner of masculinity.

Political conversations about expansion in the Philippines were bestrewn with remarks regarding the assertion of U.S. masculinity through conquest. Even naval strategist Alfred Mahan, of "sea power" fame, was afflicted with a case of masculine insecurity, seeking to defend manhood through participation in war, "The most prominent naval theorist of the time, Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan," writes Hoganson, "called for a 'manly resolve' rather than 'weakly sentiment' in U.S. policy."[27] Efforts to promote the "benevolent" colonization of the Islands were connected with fantasies of proving the virility of white manhood through the display of power associated with the domestication of foreign territories. Colonial benevolence, and the policy of Benevolent Assimilation, therefore, was invested in a performance of power steeped in narcissism and neurotic delusions of grandeur as it imposed a perverse hierarchical relationship of parental guidance upon the people of the Philippine Islands.

Racial Infantilization

The acquisition of new U.S. territories had historically resulted in the governance of additional peoples, a fact well documented by colonial officials debating the Philippine issue (Depew, 1900). Such 'acquisition' of people as part of conquest was predicated upon a colonial ideology deeply rooted in notions of race, difference, and inferiority.

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[23] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 21–24.

[24] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Kristin L Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*, Yale Historical Publications (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 1998); Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 242–269.

[25] Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 8.

[26] Ibid., 9.

[27] Ibid., 9–10.

Within this rationality, Filipinos were constructed, or racialized, as non-white 'others' and, therefore, deemed uncivilized (Kramer, 2006; Go, 2004). A July 1, 1900 newspaper article in the *New Haven Union*, announced the acquisition of "Our New Ape Men," and declared the Negrito people of the Philippines, "the curious black dwarves of our newly-acquired archipelago," and "[p]robably the most monkey-like people in the world" (New Haven Union, 1900, p. 12).

The paternalism of American exceptionalism further rendered Filipinos dependent on the guardianship of the United States. Indeed, Philippine Governor William Howard Taft referred to Filipinos as "little brown brothers,"[28] a racially charged infantilization that aimed to portray them as helpless figures. In this way, as a colony the Philippines became dependent in territorial reference to the empire, as well as racially when positioned in a field of human development, or more precisely, within the spectrum of humanity's development as aligned with the capacity for democratic self-rule. Thus, the U.S. constructed a hierarchical family of democratic man that relied on an ideology of domesticity in order to justify continued imperial rule and maintain a cohesive image of American liberty. As historian Paul Kramer notes. "Discourses of family were central to the new inclusionary racial formation…Family was a metaphor of inclusion and belonging, but also one of hierarchy, of natural inferiors and superiors."

These feelings were mapped upon the structure of bourgeois domesticity. Domesticity became an important element of making the colonial home--both in situating American foreign governance and in positioning colonial officials in the familiar hierarchical environment of bourgeois life-- in the Pacific. Filipinos were racially imagined as "childlike" dependents: uneducated, underdeveloped, and too unprepared for their own democratic welfare. This provided the rationale for the continued American colonial administration of the Philippines, directing the economic development of the territory for U.S. Empire. The racialization of Filipinos as children was also an attempt to undermine the Filipino resistance movement by portraying people of the Islands as incapable of self-rule. This served as the underpinnings of a paternalist discourse that asserted white male dominance in the U.S. colonial family of the Philippines. As the naturalized father figures of the colonial family, the administration then adopted the infantilized Filipinos into the household of imperialism so as to nurture them into the proper developmental stages of capitalist democracy.

The 1898 political cartoon "*All Sizes and Good Fits for All the Family*" demonstrates the colonial family relationship imposed by U.S. paternalism upon the newly acquired dependencies. Here, a gentle Uncle Sam assists a grateful, barefooted Philippines into the new clothes of the democratic family. The young Philippines requires help with even the most basic task. He cannot dress himself properly without assistance from the United States. Little Philippines smiles as he looks up gratefully towards Uncle Sam and receives the benevolent guidance of the tender paternal figure of American governance. Little Cuba, Puerto Rico and Hawai'i anxiously await their turn to shed the old clothes of a savage lifestyle and don the red, white and blue trademark of the happy American democratic family. The transformation of the Philippines from the "little brown brother" to full democratic selfhood, it was argued, would require literal instruction in American values. U.S. colonial education was quickly established for this purpose.

[28] Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p. 200.

"All Sizes and Good Fits for All the Family."
Cartoons of the War of 1898 with Spain, from Leading Foreign and American papers,
Chicago: Belford, Middlebrook and Company, 1898 [artist: Charles Nelan][29]

Benevolence and the Initial Schools

As an exemplar of the benevolence of U.S. occupation, education served as an organized effort to proselytize America's well-intentioned sentiments for conquest. The Philippine Commission, the civilian component of the colonial government, found education to be of top priority in the development of the new colonial society. "Among the things proposed by the commission," the Toledo Times relayed to the American public on June 5, 1900, "is a comprehensive school system, a thoroughly upright judicial system, and a clean and competent civil service. The policy of the government towards the people of its new possession looks wholly to their political, educational and industrial exaltation."[30] That the "policy of the government" was aimed at "exaltation" situates McKinley's 'benevolent' colonial institutions within an ideology of selfless sentimental uplift. "

The Commission should bear in mind," McKinley guided in his letter of instruction, "that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the Philippine Islands."[31] Education, as a foundational element of the new government, then evidenced the sacrificial efforts of the U.S. government in creating the conditions for Filipino happiness.[32] Commenting on the Philippine Commission's

[29] Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 31.
[30] "Philippine Commission," *Toledo Times*, June 5, 1900, C-B 944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.
[31] *Executive Minutes of the United States Philippine Commission* (Manila, Philippines: Philippine Commission, 1900), 15.
[32] The sentiment of happiness was imbued with notions of American democracy and therefore represented strong political implications. Harking back to the tenets of the Declaration of Independence, the pursuit of happiness was directly associated with life and liberty, therefore, McKinley's reference to the cultivation of this particular sentiment was also an indirect statement against Filipino resistance.

proposal, the Times noted, "It is a policy of humanity, of justice and of unselfish helpfulness. It has in view their better condition, their greater efficiency in the world's intelligent economy and their higher happiness."[33] Feelings, particularly benevolence and happiness, were thus highly political and were at the center of the US colonial education project in the Philippines, transforming overseas conquest into the moral imperative of social uplift.

Education under American colonial rule had begun during the initial military occupation. In fact, by the date of official transfer to civilian rule, approximately 100,000 Filipino students were enrolled in U.S. army-run schools.[34] The first American school was established by the army on Corregidor Island immediately following Admiral George Dewey's May 1, 1898 defeat of the Spanish armada in Manila Bay. From 1899-1900, U.S. soldiers would set about constructing local schools directly after the occupation of new towns,[35] a pattern that continued through the civilian governance of the Philippine Commission.

However, early schooling under the American military regime lacked standardization and a system of consistent management. The army encountered difficulties in reopening and operating the schools as many of them had been closed during the wars and were in varying stages of disarray. Without a structured educational plan, the army made do with the resources at hand, using old textbooks from the Spanish period, many of which prioritized religious content,[36] and compiling other necessary materials on the spot. American soldiers went from singing drill songs about Filipinos which proposed to "Educate 'em with a krag," to serving as the first teachers in the make-shift barracks schools set up across the archipelago. [37]

In an attempt to create a more cohesive educational program in Manila, the colonial government charged army chaplain Father W.D. McKinnon with establishing new American schools in the city. Though a member of the clergy, one of the distinct features of McKinnons' U.S. run schools in Manila was the secularization of education, a dramatic shift in curriculum, which served as a sharp, and what was argued as a democratic contrast from the religious focus of the Spanish schools.[38] This move was both pedagogical and political as it garnered support for American rule from some Filipino nationalists who had fought for a separation of education and religion, [39] one of the principles of the Philippine Republic. The army maintained this secular dimension of public schooling in their developing plans for an island-wide educational system.

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[33] "Philippine Commission."

[34] Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913*, Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 78.

[35] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 136.

[36] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 78.

[37] Frederic S. Marquardt, "Life with the Early American Teachers," 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), 25.

[38] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 60–61.

[39] Ibid., 61.

In March 1900, Military Governor Elwell Stephen Otis[40] established a Department of Public Instruction headed by Captain Albert Todd. Todd had begun to formulate plans for a unified system of education in the islands and had requested that military officials in the occupied territories report on the status of schools in their provinces.[41] He also compiled a survey of education in the Philippines under Spanish rule. Reporting to the War Department in 1901, the colonial government detailed that in the Spanish system of education, "the teaching of the Christian doctrine, the catechism and prayers, and this often only in the native dialect, constituted in greater part the curriculum of a large proportion of the schools of primary instruction, which were the only ones within reach of the masses of the people. To observe and to reason, important and vital facts of American school work, found little expression in the preexisting system."[42]

Todd concluded that the new American system should be fundamentally different; the U.S. schools would be compulsory, free from a religious (Catholic) foundation, and instruction would be taught in English. Despite Todd's ambitions, implementing these initial reforms proved difficult. The military run schools confronted issues with overcrowding, poorly maintained buildings, and limited access to materials and appropriate content matter.[43]

However, the Philippine Commission soon took over the reins of public schooling, with University of California Professor Bernard Moses as Commissioner of Education and former Massachusetts teacher Fred Washington Atkinson as the newly appointed General Superintendent of schools in the Philippines. The Commission, and their new Department of Education, was charged with developing the haphazardly run military schools into a system of public schools for the entire island. "It will be the duty of the Commission," McKinley declared in his letter of instruction, "to promote and extend and, as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities." Indeed, the Commission adopted many of Captain Todd's educational initiatives.[44]

Colonial education was designed to instruct Filipinos in more than just academic content matter. Its objective was to school the local population in the ideals of the American regime. In creating the system of schools, the Philippine Commission "should regard as of first importance," McKinley further outlined, "the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community."[45] Education under civilian governance, thus, was specifically framed within the context of tutelage for citizenship and civilized development. This, too, was a carry over from military rule, as education was tied early on to the development of a new colonial

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[40] General Arthur MacArthur succeeded General Otis in April 1900.

[41] Krag, 136-9

[42] United States. War Dept, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 257.

[43] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 78.

[44] Ibid.

[45] "The President's Instructions to the Commission, April 7, 1900," in *Public Laws Passed by the Philippine Commission During the Period from September 1, 1900 to August 31, 1902, Comprising Acts Nos. 1 to 449, Inclusive*, vol. 1 (Manila, Philippines: Bureau of Public Printing, 1903), LXVII.

citizenry. Indeed, Captain Todd's administration purchased American flags as basic supplies for the military run schools.[46] Through both military rule and civilian governance, education served as a primary colonial mechanism by which to institutionalize the rhetoric of benevolent assimilation with which McKinley had framed the American colonial project in the Philippines.

Tutelage

The Philippine policy of sentimental benevolence was tied to the conflicted feelings and political sentiment of the U.S. as a colony-holding democracy, a fact many Filipinos and Americans found to be an unsettling contradiction. "Surely there is nothing about the policy to get indignant at," the Toledo Times reassured the American public, "or to warrant the assumption of a political party that the American purpose in the Philippines is that of tyranny and of wrong."[47] Their acknowledgment of a political critique, even though they dismissed it, highlights that Americans were disquieted by their presence in the Philippines. "It has seemed," noted United States Commissioner of Education William Torrey Harris in 1899, "to be a new departure for the United States to acquire colonies that must not be admitted to federal representation. It must involve an imperialistic relation to a portion of our people and this will gradually react on our form of government and in the end deprive us of cherished privileges, it is said."[48]

Responding to the political tensions brought on by overseas expansion, Harris continued in his 1899 National Education Association talk, "An Educational Policy for our New Possessions," by arguing for the necessity of U.S. conquest in the global race for colonies, framing expansion, paternalistically, as a responsibility of the U.S. as a democratic power to lift other peoples:

> *We see, however, that expansion is unavoidable in some form. The great powers of Europe have divided Africa among themselves. They have moved upon Asia until it seems only a question of months when China, the greatest aggregate of people with an indigenous government that has ever existed, will be partitioned. There is no territory of uncivilized people that will remain long out of the possession of those great powers. Nor is there a long future for any of the decaying political powers wherever they may exist. This fact causes every thoughtful American to look seriously to the question whether it is not a duty developing upon us as a people to have our hand in this work of division and show that we can hold conquered nations for their own benefit—that we, in short, can lift them toward self-government.* [49]

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[46] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 78.

[47] Philippine Commission, "Public Laws Passed by the Philippines Commission: During the Period from September 1, 1900, to August 31, 1902. Comprising Acts Nos. 1 to 449, Inclusive."

[48] William Torrey Harris, "An Educational Policy for Our New Possessions," *The Educational Review* (1899): 108.

[49] Ibid.

In the Philippines, Commissioner of Education Bernard Moses wholeheartedly agreed with Harris' sentiments on American expansion. "There is no longer isolation for either the civilized man or the barbarian, and the points of contact have been increased by the expansion of colonial systems," Moses rationalized. "In the new rivalry the nations are brought face to face." He, too, found colonization to be an imperative, proclaiming an American obligation to participate in Empire, "China will not be able to hide behind her wall, and the United States, in spite of her position as an isolated continent, will be obliged to join in the game of international politics, which for the immediate future will be played about the dependencies."[50]

Education proved to be an essential tool in justifying the U.S. conquest of the islands as it served as an apt metaphor for the sentimental causes of occupation. Schooling, Harris asserted, was the mechanism by which Americans could achieve their duty of global social uplift and ensure national security. Additionally, a system of free (free only in a manner of speaking) public education in the overseas territories was crucial to U.S. conquest in that it served as the distinction between the imperial rule of other global powers and the beneficent guardianship of the United States government:

> *Other nations, notably, Germany, Austria, Russia, and France will teach their colonists to be industrious and to adopt civilized habits in the matter of food, clothing, and shelter. Great Britain will go further and establish universities in India and even in Africa, so as to permit exceptional individuals to reach great careers, but the United States will put before the whole people the opportunity of schooling. It will give whole nations an apprenticeship in an industrial civilization. Is not this better than to draw a Chinese wall around our present territory and make no new acquisitions on account of the danger of diluting our already thin national blood? Let us have an apprenticeship for all people within our nation in the art of local self-government. In this, then, is hope not only for peoples on a lower stage of self-government, but also for ourselves. For if other people of the world, to the number of some fourteen hundred millions, are united under the five great powers of Europe, while we in turn have only one hundred millions [sic], our national idea will be threatened abroad and have more dangers than ever at home*.[51]

Harris' reference to colonial rule as an apprenticeship in self-government was a popular analogy in the debates around imperialism, and it strengthened the metaphor and role of education in overseas conquest. American colonial governance, described Hon. Chauncey M. Depew in his February 27, 1900 speech to the United States Senate, was the "kindergarten of liberty," the cite where the U.S. "rapidly develops its pupils for larger responsibilities for citizenship, respect for law, for judicial duties and for a

[50] Bernard Moses, "Colonial Enterprise," no date, 59, C-B 944, Carton 1, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.
[51] Harris, "An Educational Policy for Our New Possessions," 108–109.

constantly increasing share in their local and general assemblies." [52] Education, therefore, was direct tutelage in the knowledge and practices of democratic government.

Indeed, the notion of colonization as tutelage became one of the leading rally cries for mobilizing the occupation of the Philippines.[53] "So the uplifting of the people of the Philippines," Depew passionately declared to the Senate, "to the comprehension and practice of orderly industry, respect for individual rights, confidence and then participation in government will add enormously to their happiness and reciprocally to the strength, prosperity and power of our country. [Applause in the galleries]."[54] Depew's invocation of colonialism as the kindergarten of liberty drew support from Senate members in the U.S. as well as colonial officials in the Philippines. In detailing the Philippine Commissions plans for developing the archipelago, Bernard Moses echoed President of the First Philippine Commission Jacob Schurman's sentiment that "Our tutelage, at least for some time, is the only thing that can save the Filipinos from despotism and anarchy and their islands from a division among the European powers, thus destroying forever the hope of a free and self-governing Filipino nationality."[55] Education, as beneficent schooling in the ways of democratic governance, then provided an effective, and heartwarming, strategy to reconcile the tenuous contradiction of U.S. empire.

Tender Violence

American colonialism required the imposition of a new epistemological framework—to normalize a new set of social relations to land, people, and resources—thus, colonial education proved to be both an indispensable metaphor and institutional method for disseminating the ideologies of U.S. Empire. "We must take them out of the form of civilization that rests on tradition and mere external authority," William Harris affirmed in "Education Policy for our New Possessions," "and substitute for it a civilization of the printed page, which governs by public opinion any by insight rather than by mere authority." Conquest involved the domination of intellectual as well as physical territories to substantiate foreign rule, rescuing the local population from "tradition" and prior ways of knowledge and moving them towards "a civilization of the printed page;" a mode of existence which relied on a complex hierarchical matrix of power to enforce the private ownership of property and social division of labor.

It was also a global system of power, one that enabled its imperial beneficiaries to assume positions of racial, gender, class, and sexual superiority and, as an intended consequence, instruct a hegemonic order of society. "Such a civilization we have a right to enforce on this earth," continued leading U.S. educational philosopher William Torrey Harris. "We have a right to work for the enlightenment of all peoples," he justified, "and

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[52] Depew, "The Government of the Philippine Islands" (Speech of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew of New York in the Senate of the United States presented at the U.S. Senate, U.S. Senate, February 27, 1900), 21.

[53] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 201–205.

[54] Depew, "The Government of the Philippine Islands," 21.

[55] "Moses and His First Ideas of the Philippines," *San Francisco Call*, April 9, 1900, C-B 944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

to give our aid to lift them into local self-government. But local self-government cannot exist where there is no basis of productive industry and book-learning."[56] Illuminating aspects of the hierarchical matrix of power embedded in colonial education, Harris' statement demonstrates how self-proclaimed rights to the enforcement of colonial ideals were neutralized through the sentiment of democratic enlightenment and uplift achieved through schooling.

Harris' statement also reveals a critical element of the structure of American colonial education: its embedded violence. The seemingly well-intentioned objective of enlightenment and aid served to detract attention from the assertion of American intervention as a "right," one argued as a right to "enforce," no less. This enforcement was unidirectional, top-down, inhibiting the possibility of a level engagement of power. U.S. colonialism as an imposition of hierarchical systems of power was thus sanitized as tender care.

"Tender violence," as Samuel Armstrong Chapman, founder of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, noted, was precisely the type of education needed to fit Native Americans and newly freed Blacks for participation as productive members of American society.[57] As a former commander of the U.S. Colored Troops in the Civil War, Armstrong's educational model was highly disciplinary, with punitive consequences for misbehavior, centered on developing manual and moral training to lift its students out of their social lot and into the service of the Christian home. It was this same sentimental rhetoric of uplift and civilizing that characterized McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation in the Philippines.

Though seemingly incongruous, tender violence was no more an oxymoron than the U.S. as a colony-holding democracy. Rather, the two were functional contradictions that bolstered each other. The element of nineteenth century American domesticity, begirded by the cult of womanhood, notes Laura Wexler, rendered the disparate ideas of 'tender' and 'violence' a rational, and operative, coupling.[58] Domesticity provided a sentimental logic of familial affection and care, which belied the oppressive hierarchical dimensions of power it substantiated. Race distinction, illustrated by Armstrong's Hampton Institute, was amongst the central elements of power situated in tender violence, mobilizing the violence of disciplinary education as paternal care. An essential assumption in the hierarchical power structure of domesticity was the notion that Protestant White Americans better understood what was in the best interest of non-white populations. President McKinley's declaration of benevolent assimilation in the Philippines sanctioned colonialism as paternal care, illuminating how the ideology of domesticity transformed the violence of occupation into sentimental devotion.

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[56] Harris, "An Educational Policy for Our New Possessions," 114.

[57] Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 52–53.

[58] Wexler, *Tender Violence.*

"The Filipino's First Bath."
"McKinley—'Oh, you dirty boy!' "
Judge, Judge Company, New York, June 10, 1899 [artist: Grant Hamilton][59]

The 1899 Judge cartoon, "The Filipino's First Bath" depicts McKinley as the White savior/guardian of an infantilized Filipino population, illuminating the racial aspect of American benevolence. Bathing the screaming Filipino baby in the water of civilization, McKinley is no longer the Commander and Chief of the American Armed Forces, but a well-intentioned father figure aiming to nurture his baby into self-reliance. The domestic quality of tender violence is bivalent, both familial and political, enabling the rhetoric of sentimental familial affection (McKinley as father) as well as the political objective of raising foreign territories to self-government (bathing the child in civilization), following the ideology of the domestic nation-state. Schooling in the Philippines became a primary mechanism for the enactment of American paternalism, evoking Samuel Chapman Armstrong's racialized sentimental care.

Colonial Education as Military Pacification

Tender violence was an educational strategy reiterated in the Philippines through the sentimental framework of disciplinary schooling. Moreover, tender violence not only characterized the educational project in the islands, it provided a discourse through which to legitimize it. Backed by the enforcement of the U.S. military, the benevolent colonial care provided through schooling was a crucial means of carrying the military's pacification campaign. Colonial education in the Philippines enacted tender violence, mobilizing the contradiction of American ideals of democracy and imperialism as a strategy for colonial governance.

Schooling was aimed at changing the hearts and minds of Filipino and American resisters of U.S. occupation by illuminating the benevolent qualities of the American colonial government. As one Philippine history textbook widely used in the Philippine schools later taught, "Americans believe that if knowledge is generally spread among the Filipino people, if there can be a real understanding of the genius and purpose of our

[59] Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 70.

American institutions, there will come increasing content and satisfaction to dwell under American law. Thus, education was early encouraged by the American army, and it received the first attention of the commission."[60] Upon his visit to the Philippines in 1899, American journalist Phelps Whitmarsh opined that when the goals of the initial military schools would take effect, education "will then be one of the most potent forces in bringing about a reconciliation, and go far toward convincing the natives that American sovereignty means enlightenment, progress, civilization, and the fullest measure of independence consistent with their safety and well-being."[61] Education as tender violence proved crucial in establishing the colonial order in the Philippines as it attended to the two processes of pacification-- emotional consolation and physical subjugation.

The military government turned toward education as part of the strategy for pacifying the insurgency and as an element in the broader directive of organizing the new colonial order in the Philippines.[62] "I know of nothing in the department of administration that can contribute more in behalf of pacification than the immediate institution of a comprehensive system of education," Military Governor Arthur MacArthur wrote to the Philippine Commission in 1900. "The matter is so closely allied to the exercise of military force in these islands," he continued, "that in my annual report I treated the matter as a military subject and suggested rapid extension of educational facilities as an exclusively military measure."[63] Indeed, in MacArthur's eyes the appropriation of funds to build schools needed to be viewed "in the same light as the appropriation for military roads for which the War Department recently authorized an allotment of 1,000,000."[64] Education was, as Filipino scholar Renato Constantino writes, "a weapon"[65] in the colonial conquest of the Philippines.

Acknowledging colonial education's effectiveness in the pacification of the Philippines, General MacArthur eagerly expressed, "from my point of view, this appropriation is recommended primarily and exclusively as an adjunct to military operations, calculated to pacify the people and procure and expedite the restoration of tranquility throughout the archipelago. I can not, therefore, too earnestly recommend that the entire amount asked for by the superintendent of education be appropriated, and that the appropriation be made as quickly as possible." The U.S. army recognized the potential of schools for pacification from the outset, and General Otis ordered the opening of as many schools as possible it the occupied provinces. On the island of Negros, General Smith found the schools and solider-teachers to be a "potent factor in bringing the lower classes, by means of the children, into more cordial relations with Americans."[66] Superintendent Todd conceded that the main objective of the army's

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[60] David P Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 2d ed. (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1907), 315.

[61] As cited in Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 86–87.

[62] Constantino, *The Mis-education of the Filipino*; Alidio, *Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation*; Roland Sintos Coloma, "Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling Under United States Rule, 1900-1910" (Ohio State University, 2004); Kramer, *The Blood of Government*; Tupas, "Bourdieu, Historical Forgetting, and the Problem of English in the Philippines."

[63] Dept, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 258.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Constantino, *The Mis-education of the Filipino*, 3.

[66] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 139.

schools was not to instruct them in the 3 R's, but to demonstrate the benevolent features of the American government and pacify the Filipinos.[67]

The sentimental characteristic of colonial education was apparent to military personnel, who specifically cited the tender elements of schooling as key to pacification. In a letter addressed to Chair of the Philippine Commission William Howard Taft in 1900, Lt. Col. W.D. Sells suggests that a system of education that would send Filipino boys to the U.S. for education would do more for the military cause than soldiers themselves. "In my judgment, from a *military* [sic] point of view," Sells argues, "these one thousand youth, through the influence of their home letters would be more effective in maintaining and preserving friendly relations with the Filipinos then ten regiments of the U.S. soldiers." Sells explicitly capitalized on the ability to cultivate colonial affections and intimacies through the institution of education.

Education as a strategy of military pacification relied specifically on an ideology of benevolence and the affectionate emotions it generated. Further comparing the efficacy of sentiment versus military strategy, Lt. Col. Sells noted in the same letter, "One method, the military presence, has the appearance of force; the other, love and affection." Feelings, thus, were vital to the campaign of American conquest in the Philippines. " 'Blood is thicker than water,' " Sells continued, "Economy – the educational plan will be cheaper than the military." [68] Education provided both a tender quality to the ideological and military violence that was requisite for U.S. Empire and functioned as a means to carryout military violence at the same time.

Colonial Education as Pacification of Americans

In addition to its role in pacifying Filipinos, the reliance on education also served an essential political function within the United States by navigating the contradiction between claims of democracy and popular self-determination and American colonialism. To distinguish American colonial rule from imperialism, especially that of the Spanish empire, U.S. officials touted public education as a symbol of the U.S.'s commitment to Filipino national development. U.S. colonialists rationalized that though the Spanish occupied the Philippines from 1565 to 1898, a systematic public education structure for Filipinos was not emphasized during Spanish colonial rule.[69] Drawing from this colonial lesson, U.S officials packaged public education as a symbol of America's commitment to Filipino self-rule. Ignoring the Philippine Republic's provisions for free public schools as declared in the Malolos Constitution of 1899, the American colonial administration prided itself on the construction of what it deemed a cohesive, systemic public schooling structure for the Filipinos.

Education in the Philippines was therefore essential in maintaining the political welfare of the continental U.S. as the possession of overseas territories posed a threat to American democratic ideals. Education positioned the United States as a patron of liberty

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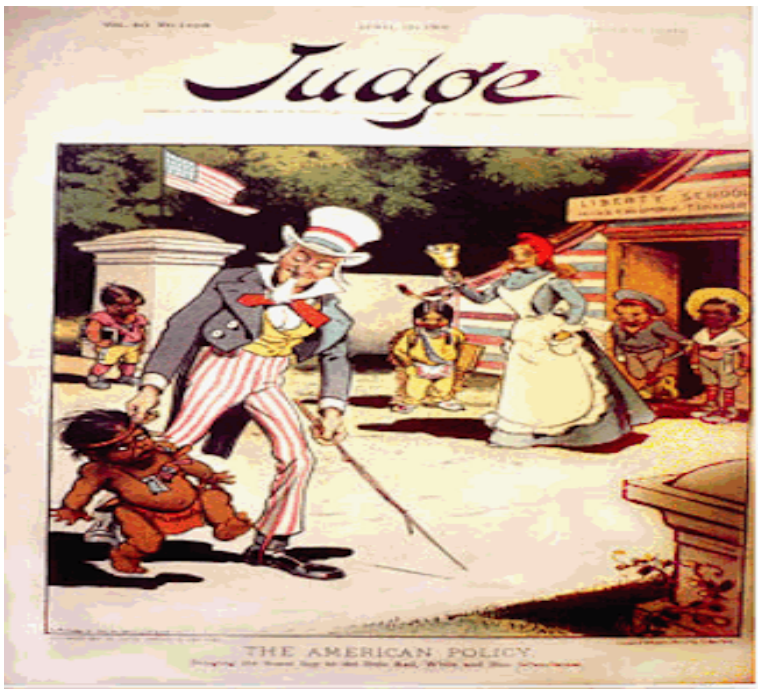
[67] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 78.

[68] D.M. Sells, "Plans Proposed for the Education of Filipinos," August 20, 1900, 23, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 7, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[69] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 314. There remains a scholarly debate as to the scale and effectiveness of the system of public education under Spanish rule. Here, I am highlighting the U.S. colonial official's portrayal of Philippine education during Spanish colonial rule as insufficient and underdeveloped.

rather than a usurper of independence. "Our belief in education has entered into the very foundations of our institutions and our public polic[y]," declared Philippine Commissioner of Education Bernard Moses. "This is and must continue to be," he continued, "the distinguishing feature of American administration of dependencies. Without it it might be difficult to show wherein our government of these dependencies is likely to be superior to that of other nations." In fact, Moses firmly believed that "It is our educational policy that gives us a chance at distinction. It might also be said that on it hangs the justification of our control in the Philippines."[70]



"The American Policy"
"Bringing the truant boy to the little red, white and blue schoolhouse."
Judge, Judge Company 1901 Vol. 40 No. 1018.

The 1901 *Judge* cartoon, *"The American Policy*," provided the American audience with an image of U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines as an educational project. In the cartoon, a reluctant Filipino boy is paternalistically ushered into the schoolhouse of liberty to join the other colonial students of democracy. This sanitized and orderly depiction of American overseas conquest in the islands evokes the framework of colonial domesticity and the patronizing sentiments of stern care. In doing so, it achieves a subtle yet far reaching effect in pacifying American resistance to expansion by silencing the hypocrisy and violence of colonialism. Referring to the American policy of Education in the archipelago, Bernard Moses professed, "We rely upon education to make the Filipino see the futility and the undesirability of war."[71]

[70] Bernard Moses, "No Title," No date, 241, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 6, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.
[71] Ibid.

Sentimental Continuities and Colonial Lessons

Though the U.S. sought to establish a contrast with other empires, many of its colonial institutions were based on the sentimental continuities established through U.S. continental expansion, problematizing the assertion of American exceptionalism in regards to its imperial actions. The educational system in the Philippines drew directly from such sentimental continuities. In fact, in the mindset of many American officials, it made sense that the domestic policies for non-whites could be applied in the overseas territories of the U.S., including a similar racialized system of education.

In specific regard to developing appropriate education policy in the Philippines, Moses expressed:

> *The American policy provides for educating the members of another and an alien race. This work is to solve a practical problem of education in the broader sense, a problem which comprehends all the influences that make for enlightenment, and which embraces many factors that do not come into consideration in the administration of the ordinary educational affairs in the United States. It is the problem of educating the stranger, and its solution must be based on a proper comprehension of the relation of the people of the Orient to the people of the Occident. Therefore, at the foundation of our educational administration in the Philippines lie the facts of race distinction and the question or the relation of one race to another.*[72]

Since Filipinos were constructed as "members of another and an alien race," their education posed a "problem," as it did with the other 'dependent' races spawned from U.S. continental expansion. Insofar as Filipinos were made into a racial, political, and moral "Problem," they joined Native Americans, African Americans, and other 'dependents' on U.S. territories as colonially racialized people that needed to be fixed. It was determined that comparisons could be made between the 'Problem' races for best practices in schooling.

Upon being appointed the first Superintendent of General Education in the Philippines on April 17, 1900, Fred Atkinson contacted the director of Tuskegee Institute, Booker T. Washington to seek advice on industrial training. One month later, before arriving at his post in the archipelago, the Harvard educated high school teacher from Massachusetts journeyed to the American South. As a guest of Washington's, Atkinson visited both Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes where he made first hand observations of the manual training program implemented at the schools.

Atkinson had identified the method of industrial training designed to rectify the 'Negro Problem' as a fitting model for the schooling of the newly acquired "little brown bothers" in the Philippines.[73] "Education in the Philippines must be along industrial lines," he communicated to Washington, "and any and all suggestions for you and your

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[72] Bernard Moses, "No Title," No date, 235, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 6, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[73] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*; Coloma, "Empire and Education"; Roland Sintos Coloma, "'Destiny Has Thrown the Negro and the Filipino Under the Tutelage of America': Race and Curriculum in the Age of Empire," *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 4 (2009): 495–519.

work will be invaluable."[74] The basis of his comparison between the two groups rested on the process of racial othering, or 'Problem'-making, produced by American national development, "Thirty-nine years have now passed since the close of the Civil War and the negro problem is still unresolved," he writes in *The Philippine Islands*, "at the end of a like period of time we shall be struggling with the Philippine question."[75]

Like Atkinson, other colonial and domestic U.S. officials found Tuskegee's method of manual education to be a comparative example of the type of schooling that could be established in the Philippines.[76] Immediately following the Spanish-American War, President McKinley toured the U.S. to capitalize on the good sentiments fostered by the American victory. One of the stops in the southern portion of his tour included Tuskegee Institute. The President was so impressed with the industrial work at Tuskegee, *The Post* reports, that he "told members of the Alabama Legislature, who were in the audience to-day, that the assistance from the state ought to be materially increased."

Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, also present at the event, found the Tuskegee model of industrial training to be "the solution of the negro problem"[77] Washington's curriculum of manual labor was lauded as an effective method of turning African Americans into productive, accommodating members of society. Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson found in Washington's Tuskegee Institute a model for the educational task facing the U.S. in the Philippine Islands, " 'Here is the lesson that teaches us,' he says, 'that we can face the great problem of our new possessions with equanimity'."[78]

Tuskegee in turn, was developed from several comparative lessons derived over the course of American expansion and schooling. Most directly it was influenced by the mode of industrial training that sprang out of Hampton Institute. Established by Samuel Chapman Armstrong and the American Missionary Association in 1868, Hampton served as the preeminent manual education school for African Americans in the Reconstruction South, with Booker T. Washington as its most celebrated alumnus. However, inspiration for the industrial program at Hampton had been garnered years before, as lessons learned from Armstrong's previous colonial education experience as the son of Reverend Richard Armstrong, an influential missionary and educational figure in the formation of Hawai'i's public school system.[79]

From these lessons, Samuel Armstrong rationalized that, "there was worked out in the Hawaiian Islands the problem of emancipation, and civilization of the dark skinned Polynesian people in many respects like the Negro race."[80] Thus, both Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and Tuskegee Institute instructed racialized pedagogies mastered from colonial lessons derived by Armstrong senior in Hawai'i generations

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[74] as cited in May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 89.

[75] Fred W Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905), 14.

[76] See Coloma, "'Destiny Has Thrown the Negro and the Filipino Under the Tutelage of America'."

[77] "Uplifting the Negro," *Post*, December 16, 1898, Series 13, Box 1, William McKinley Papers, Library of Congress.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Maenette K. P Ah Nee-Benham and Ronald H Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: The Silencing of Native Voices*, Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education (Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum, 1998), 90–95.

[80] Ibid., 90.

earlier. The education of African Americans in these institutes was therefore, intimately entangled with the history of racial oppression and economic exploitation in the Hawaiian Islands. Philippine educational administrator Fred Atkinson took these colonial lessons to heart. As Superintendent, he attempted to establish a similar training regimen in the Philippines to train Filipinos for work in the practical industries that would benefit American economic interests in the islands.

Following Atkinson's resignation, and that of his short-termed successor, Elmer Bryan, in 1903, David P. Barrows was assigned General Superintendent of Education. This was a promotion from his initial colonial appointed in 1900 as Superintendent of Manila Schools. Before his service in the Philippines, David P. Barrows had conducted doctoral research on the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California. It was research that served him well in 1902 in his second colonial position, as Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands.

As Chief of the Bureau, Barrows was committed to staying abreast of U.S. Indian policy, with the intention of developing policies for those 'natives' of the Philippines. He returned to the U.S. for the explicit purpose of studying colonial comparisons in the management of indigenous peoples:

> *My business in the United States is first to get all the light I can from the results of Indian policy inaugurated under Morgan: lands in severalty, Indian police, courts for the trial of Indian offences, schools, agriculture, etc.*[81]

Barrows had been actively engaged in a racial politics of comparison to gather data that would inform his decision making in the Philippines. In 1903, Barrows was reassigned back to the work of colonial education and promoted to General Superintendent of Public Schools in the islands. In this position, he continued his study of the colonial policies geared toward Native Americans, but with a particular focus on schooling. Under his direction, education in the Philippines shifted focus from industrial education to highlight English instruction.

However, Barrows had also engaged in personal study of industrial education models in the United States, making arrangements to visit Carlisle boarding school and Native American reservation schools for the purposes of comparison. Established by Captain Richard Pratt in 1879, with the intention to "[k]ill the Indian," in Native Americans and to, "save the man,"[82] Carlisle Indian Industrial School shared close ties with General Samuel Chapman Armstrong and his Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia. Pratt had begun his Native American educational project by directing a group of Indian prisoners to Hampton for manual training.[83] Though Pratt left Hampton when funding was secured for the construction of Carlisle in Pennsylvania, Hampton continued to enroll Native Americans into their industrial training curriculum, a program viewed as effective in instilling the middle class norms of the white settlers.

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[81] David P Barrows, "Letter to Charles Lummis," January 15, 1902, 1, C-B 1005, Box 1, David P. Barrows Papers, Ban.

[82] Richard Pratt, "Kill the Indian, Save the Man," in *Official Report of the Ninteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1892, 46–59.

[83] D'Arcy McNickle and Harold E Fey, *Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet* (New York: Harper, 1959).

Thus, colonial lessons on racialized educational practices were exchanged between models applied toward solving the 'Hawaiian,' 'Indian,' 'Negro', and 'Filipino Problem' that arose as a condition of U.S. continental expansion.

Former Military Governor Colonel George Le Roy Brown provides an explicit example of colonial officials in the Philippines engaging in a racial politics of comparison in his 1902 "Observations on School Work in the Province of Paragua." Directly referencing his study of Hampton and Carlisle, he writes:

> *Early in the seventies, in connection with the development of school work among the Indians in the Western territory, the idea of varying routine schoolwork with a training of eye and hand, indoors and outdoors, was conceived and carried info effect successfully. Later, this idea was further developed into industrial training at Carlisle Indian Training School, Pennsylvania, and also at Hampton, Virginia, to both of which institutions I was detailed at different times.*[84]

Colonel Brown went on to encourage the model of "varying routine schoolwork with a training of eye and hand" for the students in Paragua schools. In anticipation of a colonial field trip to Carlisle in 1902 in order to partake in similar comparisons, Barrows informed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, W.A. Jones of his plans "to stop off at Carlisle for a day, although I notice that your last report is unfavorable to the boarding school for Indian pupils."[85] Like Jones, Barrows found the Carlisle boarding model of schooling impractical and unsuitable for emulation in the Philippines.[86] Manual training, however, persisted in the schools of the islands, though too a lesser degree than Atkinson had originally desired.

The colonial lesson learned from the comparison of educational models imposed upon Hawaiians, Native Americans and African Americans in the U.S. served as the foundation upon which colonial education administrators in the Philippines built the system of public schools. This makes clear that the Philippines functioned as part of a larger colonial project. "We do not overlook little Porto [sic] Rico or our good friends in the Hawaiian Islands," Draper continues in "The Philippine Problem," "[b]oth of these peoples will quickly get the benefit of any insular policies which the overwhelming situation in the Philippines may induce."[87] The institution of colonial education that developed in the Philippines as a result of the racial politics of comparison would serve as another lesson in the handbook of U.S. pan colonial education.

Conclusion

While Richard Pratt advocated an educational policy that would "kill the Indian," and "save the man," Philippine Commissioner Bernard Moses argued for an education

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[84] George LeRoy Brown, *Observations on School Work in the Province of Paragua*, n.d., Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 7, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[85] David P Barrows, "To W.A. Jones," January 20, 1902, 1, C-B 1005, Box 1, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library.

[86] Anne Paulet, "To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines," *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (2007): 173–202.

[87] Andrew S. Draper, "The Philippine Problem," *The Southern Workmen*, 1907, 651.

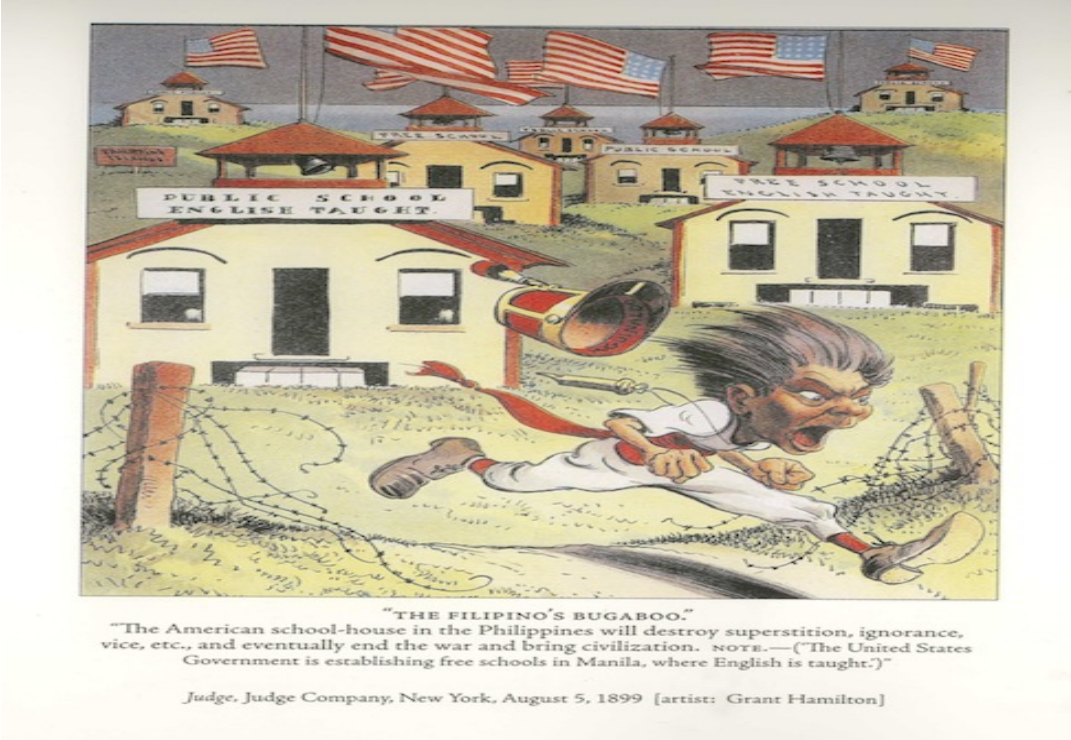
that would perform the inverse task. "The government of the Philippine Islands," Moses informed, "has aimed to impart such knowledge as would put the Filipino in touch with the practical idea and affairs of modern civilization. It has believed, moreover, that this might be done without educating him out of his race."[88] The Philippine Commission's educational objective of maintaining Filipino racial distinction did not demonstrate a lenient racial politics, but rather, it revealed the flexible positioning of White supremacy in conquest. Whereas in continental colonial expansion, Americans sought to pacify Native peoples and African Americans through a program of (mis)integration, overseas conquest required a different political savvy. Due to the heated nature of the Philippine debates and the sensitive question of incorporation into the republic, the preservation of racial distance was crucial.

Though Moses model of education in the Philippines was not designed to 'kill the Filipino,' it was still an education for extinction, but this time geared towards the pacification of the resistance movement. Therefore, though colonial education in the Philippines was articulated as benevolent uplift, it was not created to truly raise Filipinos to a position of self-governance on a level parallel to the U.S; demonstrating what Susan Ryan described as "the impossibility of complete sentimental benevolence." At the root of sentimentalism as a political program, was the firm ideological foundation of hierarchical power and white supremacy. Though the road to colonialism was paved with good intentions, McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" was not intended to *actually* be benevolent, but rather, to maintain the order of white colonial rule. Therefore, American schooling in the Philippines—the exemplar of the U.S.'s benevolent institutions and purposes, the mechanism that rationalized the contradiction of U.S. Empire-- itself was a contradiction; its democratic promises an impossibility.

[88] Moses, "No Title," No date, 83.

Chapter 3

Grammar of Empire: English Instruction and (Curricular) Narratives of Benevolence



"The Filipino's Bugaboo"
"The American school-house in the Philippines will destroy superstition, ignorance, vice, etc. and eventually end the war and bring civilization"
Judge, Judge Company, New York, August 5, 1899 [artist: Grant Hamilton] [1]

Introduction

Six months into the Philippine-American War, *Judge*, a widely circulated, staunchly Republican and expansionist humor magazine, published a political cartoon that illustrated one of the U.S. colonial regime's key strategies in pacifying Filipino revolution. "The Filipino's Bugaboo," depicted a childlike Emilio Aguinaldo, president of the Philippine Republic (1899-1901), bursting through a barbed wire enclosure to escape the U.S. threat advancing behind him. Instead of being chased away by a battalion of soldiers, Aguinaldo is pursued by a troop of schoolhouses-- a defiant child's worst nightmare. Little Aguinaldo flees the scene, mouth open in mid scream.

What is it that the Filipino "insurgent" fears? The cartoon suggests to the American audience that it is education, specifically, an *education in English*-- the

[1] Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 128.

language of the United States, therefore reasoned as the language of democracy and modern civilization. Exposure to English was to be the driving force behind the transformation of Filipino nationalists from their supposed ignorance to enlightenment and modernity. Indeed, the caption to the cartoon reads, "The American school-house in the Philippines will destroy superstition, ignorance, vice, etc. and eventually end the war and bring civilization."

Schools in English, the cartoon illustrated, was the pathway to individual and national freedom. These schoolhouse soldiers, then, at once represent American ideological beliefs, the method of disseminating these ideals, and the language by which to translate this ideology into educational reality. The menacing schoolhouses, rendered intelligible and righteous precisely through the use of English (via the signage "Public School English Taught"), aim to discipline the childlike and rebellious Aguinaldo by filling his inaudible, incoherent scream with the grammar of empire. English instruction, therefore, played a central role in organizing the pedagogy of U.S. colonialism.[2]

While chapter 2 examined McKinley's declaration of Benevolent Assimilation as a foundational colonial articulation of U.S. empire as developmental tutelage, this chapter focuses on a specific method of expressing that benevolence: language policy. Thus, this chapter investigates the policy of English instruction as established by Philippine Public Act 74, Section 14 of 1901. It examines the mandate of English as a second colonial articulation, which expressed U.S. occupation as an educational narrative of a natural linear historical development. It illuminates how English instruction was deeply intertwined with the Social Darwinist theories and gender assumptions of the time, particularly notions of racial evolution as entangled with Western historical progress and bourgeois domesticity and its trope of family. Thus, delineating how the colonial articulation of Public Act 74, Section 14 couched English instruction in a sentimental paternalism that filtered history through what Anne McClintock terms "panoptical time" and "anachronistic space"[3] to present the violence of U.S. conquest as nurturance.

In this chapter, I present 3 key aspects of the function of the mandate of English instruction in the Philippines. First, I demonstrate that English instruction served as the **grammar of U.S. empire**. By the grammar of empire, I mean both a set of political and linguistic rules that organized U.S. occupation. Colonialism required a language that was at once political (the rhetoric of benevolence) and literal (English) to carry out the project of conquest. While the broad program of Benevolent Assimilation was packaged as tutelary, the policy of English instruction transformed benevolence from merely the moral vocabulary of conquest to the curricular vocabulary taught in the colonial classroom.

English instruction normalized the political rhetoric of benevolence by institutionalizing it as a pedagogical practice, which involved the daily recitation of

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[2] Frantz Fanon begins Black Skin White Masks with a chapter on the role of language in colonialism. In "The Negro and Language," he details the manner by which language constructs hierarchical difference in colonial society. Furthermore, Fanon observed that such othering happens through a patronizing familial framework, "A white man addressing a Negro behaves exactly like an adult with a child and starts smirking, whispering, patronizing, and cozening." Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), p. 39.

[3] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 36–42.

colonial ideology so that it was continuously rehearsed as reality.[4] In other words, English instruction translated the colonial articulation of benevolence. Furthermore, entrenched in the Western racial and gender ideologies dominating the turn of the 20th century, the policy presented sentimental readings (literally) of American actions in the Philippines and neutralized conquest as a natural progression of evolution within the Western framework of linear history. As the grammar of empire, English instruction claimed to usher Filipinos into the democratic stage of civilization, as illustrated by "The Filipino's Bugaboo."

Second, I illuminate the manner in which Public Act 74 and its decree of English instruction was a **domesticating act**. Deeply reliant on the gendered trope of family (white man as husband/father and white woman as wife/mother), English instruction domesticated Filipinos through a linguistic infantilization that constructed them as incoherent children. If gender is an "act," as Judith Butler argues,[5] then English instruction imposed the daily performance of an other gender position: that of the racialized biological man and woman as the colonial child. Public Act 74 then enabled the benevolent caretaking of Filipinos as the incoherent children of U.S. empire, nurturing them into intelligibility through English. Public Act 74 thereby denied that Filipinos could reason and speak articulately (refer to the depiction of Aguinaldo as childlike and his unintelligible scream in the opening cartoon) about their political and social condition. Such linguistic disavowal created the condition for the development of Filipino progress under the paternalistic tutelage of Uncle Sam and his colonial gift of English instruction.

As paternal care, English instruction advanced racial notions of linear progress towards modernity. Indeed, colonial administrators, such as Superintendent of Instruction David P. Barrows, a staunch supporter of the policy, evidenced Social Darwinistic influences and saw Filipinos as undeveloped in the history of man. "The white, or European, race is above all others, the great historical race," Barrows wrote.[6] English was imposed as a way out of the Filipino's supposed racial history of barbarism and into the democratic modernity of the white race. English instruction thus domesticated Filipinos within a racialized and gendered trope of family, and in such a manner, domesticated the colonial territory of the Philippines in the service of the imperial homeland.

Finally, this chapter highlights how English instruction facilitated the very colonial conditions that made writing a new, **curricular narrative of colonialism** possible. The policy of English instruction created a need for new curricular materials in English. American colonial administrators and educators, such as Barrows, were called up on to write the textbooks that would instruct generations of Filipinos in the story of U.S. benevolence. As Vicente Rafael notes, "A certain kind of violence underwrote the allegory of benevolent assimilation."[7] English as the grammar of empire coded this violence in sentimental vocabulary so that it read as the history of an archipelago

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[4] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Gender* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 18. 5/16/13 8:48 PM

[5] Butler, *Gender Trouble.*

[6] Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto, *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 Hawai'i at Manoa, 1999), 4.

[7] Vicente L Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, American Encounters/global Interactions (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 21.

advancing towards civilization. Indeed, Superintendent Barrows articulated such ideas directly to the students of the Philippines in his self-penned *A History of the Philippines.*

In his *History*, Barrows casts the Philippine American War as merely a misunderstanding amongst the Filipinos as to the well-intentioned objectives of the U.S.[8] This exemplifies the embedded assumption of the linguistically infantilized Filipino as an incoherent child, unable to comprehend expressions of democracy. English instruction, then, presented colonial brutality not only as care, but as a necessary and natural historical stage of progress in the advancement towards democratic adulthood. Thus, the policy of English instruction served to erase the brute physical violence of U.S. conquest by filtering it through an imperial linguistics of domesticating sentimental care and benevolence. English instruction then provided the new grammatical rules of engagement, implementing the ideology of Benevolent Assimilation through the daily rehearsal of normalizing narratives.

Linguistic Linkages Through Time and Space

September 1, 1900 marked the official transition of legislative power in the Philippines from Military Governor General Arthur MacArthur to the Philippine Civil Commission. The five-person commission consisted of white male judges and university professors hand picked by President William McKinley. Headed by Judge William Howard Taft, who would soon become the first civil governor of the Islands, the commission included Judge Henry C. Ide, Judge Luke E. Wright, Professor Dean C. Worcester, and Professor Bernard Moses. Under specific directions outlined by President McKinley in his April 7, 1900 Letter of Instruction, these commissioners were "to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities."[9]

Though the military government had already established initial schooling in segments of the Islands, there remained important questions as to the systematic development and implementation of an education institution on a national scale. "The educational problem was by no means completely solved when an organization for carrying on the work of instruction was established," reflected Commissioner Bernard Moses. "There was a long list of questions relating to the method and subject-matter of instruction that had to be settled before much real progress could be made."[10] In determining the direction of colonial schooling in the Islands, the commissioners were influenced by the dominant social and educational theories that were popular in the U.S. at the time. Additionally, the policy of English instruction reinforced longstanding philosophical and political values embedded in U.S. national expansion and white privilege, demonstrating the sentimental continuities between the role of English instruction in the Philippines and the United States.

The Philosophical Framework of English Instruction

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[8] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 295.

[9] "The President's Instructions to the Commission, April 7, 1900," LXIII.

[10] Bernard Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business," n.d., Banc-Mss B944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Misc. Writings on the Philippines, Bancroft Library.

Much of the philosophical and practical matters of the new educational system were developed in relation to racialized educational theories--recapitulation theory and progressive education, in particular--that were fermenting in the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century. The ideological assumptions that substantiated these theories, especially the universality of Western linear progress, situated the system of colonial education within a racialized philosophical and political agenda. At the dawn of the century, Social Darwinism was highly influential in many modes and fields of thought, including education.[11] One of the most popular manifestations of this was expressed through the adaptation of the biogenetic principle of recapitulation theory for the field of education.

Also known as the cultural epoch theory, recapitulation theory premised that "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny"—or that the individual child would develop by experiencing the evolutionary stages of its ancestors. This tied education at its core to concerns of race, as individual children were believed to repeat the history of their race as a matter of social biology. As famed educational psychologist G. Stanley Hall noted in 1904, 'The child relives the history of the race in his acts just as the scores of rudimentary organs in his body tell the story of its evolution from lower forms of animal."[12] Recapitulation theory also constructed a linear history of humanity that ranged from "savagery, barbarism, and civilization."[13] This philosophical schematic placed whites at the "civilized" present moment of time and non-whites at various developmental stages of historical progress. Philosophical reductions of non-whites as naturally pure, such as Rousseau's celebration of the noble savage, still relied on a temporal and developmental framework of backwardness, which sustained the racist objectives of educational recapitulation.

The placement of white men in contemporary history relied on the constructions of Anne McClintock terms "panoptical time," "the image of global history consumed-- at a glance—in single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility,"[14] and "anachronistic space," when "[g]eographical distance across space is figured as a historical difference across time."[15] As McClintock describes, these intellectual technologies functioned to inscribe a relationship between time and space that presupposed a global history where traveling across distance was synonymous with a travel through time. A crucial element of these systems was that they worked to naturalize their own operations, performing invisibility through the hegemonic assertion of universality. In the imperial context, travel across space to the colony implied a backward travel in time, toward an earlier stage of history and human development (savagery or barbarism). Such historicist

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[11] Thomas D Fallace, *Dewey & the Dilemma of Race: An Intellectual History, 1895-1922* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2011), 48.

[12] Ibid., 44.

[13] Ibid., 48.

[14] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

[15] Ibid., 40. In specific regard to colonial conquest, McClintock explains that "imperial progress across the space of empire is figured as a journey backward in time to an anachronistic moment of prehistory. By extension, the return journey to Europe is seen as rehearsing the evolutionary logic of historical progress, forward and upward to the apogee of the Enlightenment in the European metropolis." This is the exact pattern of development expressed through recapitulation theories mantra that "phylogeny recapitulates ontogeny."

thinking was entrenched in the educational theory of recapitulation that influenced the period of U.S. overseas expansion.

As philosopher Herbert Spencer explained, "The education of the child must accord both in mode and arrangement with the education of the mankind conceived historically."[16] When such theories were applied to the Filipino child of the colony, the racialized body of the child herself became a marker of panoptical time and anachronistic space.[17] She became the savage. As the colonial savage, she was in need of the civilizing force of colonial tutelary to usher her towards the progress of modernity.

The Notion of Progress

As part of the colonial package of progress, schooling in the Philippines drew from raced based, Progressive educational philosophies practiced on other nonwhite peoples in U.S. continental and overseas territories. As Roland Sintos Coloma details, Progressive education developed in conjunction with two significant political economic moments at the turn of the 20th century: reconstruction and overseas expansion. [18] Race, Coloma demonstrates, was thus entangled with concepts and practices of Progressive education. Industrial education was one of the primary examples by which the Progressive expression of 'learning by doing' was enforced to construct and instruct a hierarchal system of racial difference, and this had direct implications for the Philippines.[19]

As discussed in the pervious chapter, the first Superintendent of Instruction in the Philippines, Fred Atkinson, was invested in pursuing industrial education in the Philippines, having in mind models of schooling he saw at Hampton and Tuskegee. Although Atkinson pursued the development of industrial education, English instruction became the bedrock of education in the Philippines. "As to the subject of instruction, the English language should be the subject most insisted upon," proclaimed Atkinson.[20] In fact, he soon felt strongly that "The instruction of English is the cardinal point of the present system of education."[21] This was a perspective that would become a defining characteristic of colonial education in the Philippines, especially under the direction of Superintendent David. P. Barrows.

Following Atkinson's resignation, and that of his short-termed successor, Elmer Bryan, in 1903, David P. Barrows was assigned General Superintendent of Education. A former history professor at the state normal school in San Diego, California, Barrows was initially appointed for colonial service in the Philippines in 1900, where he served as the

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[16] Fallace, *Dewey & the Dilemma of Race*, 44.

[17] In her discussion of panoptical time, McClintock notes that Herbert Spencer imagined the historical evolution of man as a tree. This situated both the "colonized" and the "colonizer" within a hierarchical structure of power that was naturalized through the evocation of nature, thus exemplifying the universalizing aspect of panoptical time and anachronistic space. See McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

[18] Coloma, "Empire and Education," 60.

[19] Ibid., 58.

[20] Fred W Atkinson, *Report of General Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Manila, Philippines: Philippine Commission, December 10, 1901), 2, C-B 944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Ban.

[21] Fred W Atkinson, *Annual School Reports 1901-1905* (Manila, Philippines: Republic of the Philippines, Department of Education, Bureau of Schools, n.d.), 206.

Superintendent of schools for the city of Manila. He was then reassigned as Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, a post that he held for two years. After the unexpected death of Elmer Bryan, Barrows was redirected back to service in the colonial schools and promoted General Superintendent of Education.

Like Progressive education philosopher John Dewey, Barrows saw that culture played a defining role in shaping the characteristics of a people. He espoused notions of historical evolution through the stages of humanity that were aligned with recapitulation theory.[22] Barrows believed that education held the power to intervene in the historical stages of savagery and barbarism and propel the 'backward peoples' into the future moment of white democratic civilization. Barrows' primary educational objective for the islands was to instruct Filipinos away from "caciquismo," what he saw as Spanish system of feudalism in which local bosses controlled economic and social power, through a primary education system that was driven by the democratic force of English instruction.

> *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 which made possible not merely insurrection but that fairly unparalleled epidemic of crime which we have seen in these islands during the past few years.*[23]

It was an educational philosophy engrained in notions of racial linear progress, which conveniently placed Filipinos towards the end of the spectrum of human development and European society—of which the U.S. was an outgrowth—at the forefront of civilization. However, such a view of progress situated imperial Spain years behind the modern American republic. Instruction in the English language, rather than in Spanish, was thus articulated as both a racial and political progression towards modern civilization. Barrows saw that through tutelage in English, Filipinos would move through the necessary stages of development to achieve a conscious and political state of freedom. Though his thinking evidenced Hegelian influences,[24] it was also profoundly aligned with recapitulation theory's conceptions of education.

The embedded ideological function of Barrows' particular notion of western progress played a significant role in rationalizing English instruction as common sense. "The process through which this logic becomes common sense," Maria Teresa Trinidad P. Tinio explains, "is done not simply through constant reiteration of the rhetoric but also through the unquestioned premising of the motives and objectives of the policy on the idea of progress. Progress is the trump card and the standard recommended panacea and

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[22] Though Julian Go, Go, "'Racism' and Colonialism," identifies that civilian colonial officials in the Philippines operated from a Lamarckian framework--the idea that an individual's traits were developed in response to nurture and then passed down to future generations--their educational work evidence a more recapitulation pedagogy.

[23] As cited in Barbara 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" (UCLA, 1998), 103.

[24] Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 5.

almost anything in the name of progress becomes acceptable."[25]As the normalized representation of western progress (the language which articulated the spirit of American Independence, no less), English was thus always already assumed to be the language of instruction in the Philippines.[26] In fact, the relationship between English and the development of the colony into a self-sustaining republic was intimately tied to the very birth of the United States.

The Grammar of Empire

The role of English was foundational to the very birth of the American Republic. The English language was at the heart of the national body, articulating the values and the very structures for its development into adulthood. It provided the grammar, referring to both "the characteristic system of inflections and syntax of a language," and "the principles or rules of an art, science or technique,"[27] through the construction of American English--in staunch political opposition to the King's English-- by which the new democracy would express and build its self-image. Therefore, American English supplied both the linguistic rules and organizational principles for the technique of American expansion.

Colonialism, then, was central to the development of American English.[28] Its creation was a direct result of the U.S.' anti-colonial struggle against the British Empire. Federalists such as Noah Webster, who later developed Webster's dictionary, proved pivotal in crafting an argument for language as a strategy for post-Revolution national cohesion as well as in defining the specific vocabulary by which Americans would articulate this new language of freedom. "*Language*, as well as government should be national,' Webster insisted. 'America should have her *own* distinct from all the world. Such is the policy of other nations, and such must be our policy."[29]

"Post-colonials" [30] such as Webster saw it as their charge to define, through a national language, the new republic. The initial states were therefore united together, via the coherence of American English. English instruction in the U.S. was instruction in

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[25] 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" (National University of Singapore, 2009), 65.

[26] "The idea of English education in the Philippines was, by some accounts, a matter of course," Tinio notes. "[I]t was unimaginable that education would take place in any language apart from English," see Ibid., 66.

[27] Merriam-Webster, Inc, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed (Springfield, Mass: Merriam-Webster, Inc, 2003), 543.

[28] Vicente L Rafael, "Translation, American English, and the National Insecurities of Empire," *Social Text* 27, no. 4 101 (2009): 5; Jill Lepore, *A Is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States*, 1st ed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).

[29] As quoted in Lepore, *A Is for American*, 16.Lepore makes clear the relation between language and the development of the American republic. Both were recent Western inventions and both relied on the other to substantiate its existence. "And the idea that languages define nations—that how we speak and write and even spell is a necessary marker of our national character--," she writes, "is an assumption or really an invention that many people now take for granted but that first became commonplace and assumed special prominence during Noah Webster's lifetime." Moreover, she demonstrates how the ideal of linguistic cohesion as national cohesion was a social construction, invented for the purpose of civic unity.

[30] Rafael, "Translation, American English, and the National Insecurities of Empire," 5.

American English, as counter-ideology to colonial British English. Thus, English instruction[31] in the U.S. was the instruction of a certain political consciousness, that of independence and democracy, around colonial rule. English then became understood as representation of democracy in and of itself.

English and U.S. Racial Conquest

Although American English began as an explicitly anti-colonial articulation, its invocation of democracy allowed it to serve as the justification for empire, functioning as a rhetorical mask for the contradiction to liberty. Indeed, the idea of an English-speaking people was taken up in a distinctly racial manner for the racial and linguistic justification of American overseas conquest. Leading expansionist and Spanish-American War veteran, Theodore Roosevelt invoked the historical lineage of Americans as descendents of the British —here he strategically stands in linguistic and political opposition to the stance taken by the Federalists--, a great, conquering, English-speaking race.[32] It was in the blood, and tongues, of the English-speaking race, Roosevelt reasoned, to take over the land of those deemed racially inferior. Therefore, the expansion of the United States across continental and overseas territories entailed the imposition of various ideologies of English, from Noah's American English to Roosevelt's English-speaking race, upon various peoples of the world. In other words, English served as the grammar of empire.

The policy of English instruction became a colonial thread that ran through public schools in Hawai'i, Native American boarding schools, the industrial education institutions of the American South.[33] In detailing the accounts of former boarding school students and their experience with English instruction, Brenda J. Child refers to the "strict policy that forbade Indian students from speaking tribal languages, the languages of their mothers and fathers."[34] She documents that many students at boarding schools caught speaking a language other than English were punished with brute force: "Beatings, swats from rulers, having one's mouth washed with soap or lye, or being locked in the school jail were not uncommon punishments."[35] The physical enforcement of English as a foundational colonial lesson reveals the violent, racialized ideals of Anglo superiority integral to English instruction policies.

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[31] References to English instruction in the U.S. context refer to American English as opposed to British English.

[32] Paul A. Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (March 1, 2002): 1315–1353.

[33] For connections between education policy as applied towards Native Americans and Filipinos, see Anne Paulet, "To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines," *History of Education Quarterly* 47 (May 2007): 173-202; for a discussion on similar educational connections between Philippine colonial education and the education of African Americans, see Roland Sintos Coloma, "Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling Under United States Rule, 1900-1910" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 179; for the development of American education in Hawai'i, see Maenette K. Benham and Ronald Heck. *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: The Silencing of Native Voices.* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998).

[34] Brenda J Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 28.

[35] Ibid.

In Hawai'i, the 1902 Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction noted that it was necessary to employ English as a common language to teach the racially and linguistically mixed student body. "The whole mass is taught in the English language," the Superintendent observes, "and that we should have the success which has attended our efforts argues well for the system which has been instituted and carried on for the last fifteen years."[36] The need for English instruction, it was argued in Hawai'i,[37] was dire as it allowed for the unification of diverse peoples, languages and cultures. English instruction would serve a similar purpose, that of providing national unity and "coherence" (one of the main rationales) in the Philippines.

Initial Discussions on the use of English in the Philippines

Though English served as a ready model by which to instruct colonialism, the various common sense positionings of English (as a blueprint for racial conquest and as a matter of Western thought) in the Philippines did not preclude official debates and inquiries to solidify the language of instruction in the U.S. colonial schools. In many ways, these discussions were significant not in their contribution on deciding the validity of English, but rather, in solidifying the hegemonic notion of 'English as progress' on a public stage. In doing so, the initial debates on the language of instruction also served to represent colonialism as a democratic, scientific process where evidence was collected, (or rather, evidence was assumed)[38] to demonstrate the need for English.

"At the outset it was necessary to reach a decision with respect to the rules ought to be laid on the teaching of English," wrote Philippine Commissioner Bernard Moses.[39] Education under the Spanish regime was conducted in Spanish and served the purposes of carrying out a missionary based civilizing colonial agenda. Access to full literacy and instruction in Spanish was limited to a privileged few Filipinos, often of the elite land-owning class, best symbolized by the Ilustrados. Following the 1899 U.S. occupation during the Philippine-American War, the U.S army quickly established schools in Manila and began teaching English. As the occupation-- and thus, the pacifying educational project--extended across the islands, the issue of the language of instruction soon became paramount to the ideological and military aims of the army. Should education, a crucial means of pacification (as discussed in the previous chapter), be continued in Spanish or should a completely new system and mode of education be developed to express the American way?

A report issued by the First Philippine Commission in 1899 recommended English as the language of instruction in the Islands. "The introduction of the teaching of English into these schools was received with great satisfaction by the natives," Philippine Commissioner Dean C. Worcester reported. "The young Filipinos display a considerable aptitude for learning new tongues, and it is believed if this policy is followed out, English

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[36] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor General of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1902), 8.

[37] Ah Nee-Benham and Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i.*

[38] Tinio's discusses how Commissioner Worcester based his recommendations for English on the colonial assumption that Filipino's favored the use of English in the schools. See Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English," 72.

[39] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."

can within a short time be made the official language of the archipelago. The commission strongly recommends that it be done." [40]

However, Worcester's recommendation for English was based on a most unscientific process, relying on his own accounts of the Filipinos' warm regard for the language. Instead of providing a concise study of the conditions of the Islands, his report produced a portrayal of Filipino as welcoming American rule. [41] In fact, it would have been difficult for the Commission to have gained a comprehensive, rigorous understanding of Filipino sentiment during the first few years of the War as only U.S. army officials were surveyed.[42] Thus, the First Commission's recommendation for English as the official language of the Philippines was as incredulously rationalized as the broader occupation.

Although the Philippine Commission had already established an official suggestion for English,[43] the military regime pursued its own direction in investigating the potential for English.[44] In a move more revealing of the struggle for power between the civilian and military regimes of the colonial administration, rather than a true contestation of the common sense ideals of English, the U.S. army still purchased Spanish language materials for the American schools despite the recommendation from the Philippine Commission. The military allotted $41,000 for American textbooks that were translated into Spanish.[45] Soon after, the military also concluded that English instruction was necessary, especially for pacifying Filipinos and evidencing the benevolence of American rule. "[I]t is believed," reported Military Governor Arthur

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[40] As cited in Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English," 67. Tinio details how the First Philippine Commission's original argument for English, based on Worcester's claims that Filipinos were in favor of English, had developed into the Second Philippine Commission's "three-point rationale," which later expanded to include what Tinio describes as six-points: "*The uncivilized savage with an undeveloped and primitive language (1) is in need of a common language to unite them toward progress (2). The Spanish language is not an option because it is related to the medieval Spanish formations that promoted an elitism, sometimes called caciqueism (3). The highest rung in the evolutionary ladder, the most developed, efficient, and democratic rung is represented by English, brought by the Americans. English is an excellent and highly developed language and, it is sometimes argued, the most democratic of the languages (4). It is also the most efficient and practical choice for the Philippines (5) and finally the most democratic because apart from Filipinos wanting it, it will be the great equalizer that will unite them (6),*"see Ibid., 72–73. Isabel Pefianco Martin, in turn, identifies three reasons for English: 1) English was most practical, in regards to the employment of American teachers, 2) English was deemed an appropriate common language which would unite Filipinos, and 3) English would expose Filipinos to Western values, and thus was a civilizing force. See Isabel Pefianco Martin, "Language and Institution: Roots of Bilingualism in the Philippines," in *The Filipino Bilingual: A Multidisciplinary Perspective.* (Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1999), 134.

[41] Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English," 69.

[42] Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines," 101.

[43] Tinio attributes the origin of the English discussion to Worcester's recommendation, see Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English," 66, while Gaerlan identifies the U.S. military as the progenitors of English and argues that (certain) Filipinos were vocal in expressing support for the program.

[44] Clearly their was a disconnect between the recommendation of the First Commission and the military's decision. There did not exist a smooth line of communication and agreement between the two. Colonial rule was not monolithic in terms of establishing a clear strategy carved in stone. This debate represented the larger tensions that exited between the military and the so-called civilian government.

[45] "In an indication that no decision had yet been reached on the language of instruction, the army also spent $41,000 to purchase Spanish language translations of American textbooks such as those they used in Puerto Rico," Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines," 99.

MacArthur, "that with the acquisition of a knowledge of the English language and the resulting appreciation of our institutions and purposes the development and assimilation of the Filipino people will be greatly advanced."[46] Additionally, as one "General Hughes wrote from Iloilo to the Adjutant General of the Army in October, 1900:"

> *[I]t was impossible for the soldiers here to learn the language of the people among whom they serve, but that the possibility of direct communication between the men of the Army and inhabitants of the country was highly important. To accomplish this result it was necessary to teach the Filipino to use the English language.* [47]

Indeed, the military decided "[t]hat a comprehensive modern school system for the teaching of elementary English be inaugurated at the earliest possible moment, and the attendance be made compulsory where ever practicable.. [and[[t]hat all of the schools under government control be conducted in the English language so far as in any way practicable, and that the use of Spanish or the dialects be only for a period of transition."[48] As the first Superintendent of Instruction appointed by the Philippine Commission, Fred Washington Atkinson argued in "The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines" (written as a chapter for Bernard Moses' Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1900-1901), "English is desired by the natives and undoubtedly it should be the language basis of public school work, but it should be introduced gradually, and no active steps should be made to exterminate any dialect." Atkinson noted the developments away from the Spanish language texts originally purchased by the military to English replacements. "I have the honor to recommend that very soon English arithmetics, histories, and geographies be ordered."

> *It may be that some Spanish will have to be used at first, but there seems no good reason why it should be made the basis of instruction. It will be found, I believe, as time goes on, that the best plan is to introduce gradually the English language all over the Islands, and at the same time—so as to keep alive a proper sentiment—side by side with it, introduce as much as possible of our own literature into the native languages.*[49]

The Philippine Commission was thoroughly in line with Atkinson's recommendation and officially established English as the language of instruction in the public schools in 1901.

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[46] Ibid., 118.

[47] General Robert Hughes, "To Adjunct General of the Army," October 1900, 25, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 7, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[48] As cited in Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines," 102.

[49] Fred W Atkinson, *Language Basis of Instruction, The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, Report of the Commissioner of Education (Manila, Philippines: Government Printing Office, 1901 1900).

"Teaching the Alphabet, Ifugao [tribe]." No date.
American Historical Collection, José Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.

Public Act 74

In 1901, the Philippine Commission declared the most significant colonial articulation in regards to U.S. schooling in the islands. Philippine Public Law Act 74 expressed English instruction as the central element of the American schools. Amongst the 449 legislative acts passed by the Commission from Sept. 1, 1900 to August 31, 1902, Act 74 established a Department of Public Instruction, under the Commissioner of Education Bernard Moses, and created the post of General Superintendent of Public Instruction. Comprised of 27 sections, this legislation was foundational in shaping the development of American schooling in the initial civilian period of American rule in the Philippines.

Sections 14 and 15, which established English as the basis of instruction and the import of American teachers (as investigated in the following chapter), respectively, presented the defining elements of American colonial education in the Philippines. Mandating English as the medium of instruction in the public schools, Section 14 asserting English dominance over the native languages McKinley had allowed for "in first instance."

> *Section 14: The English language shall, as soon as practicable, be made the basis of all public school instruction, and soldiers may be detailed as instructors until such time as they may be replaced by trained teachers.*[50]

In fact, little attention was paid to providing education in the "language of the people" as organizational efforts for systematizing the schools were centered on mechanisms to develop the rapid realization of English. "[W]hen it was determined that English should become the language of instruction as early as possible," noted Moses, "a starting point was fixed."[51] Education in the Philippine classroom was thus crafted around the policy of English instruction. English instruction, then, was officially synonymous with U.S. colonial education. It established the ideological motive of developmental progress

[50] Philippine Commission, "Public Laws Passed by the Philippines Commission: During the Period from September 1, 1900, to August 31, 1902. Comprising Acts Nos. 1 to 449, Inclusive.," 103.
[51] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."

through the mechanics of language, firmly situation English as the grammar of U.S. empire.

Rationalizing Empire Through English

Commenting on the establishment of the English instruction policy, Bernard Moses hints at the hegemonic notion of Western progress embedded in the mandate. "This decision, touching a subject on which many persons fancied themselves experts, naturally met with a certain amount of criticism," he writes, "but the force of this criticism was very much diminished when it was seen that if Americans were to conduct a system of public instruction steps must be laid on some European language, and especially on a language which the American teachers could use."[52]

Section 14 of Act 74 served a fundamental role in justifying the continued American presence in the islands. It allowed for the rationalization of U.S. conquest by sanitizing the imposed violence of war through the imperial linguistics of benevolence. Indeed, the reasons established for English instruction were merely varied expressions of the supposed need for U.S. guidance. These constructed assumptions, based on the racialized idea of Filipinos as developmentally lacking, were normalized as facts. Established as such, the specific matter of carrying out English instruction were articulated within recapitulation theories and expressed through a discourse of efficiency and management. Since the assumptions of Western linear progress were naturalized through the science of global conquest (via the techniques of panoptical time and anachronistic space), English instruction was easily constructed as a matter of common sense practicality and reduced to the analytics of management.

Even the practical reasons, it is important to note, were infused with a racial hierarchy of white cultural superiority. One of the three "practical advantages of a knowledge of the English language for the people of the Philippine Islands," declares Bernard Moses, "is that this knowledge will enable the inhabitants of the islands to read American textbooks and periodicals, and thus become gradually informed of the character of American institutions, and to have always at hand a source of information respecting the affairs of civilized countries."[53] Here, Moses demonstrates that it wasn't just that English provided Filipinos practical access to curricular materials, but that, more importantly, English provided them access to a model civilization, being that their own was assumed to be severely underdeveloped. English was the means by which Filipinos would escape the recapitulation of their barbarous history and progress into the contemporary period of democratic self-sufficiency.

U.S. colonial officials' use of terms such as 'practical' and 'efficient' to describe and rationalize the policy of English instruction filtered a violent imposition of power. It sanctioned the institutionalization of unfounded ideologies of superiority and inferiority as historical fact. This practice highlights the manner in which English instruction enabled the operationalization of the terms 'practical' and 'efficient' as key vocabulary in the structuring of conquest. *In fact, Moses' claims regarding the practical advantages of*

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

English provides a most instructive example of the surreptitious practice of English as the grammar of empire.

Cohering Political Tension in the U.S. Through English Coherence

Reasons identifying the supposed civilizing power of English necessarily associated the American objective to instill English as a benevolent gift, thereby presenting U.S. conquest as democratic service. "[T]o teach them the English language and open them to the views of the world that may be gained through the use of that tongue is not to subject them to any intellectual loss," Commissioner of Education Bernard Moses claimed, "but, on the other hand, to furnish them a most powerful stimulus to intellectual progress."[54] Superintendent David Barrows, who saw the introduction of English as "fortunate for the Filipino people" shared this view:

> *Knowledge of language is power, and the more widely spoken the tongue, the greater the possession of the individual who acquires it. Of all the languages of the world, English is to-day the most widely spoken and is most rapidly spreading. Moreover, English is preeminently the language of the Far East. From Yokohama to Australia, and from Manila to the Isthmus of Suez, English is the common medium of communication. It is the language alike of business and of diplomacy. The Filipino people, so eager to participate in all the busy life of eastern Asia, so ambitious to make their influence felt and their counsels regarded, will be debarred from all this unless they master this mighty English tongue*."[55]

Barrows' expression of English instruction as "fortunate for the Filipino people" demonstrates the degree to which the policy was deeply entrenched in the recapitulation framework and the sentiments of benevolent uplift and tutelage. It was implied that progress for Filipinos would be achieved through the adoption of English so that one could "participate in all the busy life" and become a productive member of civilization. Moreover, Barrows' rationalization that without being coherent in the "mighty English tongue," Filipinos would be inhibited from participation in the global community illuminates the manner in which English instruction presented U.S. rule as appealing; all the while invisibilizing the system of imperialism which created the condition for English to become the preeminent "language of the Far East."

The rhetorical positioning of U.S. conquest as, in Moses' words, a "stimulus to intellectual progress" served as a rebuttal to American Anti-imperialists who challenged the tyrannical military operations in the Philippines. In this manner, justifications for English instruction served a larger purpose in calming political tensions on the continent and uniting Americans in the project of overseas colonialism. Following the benevolent line of colonial reasoning, English instruction was espoused as an essential element that distinguished the U.S. administration from the previous Spanish imperial government. By granting access to the language of the dominant power, Americans claimed beneficent

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 315.

assistance in their occupation. In "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business," Moses explained the virtues of the mandate of English instruction, "This policy emphasized the fact the Americans, in one respect at least, were to depart from the policy pursued by the Spaniards, under which the Filipinos were not encouraged to learn the Spanish language."

The idea that Filipinos did not have access to learning Spanish was expressed to mainstream American audiences, justifying in the domestic territory the policy of English instruction—as a metaphor for the broader colonial project-- in the colony. An August 6, 1900 Boston Record article, "School Plans for the Philippines" reported that:

> *Good reasons exist why English should become the school language. One is that few of the people know Spanish. Even in Manila the Tagalog dialect prevails. It bears not the slightest resemblance to Spanish. Away from Manila and the neighboring provinces Spanish is distinctly a foreign language.*[56]

Portrayals of Spanish as foreign to Filipinos painted a dictatorial picture of Spanish rule and illuminated American empire in a morally respectable light. "Sometimes the members of the less developed races are positively discouraged from learning the language of the dominant nation," Moses quipped, "but from the American point of view this is not a result to be avoided; for these qualities are necessary to enable the Filipinos to play the political role that will be assigned them."[57] English instruction thus served an important function in exemplifying the supposed benevolence of the U.S. in contrast to the imperial actions of Spain.

The policy of English instruction presented Spanish as a medieval culture and language, thus positioning it backward in panoptical time and anachronistic space in relation to the United States. By teaching English, Filipinos could bypass the recapitulation of medieval history and advance forward toward their goal of modern, democratic self-rule. That instruction in Tagalog was not even a consideration demonstrates its posterior positioning as barbaric in Western historical time and space. The great historical debate remained between Spain and the U.S., and English allowed the U.S. to voice itself as the benevolent victor. "The vigorous carrying out of the government's liberal educational policy has shown a contrast between the Spanish and American administrations to the advantage of the latter," Moses reasoned, "and this action on the part of the new government has done as much as the execution of any single line of policy to convince the Filipinos of the benevolent purposes of the United States."

As a demonstration of the benevolent effects, he further argued that English instruction established a relational bond between Filipinos and Americans, "The Filipinos have regarded the opportunities given them to learn the English language as the offer of

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[56] "Atkinson and Plan for Schools," *Boston Record*, August 6, 1900, C-B 944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[57] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business." Though he was not completely correct in his assessment of education under Spanish rule, as many elite Filipinos were well versed in Spanish, Moses' claim did highlight an important difference between the two systems. Unlike the more sparse, hierarchical Spanish system, the Americans sought to carry out (in theory) their language instruction through free public schools established throughout the islands.

means by which they might enter into closer relations with the dominant nation."[58] That Filipinos were in favor of English, as argued by Worcester in 1899, was a common sentiment expressed by American colonial officials.[59] Superintendent Fred Atkinson noted that "[t]he natives were reported as eager to learn English, and the use of Spanish or the dialects was generally deprecated by officers reporting." So desirous of learning English were the Filipinos, Atkinson relays, that any use of Spanish seemed to only serve as an obstacle.[60]

The privileging of English often trumped justifications for even the temporary, transitional use of Spanish. Military officers "felt that teaching through the medium of Spanish was not only not a necessity but an impediment."[61] Moses reiterated these sentiments in a January 11, 1901 address to native Filipino teachers, stating that "In view of the fact that the large majority of the children of these Islands do not speak Spanish, and in view of the further fact that English is the language they will be called upon to use in business and in the affairs of the government, it is a waste of energy to undertake to teach English by first teaching Spanish." "The Tagalog child," he continued, "can successfully go from Tagalog directly to English, and I know of no sphere where the English language may not serve any of the purpose for which Spanish has hitherto been used."[62] In other words, the Tagalog child can jump past the stage of medieval development as embodied by the Spanish, straight into American modernity. American officials, such as Moses, presented Spanish as the relic of a defunct empire. Its replacement by English symbolized a transition of power, a progression in the Filipino people's historical evolution, and the "benevolent," democratic purposes of the new regime.

In a 1904 document presented to the U.S. Senate Committee on the Philippines by notable Anti-imperialist Senator George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts, Dr. David H. Doherty of Chicago confesses a change of political heart after his visit to the Philippines. "My personal views have undergone some changes," he admits.

> *I have become convinced that Mr. McKinley was actuated by the loftiest principles; that there was no other prudent course open to us except to take the islands from Spain; that the Filipino people, while perhaps capable at this time of conducting a government on the level of a South American republic, will be benefited, and they themselves concede that they will be benefited by a reasonable period of American tutelage.*

In addition to the above shifts in perspective, Doherty professes that he now understands "that the use of English in their schools has not been a violence but a blessing to them." His remarks illuminate how English instruction, as the grammar of empire, provides a

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[58] Ibid.

[59] For a discussion on how Filipinos received English instruction, please see Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines." Tinio adds to this conversation and also provides an examination of the subsequent positioning of Tagalog, Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English."

[60] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

colonial articulation that transforms violence into the "blessing[s]" of benevolence. "When I left the United States," Doherty explained, "I shared the opinion of Doctor Schurmann, that it was both an unjust and a vain task to 'force' a foreign language on a whole people, especially a resisting people. But I soon perceived that the adoption of English was an actual inspiration on the part of the civil government."

Moreover, his reflections on the language policy highlight the manner in which the rhetoric of benevolent conquest was able to manage the political tensions posed by U.S. empire. Having been moved, emotionally and politically, by the sentiments of colonial benevolence, Doherty now views "the civil government of the Philippines" to be "justifiable expedient, permissible because temporary, and most praiseworthy on account of its broad and high aims, its self-sacrificing devotion to its duties and their interests." English instruction, as one of the most celebrated exemplars of the policy of benevolence, was thus crucial in structuring political cohesion in the U.S.

English Instruction as a Domesticating Act

Public Act 74 engendered sentimental notions of family by establishing Filipinos as incoherent children. English instruction presumed their linguistic infantilization, a move that further situated Filipinos in the background of panoptical time and anachronistic space. This, coupled with the framework of bourgeois domesticity and the trope of family, placed Filipinos as juveniles within the hegemonic Western "Family of Man." History was thus made familial,[63] and Filipinos were centered as the dependent children of the more evolved races. Public Act 74, then, served as a domesticating act, constructing colonial identities of the infantilized child that was to be performed through the repetition of the grammar of empire.

"Indeed, to understand identity as a practice, and as a signifying practice," Judith Butler explains, "is to understand the culturally intelligible subject as the resulting effects of a rule-bound discourse that inserts itself in the pervasive and mundane signifying acts of linguistic life. Abstractly considered, language refers to an open system of signs by which intelligibility is insistently created and contested."[64] As the curriculum of the classroom, English lessons served as the daily rehearsal of a colonial identity that was at once racialized and gendered as the colonial child. Filipinos were not afforded the gendered labels of man and woman, for to be such would imply a Western rationality that was beyond their historical development as incoherent children. Rather, Filipinos were the colonial gender of dependent child.

In this manner, English instruction served to both signify the other as an infantilized being and act as the method of their uplift into intelligible adulthood. Public Act 74 enabled the benevolent care taking of Filipino, nurturing them into contemporary time under the tutelage of empire. Thus, it served as a domesticating act in another sense. English instruction attempted to pacify the colonial other-as-child (the first meaning of a domesticating act) to fulfill the needs of the imperial homeland.[65]

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[63] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 39.

[64] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 184.

[65] See Coloma, "Empire and Education," 68, for a related discussion on domesticating empire through teacher training.

Cohering Political Tension in the Philippines Through English Coherence

One of the most popularly and consistently articulated justifications for English instruction was its function in finally providing a common language to unite the many Filipino people and languages. Racist notions of Filipinos as democratically and linguistically incoherent substantiated the mandate of English instruction. As a group of people consisting of various tribes and languages, Filipinos were imagined as living in a state of disunity and national chaos. English would serve as a tool to unify the various peoples under a coherent form of communication. In addition, as the American colonial party line argued, Filipino's had been waiting for just such benevolence.

"The welcome the Filipino people have given the schools and the English language," Dr. Doherty claimed, "is the best certificate of their character and the best guaranty of their future." Echoing Worcester's sentiment that the Filipinos desired English, Doherty found the policy, as well as the broader colonial educational program, to be most beneficial for them. "I visited dozens of schools, and, with few exceptions, they would do credit to any country or any people," he continued. "It put me in mind of hungry children gathering around a mother for bread."[66] His observations demonstrate how the appeal of benevolence worked to promote the rhetoric of tutelage, and equally importantly, the sentimental relationship of bourgeois domesticity--which cast Americans as caring parental figures and the Filipinos as underdeveloped children. Indeed, to understand the argument for English as a common language, one must understand the manner in which Filipinos were racially and linguistically infantilized as a chaotic mix of barbaric, incoherent children.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the colonial enterprise in the Philippines was premised on racial constructs of Filipinos as backward, stilted in their development and deficient in their intellectual progress. They were deemed children in the family of democratic man. Racialized as such, Filipinos were rendered irrational and intellectually immature. Education, colonial administrators argued, was the mechanism by which Filipinos could grow out of their racial childhood. Yet, it was also the same system that reinforced the infantilization of Filipinos. In his 1905 observation of the public school in the Philippines, the American Willard French writes of Filipinos, "They are distinctly childish; whimsically, often unreasonably, sometimes obstinately childish as a perfectly natural result of three centuries of most superficial Christianity and subjugation grafted upon aboriginal Orientalism."[67] French reinforces the stronghold of recapitulation theory in the colonial imagination of Filipinos, demonstrating its role in supporting their domestication as children in the universal family of man.

English instruction as pacification was deeply connected to this imagination of Filipinos as children, an attempt to undermine the Filipino resistance movement by portraying people of the islands as democratically incoherent and therefore, incapable of self-rule. Indeed, the American colonial public education system substantiated the imperial infantilization of Filipinos through the rhetoric of language under-preparedness.

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[66] David H. Doherty, "Conditions in the Philippines" (U.S. Senate, February 27, 1904), 8.

[67] Willard French, "The Public-School System in the Philippines," *The North American Review* 180, no. 581 (1905): 548, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/25105384.

Language diversity amongst the Filipinos served as a powerful criticism against their preparedness for self-governance. The U.S. colonial regime rationalized Filipino linguistic variance as proof of national disarray. Writing to Secretary of War Elihu Root on Feb. 4, 1901, Philippine Commission President Taft reported, "The truth is there is considerable difficulty in making political campaign in this country owing to the variety of languages. In Bulacan, they talk Tagalog; in Pampanga, Pampangan; in Tarlac, Pampangan, Ilocano and Pangasinanian, and in Pangasinanian, they talk Pangasinanian and Ilocano."

That the Philippine archipelago did indeed consist of different languages was viewed as evidence of the Filipinos' political and intellectual incoherence. The Philippine-American War was a direct disavowal of Filipino articulations of independence, such as expressed through the establishment of the Philippine Republic well before the signing of the 1898 Treaty of Paris. American colonial officials thus dismissed the Filipino nationalists' declarations for liberation as incoherent ramblings, arguing that the 'insurrectos' represented only a particular cultural and demographic of the overall population. Taft found that "the Tagalogs" were "the most dominating of the various tribes, the most cruel and the most enterprising, active, bright and pushing."[68] In other words, they were displaying the exact characteristics of the ideal, efficient western man. That this was threatening to empire revealed the extent to which English as a domesticating act was intended to pacify Filipinos in the service of empire.

English as the Common Language of Civilization

Following the U.S. occupation of the islands, President McKinley declared 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."[69] Without a common language, it was deemed impossible for Filipinos to successfully organize for sustainable democratic independence. The American colonial imagination rendered Filipino language diversity a handicap to political progression. American colonial education thus became tied to the development of a common language for the Filipinos, who were imagined as children in need of tutelage to reach political adulthood. "It is obviously desirable," McKinley continued, "that this medium should be the English language."[70]

As a colonial precondition for Filipino self-governance, the language of English was positioned as a tool for Filipino unity and nation building. In "Use of English," Commissioner Mosses stated

> *One of the practical advantages of a knowledge of the English language for the people of the Philippine Islands is," Moses observed, "that it will supply a common medium of communication where no such medium formerly existed. Hitherto the several districts have remained more or less separated by the use of*

[68] William Howard Taft, "To Secretary of War," February 24, 1901, 6, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 11, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.
[69] "The President's Instructions to the Commission, April 7, 1900," LXVII.
[70] Ibid.

> *widely differing dialects, and have naturally fallen into a narrow provincialism and developed numberless local antagonisms. A common speech tends to remove these antagonisms and break up the prevailing provincial narrowness and jealousy.*[71]

None of the local dialects, it was determined, would suffice for the unifying and civilizing purpose of a common language. "For the purpose of more advanced instruction all the native languages were defective," Moses explained. "In many cases they had not the words to express the ideas it would be necessary to convey. It was noteworthy that Filipino speakers addressing Tagalog audiences on the subject of government were obliged to resort to elaborate circumlocution, and for the subject itself used a word borrowed from the Spanish."[72]

English was not only a measure of both national unity, it also enabled intellectual capacity for political discussion. "A second advantage of a knowledge of English," Moses asserted, "is that it will make possible the conditions of a political regime of a popular character, involving and interesting the inhabitants of all parts of the islands."[73] In other words, English coherence would cohere Filipinos as a national body. Conversely, lack of English fluency, then, positioned Filipinos as without an intelligible means of communication. They were rationalized in the U.S. colonial father figure imagination as linguistically and politically incoherent children, therefore without the ability to speak reasonably the terms of their independence and self rule.

Constructed within the framework of colonial domesticity as children without language Filipinos were therefore incapable of voicing the terms of their democracy, undeserving of their land, and rightfully subjected to foreign rule. Engendered as children in the signifying process of English instruction, they embodied colonial dependency. It then became the burden of the colonial state as father to bear the benevolent responsibility for providing English instruction, the means of intellectual and democratic coherence, for Filipino uplift into civilized adulthood. Through the policy of English instruction, the colonial administration saw itself as gifting the language of democracy, which would finally unite the disparate Filipino peoples and their political views across the archipelago to prepare them for eventual self-rule

English as a 'Benevolent Gift'

Reporting on the policy of English instruction in the islands on June 21, 1900, the San Francisco Call relayed Moses' explanation of the superior qualities of the English tongue—and the inferior attributes of the local dialects-- to domestic American audiences:

> *The Prof (Moses) said that the teaching of the English language to these people is of first importance, since only through the medium of our own language, or some other equally as rich in expression, can we convey to the people our advanced*

[71] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

ideas and cause them to appreciate and accept our modern institutions of progress and reform…
Owing to the poverty of the native dialects here our advanced ideas could not even find expression in them and that hence it has of first importance to teach them our language which is rich in expression and is already the polite language of the Orient…
The professor was of the opinion that so far as possible it should be taught direct that the child should know nothing and hear nothing in the recitation room but English. [74]

Racial ideologies promoting the "advanced ideas" of white supremacy were infused in what were deemed the practical considerations of establishing English in the Philippines. English was also celebrated as a mechanism by which Filipinos would recognize and adhere to the benevolent program of the U.S. Thus, the colonial language policy was imposed as a gift to the Filipinos, since their own culture had not developed a modern language paralleling the supposed complexity and range of expression as English.

"To have adopted a Filipino dialect as the language for the whole people under civilization," Moses further expressed in Use of English, "would have involved the task of developing it into a language fit to be used by an enlightened society. In other words it would have been necessary to construct a cultivated language out of the rudiments of a barbarous speech." Here, Moses situates Filipinos in the primitive stage of historical man, childlike in the grand narrative of modern man. His racial reasoning leads him to conclude that, "There was, therefore no reasonable alternative to furnishing instruction in English, and making this language the official language in the islands."[75] Consistent with the colonial rhetoric, Dr. David Doherty reported to the U.S. Senate "that the people not only did not resist it, but welcomed it, not on the ground of the diversity of their idioms (for they are not really diverse), but because their native vernacular at best could not open the world to them".[76] Doherty's account highlights the underlying racial assumption of Filipino deficiency, and in the manner in which it contradicts the claim of Filipino language disarray, thereby evidences the instability of colonial 'truths' espoused by administrators and demonstrates the tenuous, incoherent reality of colonial governance.[77]

However, it was a reality written off through the linguistics of imperial benevolence. "One of our great hopes in elevating those people," Philippine Commission President Taft declared in a 1902 address presented to the Senate Committee, "is to give them a common language and that language is English, because through the English language certainly by reading its literature, by becoming aware of the history of the

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[74] "Advice From Moses, How to Teach Natives English," June 21, 1900, C-B 944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[75] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."

[76] Doherty, "Conditions in the Philippines."

[77] In actuality, the reception of English varied and was dependent on factors such as social class, religion, and geographic location. Muslims in the southern archipelago, for instance, demonstrated a strong resistance to English instruction and American rule in general. Barbara Gaerlan discusses how certain Filipinos, such as Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, of the educated, elite class took to promoting English as means of advancing toward modernity, see Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines," 105.

English race, they will breathe in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon individualism."[78] In this manner, U.S. expansion in the Philippines was narrated to both Filipinos and Americans alike as a project of benevolent nurturance into the democratic adulthood of white "individualism" and independence.

With the trappings of modern civilization—literature, science, reason, and racial logic-- American imperialism was recast as an educational project for the betterment of humanity, rather than violent competition for the accumulation of global resources. English instruction in the Philippines, then, facilitated colonial patronizing in the name of moral patriotism in such that benevolence invoked a humanitarian appeal to individual and national self-realization. Yet, Filipinos would never become white as the colonial sentimentality that English instruction was laid upon relied upon the continual othering of Filipinos to maintain the need for American benevolence.

Curricular Narratives of Benevolence

In regards to pedagogy, the need for English instruction was also asserted as a matter of practicality.[79] Though some American colonials in the Philippines were fluent in Spanish, such as Barrows, few spoke local languages. There was a lack of qualified American instructors who were able to teach in the Philippine languages--even though many local teachers had already been teaching in these languages-- therefore education in the local languages was seen as nearly impossible to achieve systemically. Additionally, there was the matter of instructional materials. "It is hardly practicable to make native languages the basis of education," Superintendent Atkinson reported to the Philippine Commission, "for it would necessitate the setting of a large corps of translators at work, putting not merely school primers but large numbers of books of every sort into all of the principal dialects."[80]

More importantly, following the racial reasoning that Filipinos were linguistically deficient, colonial officials declared that the local languages were devoid of culture and, therefore, power. "By translating a few textbooks into the several dialects primary instruction might have been given in those dialects," Commissioner Moses explained, "but it would always have remained questionable whether ability to read a language that has no literature is worth the trouble of learning the art of reading."[81] Moses' assumption that there was no Filipino literature in the dialects provides a fruitful example of the manner in which recapitulation theory and historicist notions of Western linear progress dominated the colonial education landscape. In reality, following independence from Spain, literature and education in the Philippine languages was developing rapidly. This was true even during the early period of the Philippine-American War, the same period in which the system of American schools were being established.[82]

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[78] As cited in Tupas, "Bourdieu, Historical Forgetting, and the Problem of English in the Philippines," 53.

[79] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 203.

[80] Atkinson, *Language Basis of Instruction, The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines.*

[81] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."

[82] Isabel Pefianco Martin, "Pedagogy: Teaching Practices of American Colonial Educators in the Philippines," (presented at the Back to the Future: Perspectives on the Thomasite Legacy to Philippine Education, Ateneo de Manila University, 2001).

Though the initial soldier-teachers used textbooks written in Spanish, as soon as possible, these materials were phased out and replaced with English texts, including readers from California that were deemed unsuitable for American students.[83] As noted earlier, educational administrators such as Moses relied on Social Darwanisitc notions of recapitulation and felt strongly that instruction in English would "enable the inhabitants of the islands to read American books and periodicals," as such materials would impart the "character of American institutions."[84]

English and the Colonial Curriculum

Indeed, the policy of English instruction provided a most powerful way for the American colonial regime to transmit what Martin describes as "myths about colonial realities."[85] Many of these myths—of American occupation as benevolent tutelage-- were promoted through Western canonical literature. These materials offered grand tales of colonial conquest as adventurous, noble and romantic. Texts used included William Dafoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow' *Evangeline*. *Robinson Crusoe*, embodied colonial overtones (global travel, island conquest, and hierarchical relations of power, etc.)[86] and was required reading in the colonial schools. Not coincidently, one popular pedagogical practice of recapitulation theory argued that literary works particularly representative of historical epochs were most appropriate in fostering the educational and historical evolution of the child. Within this paradigm, *Robinson Crusoe* was an oft cited text.[87] *The Filipino Teacher's Manual* (1907) guided teachers on how to use the novel to teach English. "For the second half of the second year's work," the manual explicated, "an edition of Robinson Crusoe well illustrated, and with the language made simple to suit the ability of the class, will hold the interest and give the pupils many new ideas."[88] These "new ideas" were rooted in U.S. imperialism and presented as both English and character education lessons to the Filipino students. The preface to the *1908 Second Primary Language Book* had the following advise for teachers on how to incorporate Crusoe as study on composition:

> *Further material for composition work is suggested by the series of Robinson Crusoe stories. These stories, dealing with Crusoe's long exile on a tropical island, his primitive industries, his inventiveness, and his perseverance, present*

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[83] Penelope Flores, "Filipino American Students: Actively Carving a Sense of Identity," in *Struggling to Be Heard: The Unmet Needs of Asian Pacific American Children*, ed. Valerie Ooka Pang and Li-Rong Lilly Cheng (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 29.

[84] Moses, "Use of the English Language in Schools and in Official Business."

[85] Martin, "Pedagogy: Teaching Practices of American Colonial Educators in the Philippines," 2.

[86] Brett C McInelly, "Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and 'Robinson Crusoe'," *Studies in the Novel* 35, no. 1 (2003): 1–21.

[87] Fallace, *Dewey & the Dilemma of Race*, 43.

[88] Harry Couch Theobald, *The Filipino Teacher's Manual*, Philippine Education Series (New York and Manila: World book company, 1907), 136.

many valuable object lessons and will hold the child's interest throughout the book.[89]

Other English texts in the colonial curriculum romanticized conquest by presenting the tension merely as the backdrop of a melodramatic love story. *Evangeline*," Martin explains, "is the story of how the lovers Evangeline and Gabriel were separated during the time when the Acadians were ejected from their home by the English colonizers. However, the story tends to attract more attention to the romantic and sentimental portrayal of Evangeline's ill-fated love, rather than to the anger of the Acadians at the English."[90] That *Evangeline* trivialized the political struggle of colonialism, demonstrates the subtleties by which English instruction served to normalize American presence in the Philippines. English instruction materials such as the above literary texts aimed to produce colonial subjects that would internalize the rhetoric of U.S. benevolence and labor for its success. As John Franklin Bobbitt, teacher in the Philippine Normal School of Manila and arguably "father" of the field of Curriculum Studies, would later write, curriculum was a matter of social engineering, for fitting students into society as productive members. The curriculum of English instruction in the Philippines was designed to fit Filipino students within the framework and service of U.S. conquest.

In addition to using established Western literary materials, new textbooks were needed to accommodate the teaching of the English in the Philippines. As Bobbitt, who had come to the Philippines in 1903 for the explicit task of developing the curricular program, soon found, materials from America were ill-suited for the cultural realities of the tropics. Exposed to lessons which taught that "A is for apples" and "S is for snow" made little sense in the archipelago.[91] It was then necessary to have a ready supply of English materials that addressed the specific context of colonial education in the overseas islands.

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[89] Orlando Schairer Reimold, *Second Primary Language Book*, Philippine Education Series (New York and Manila: World Book Company, 1908), 3.

[90] Martin, "Pedagogy: Teaching Practices of American Colonial Educators in the Philippines," 2–3.

[91] Flores, "Filipino American Students: Actively Carving a Sense of Identity," 29.

World Book Co. "Thomasite Bringing Crate of Books." No date.
American Historical Collection, José Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.

The policy of English instruction then promoted the creation of another imperial enterprise, that of colonial curriculum publishing. In fact, World Book Company—now Houghton Mifflin Harcourt—was established in Manila in 1905 for the explicit purpose of producing educational materials for the Philippines. The textbooks were later sold in the Puerto Rican and Latin American markets (prominent Americans such as William Randolph Hearst were vocal in advocating for the colonization of Mexico).[92] Both, *The Filipino Teacher's Manual,* and the, *Second Primary Language Book,* referenced above were published through World Book Company's *Philippine Education Series*.[93] With the need for new Philippine specific English materials, American colonial educational personnel then became leading figures and experts in the field. Principals, teachers, and regional superintendents were called upon to write the new textbooks, which were then bought by the Department of Public Instruction for use in the schools. The creation of these new English textbooks highlighted an essential element of English instruction as a tool for pacification. It was not just that the books were written in the hegemonic language of English, or that the production of these materials further substantiated colonial economics, but that these textbooks allowed for new opportunities to impose colonial *epistemologies of power* as truth. In other words, the most significant element of the policy of English instruction was the manner in which it allowed the U.S. colonial project to articulate itself as benevolent. Section 14 of Public Act 74 enabled Americans to *literally* write the story of U.S. conquest as sentimental tutelage.

Writing the Hero Narrative

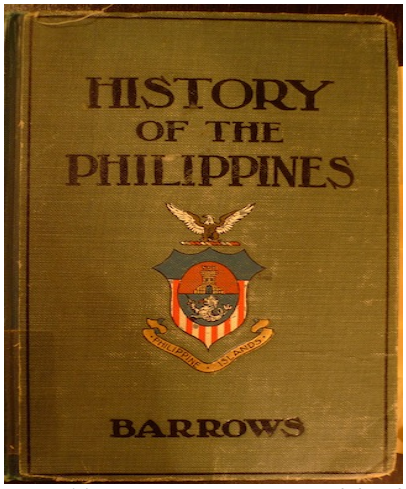
[92] Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco.*

[93] World Book Company, however, would become most famous for their distribution of Arthur S. Otis' intelligence tests, which he had developed for the U.S. military.

One such author of English curricular material was none other than the General Superintendent of Public Instruction himself, David. P. Barrows. While serving as Superintendent in 1903, Barrows was commissioned to write a history book for use in Philippine schools. He took up the task and spent two years penning *A History of the Philippines*, presenting a revisionist account of the U.S.'s armed occupation of the Philippine archipelago. The writing of history, as Walter Mignolo explains, has long been an epistemological strategy crucial to the development of western imperialism and the legacy of colonial power.

> *In the sixteenth century, Spanish missionaries judged and ranked human intelligence and civilization by whether the people were in possession of alphabetic writing. This was an initial moment in the configuration of the colonial difference and the building of the Atlantic imaginary, which will become the imaginary of the modern/colonial world…Toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the measuring stick was history and no longer writing. "People without history" were located in a time "before" the "present." People with history could write the history of those people without.*[94]

Although "alphabetic writing" no longer served as the signifier de jure of civilization at the turn of the 20th century, mandating English instruction enabled the American regime to present Filipinos as having "no literature," as Moses put it. In other words, Filipinos were understood as lacking civilized culture, and therefore, more importantly, lacking history. The policy of English instruction, therefore, created the condition for Barrows to "write the history of those people without."



Superintendent David P. Barrows' *A History of the Philippines*, 1905.
Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley

Barrows' *A History of the Philippines* was standard reading in the Philippine High Schools. First published in 1905, new editions of the text were produced until as

[94] Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton Studies in Culture/power/history (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3.

late as 1925, a fact, Philippine historian Reynaldo Ileto observes, that speaks to its influence in colonial schools and society.[95] Not surprisingly, Barrows' account of Philippine history recounted tales of American self-sacrifice, benevolent generosity, and protection. His *History* presented the violent history of American colonial rule in the Philippines as a heroic narrative, one in which the European race gifts the Filipinos civilization with the first pages of their history.

The 'academic' text begins with an explanation of race and progress. Certain races, Barrows writes, have no history "for they have left no records. Either the people could not write, or their writings have been destroyed, or they told nothing about the life of the people. The history of these races began only with the coming of a historical, or more advanced race among them." He details that the history of other colonized peoples were similarly initiated by the white race, as "the great historical race." "Thus, the history of the black, or negro, race begins only with the exploration of Africa by the white race," Barrows expounds, "and the history of the American Indians, except perhaps of those of Peru and Mexico, begins only with the white man's conquest of America."[96] Here, Barrows draws directly from recapitulation theory and its implicit privileging of Western linear progress.

Indeed, Barrows cited global advancement via imperial conquest as an integral element of the greatness of the white race. In a section titled "The European Race" he explains the following to Filipino students:

> *For thousands of years the white race was confined to the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. It had but little contact with other races of men and almost no knowledge of countries beyond the Mediterranean shores. The great continents of America and Australia and the beautiful island-world of the Pacific and Indian oceans were scarcely dreamed of. This was the status of the white race in Europe a little more than five hundred years ago. How different is the position of this race to-day! It has now explored nearly the entire globe. The white people have crossed every continent and every sea. On every continent they have established colonies and over many countries their power.*[97]

Regarding the positioning of Filipinos within this hierarchy, Barrows categorizes them with the "negro" and the "American Indian" by claiming that their "historical life" was birthed through European contact.

> The European Race and the Filipino People.—*This expansion and progress of the European race early brought it into contact with the Filipino people, and the historical life of the Philippines dates from this meeting of the two races. Thus the history of the Philippines has become a part of the history of nations. During these*

[95] Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 3.
[96] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 13.
[97] Ibid.

> *centuries the people of these islands, subjects of a European nation, have progressed in social life and government, in education and industries, in numbers, and in wealth. They have often been stirred by wars and revolutions, by centuries of piratical invasion, and fear of conquest by foreign nations. But these dangers have now passed away.*[98]

Here, Barrows groups the Spanish and Americans together in the "European race," but he later distinguishes white Americans as superior to Europeans (in general). "Struggle with the wilderness and with the savage produced among them a society more democratic and more independent than Europe had ever known," he writes, "It can truthfully be held, that in 1775, at the outbreak of the American Revolution, the colonists had abler men and greater political ability than the mother-country of England."[99] In fact, the advancement of white Americans from their European counterparts demonstrated the intimate relationship between racial superiority and the notion of Western progress.

In describing the founding of the American republic, Barrows illustrates a linear progression out of the passé institutions of Europe. "This nation, endowed at its commencement with so precious an inheritance of political genius, felt its civil superiority to the illiberal or ineffective governments of Europe, and this feeling has produced in Americans a supreme and traditional confidence in their own forms of government and democratic standards of life. Certainly their history contains much to justify the choice of their institutions."[100]White Americans, therefore, represented the pinnacle of human existence, the farthest advanced civilization in the history of democratic man.

Barrows' *History* was written in reference to Hegel's notion of the development of "the human spirit," in that Barrows situated the Philippines within a global historical narrative of progress that held white civilizations at the forefront of consciousness.[101] Such progression mirrored the linear human development of Filipinos as a childlike species toward Western adulthood. Therefore, Barrows' representation of Filipino History was reliant on a paternalistic discourse of progress that saw American colonial officials as father figures, leading their linguistically infantilized wards into cultural coherence. Through the curriculum of English instruction, Filipinos were thus taught to develop a dependent bond with the U.S. "The power of a nation so strong and so terrible, when once aroused, that no country on the globe would think for a minute of wantonly molesting its territory," states Barrows, "shields the Filipino from all outside interference and permits him to expand all his energy in the development of those abilities to which his temperament and endowment inspire him. [102]

In his study of *A History of the Philippines*, Ileto observes that "American tutelage, or fatherhood, or big brotherhood fits in naturally, leading Filipinos out of the medieval age through the development of a modern state peopled by modern individuals,

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[98] Ibid., 14.
[99] Ibid., 290–291.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 5.
[102] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 318-319.

or citizens whose passions have been subordinated to reason."[103] Within the philosophical context of Western progress, American occupation in the Philippines was rationalized as the heroic uplifting of "the little brown brothers' into the time and space of modernity. Framed by paternalistic white (American) supremacist ideology, Barrows professes in *History of the Philippines* that under the guardianship of the American regime:

> *There is no longer fear of piratical ravage nor of foreign invasion, nor is there longer great danger of internal revolt; for the Philippines are at the present time under a government strong enough to defend them against other powers, to put down plunder and ravage, and one anxious and disposed to afford to the people such freedom of opportunity, such advantages of government and life, that the incentive to internal revolution will no longer exist. Secure from external attack and rapidly progressing toward internal peace, the Philippines occupy a position most fortunate among the peoples of the Far East. They have representative government, freedom of religion, and public education, and, what is more than all else to the aspiring or ambitious race or individual, freedom of opportunity.*[104]

Conclusion: Writing out the Violence of U.S. Empire

In the above hero narrative, Barrows makes indirect reference to the Philippine insurrection by defining the benefits of American rule. Framed as protection, Filipino students learned of the power of the U.S. to "put down plunder and ravage" and to quell the "incentive to internal revolution."[105] The capture of nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo in June of 1901 was articulated as an example of the American regime's aptitude in carrying out their benevolent mission. In "End of the Insurrection," Barrows spells out the demise of the Filipino resistance movement, "the insurrection, in the spring of 1901, went rapidly to pieces."[106] The policy of English instruction allowed for the creation and institutionalization of colonial narratives of grandeur while disavowing Filipino peoples through a vocabulary of deficiency.[107] English as the grammar of empire required the racialization of Filipinos as culturally and linguistically incoherent so that the U.S. could write itself into their history as democratic saviors.

In Barrows' version of history, the violence of American rule was sanitized through the mechanics of language. *A History of the Philippines* recasts the brutality of the Philippine-American War as merely a "Misunderstanding between Americans and Filipinos."[108] However, the misunderstanding, it is important to note, was attributed to the supposed inability of Filipinos to understand the U.S.'s well-intentioned guidance. Seeing "that the Filipino leaders were untried men, and that the people themselves had not had

[103] Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 7.
[104] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 14.
[105] Ibid., 305.
[106] Ibid., 309.
[107] Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 7.
[108] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 295.

political training and experience," the nationalist were unable to appreciate that "The United States, having overthrown the Spanish government here, was under obligation to see that the government established in its place would represent all and do injustice to none."[109] Through English coherence, provided by Act 74, Filipinos would learn the political language of modern civilization and thus come to a more coherent understanding of the Philippine American War as America's benevolent mission of tutelage.

Focusing on altruistic accounts of American involvement served to write the reality of the violence of U.S. conquest out of history. In Barrows' *History*, any sections detailing the U.S. army's involvement in battle where described in terms of strategy, necessity and defense. Conversely, Barrows highlights the brutality carried out by the Filipino insurgents against their own people.

> *Assassination of Filipinos.—Many of the Filipino leaders were necessarily not well instructed in those rules for the conduct of warfare which civilized peoples have agreed upon as being humane and honorable. Many of them tried, especially in the latter months of the war, when understanding was more widely diffused, to make their conduct conform to international usage; but the revolutionary junta had committed the great crime of ordering the punishment by assassination of all Filipinos who failed to support the insurgent cause. No possible justification, in the light of modern morality, can be found for such a step as this. The very worst passions were let loose in carrying out this policy. Scores of unfortunate men were assassinated, many of them as the results of private enmity. Endless blackmail was extorted and communities were terrorized from one end of the archipelago to the other.*[110]

This passage exemplifies the manner in which the curriculum of English masked U.S. atrocities behind the veil of language. Vilifying the Filipino resistance movement and its leaders, as the subject of the description, Barrows then reinforces the moral respectability of the U.S. as the objective narrative voice.

That his version of events was articulated in an English language textbook--rather than in Spanish or the local languages—speaks to the subtle yet powerful ways in which colonial language instruction served as a crucial weapon in the pacification campaign. Hidden under the benign cloak of education, the 'practical' matter of English instruction fostered important opportunities for the normalization of imperial ideologies of racial dominance. American colonial education as English instruction served as what Filipino historian Renato Constantino indentifies as a weapon in "the miseducation of the Filipino."[111] Constantino's popular critique references the work of African American historian Carter G. Woodson's "The Mis-Education of the Negro" in which he exposes the structural production of black intellectual 'inferiority.' Woodson's work was

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[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 306.
[111] Constantino, *The Mis-education of the Filipino*.

developed within the broader context of his having taught as one of the first American teachers in the Philippines, serving from 1903-1907 in Nueva Ecija.

Contrary to Barrows' depiction of U.S. occupation as benevolent uplift, Philippine Commission memos reveal that the U.S. military engaged in practices of unsanctioned violence. Writing to Secretary of War Elihu Root on August 2, 1901, Commission President Taft details acts of brutality committed by a military official against several Filipinos:

> *We have all had a very great disappointment in respect to one man whom we had intended to employ as Chief of Detectives. His name is Sweet. We telegraphed you in regard to him. It seems that in his zeal to obtain information he has resorted to the practice of maltreating witnesses and prisoners and beating them with a black snake, which it seems he had in the office for the purpose, striking them in the face and head, knocking them down and tying their wrists so tight as to gash them. He was not particularly careful to keep this method from his subordinate, and as a consequence when one of his subordinates lost his rubber overcoat in a house where he lived, he brought the three muchachos or native servants to the police station, and there with the assistance of one of his fellow detectives they beat and maltreated these natives shamefully.*[112]

This was merely one of many reported incidents of violent abuse perpetrated against both Filipino resister and civilians alike. In an earlier letter to Secretary Root, dated March 17, 1901, Taft reported on the conditions in Marinduque, where American soldiers were responsible for inflicting violence upon the local peoples, confessing that "The severity with which the inhabitants have been dealt with would not look well if a complete history were written out."[113] Such cases illuminate the degree to which the colonial policy of English served a crucial function in writing out the atrocious history of U.S. imperial brutality by constructing narratives of benevolence.

[112] William Howard Taft, "To Mr. Secretary," August 2, 1901, 9, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 11, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.
[113] William Howard Taft, "To Mr. Secretary," March 17, 1901, 19, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 11, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

" Philippine Islands---A Harmless Method of Torture Alleged to Have Been Occasionally Used by Soldiers in the Philippines as one of the Necessary Accompaniments of War."
35th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Col. Edward H. Plummer.
Bulacan Province, Luzon Island, circa 1901.

In his memoirs, Barrows addresses the topic of English instruction and refutes claims that the policy was an imposition. "[T]he charge was often repeated," he writes, "that the government was thrusting the English language down the Filipinos' throats. Nothing could be more false."[114] Though he decried the accusations of forced acceptance, his own employment of the imperial linguistics of benevolence illuminate the role of English as the violent grammar of empire. In a most striking parallel, Barrows testified to the Senate in 1901 and proclaimed that the American practice of water-boarding, (also referred to as the "water cure") in which soldiers would physically restrain Filipino prisoners and pour water down their throats to force them to talk, was not a harmful act.[115]

An account of the practice of water-boarding provided by 32nd Volunteer Infantry soldier, A.F. Miller, proves others wise. " "Now this is the way we give them the water cure,' he explained. "Lay them on their backs, a man standing on each hand and each foot, then put a round stick in the mouth and pour a pail of water in the mouth and nose, and if they don't give up pour in another pail. They swell up like toads. I'll tell you it is a terrible torture."[116] Barrows' testimony, then, provides perhaps the most gut-wrenching demonstration of the kinds of human cruelty erased by colonial articulations of benevolence. Indeed, the tender violence of English instruction allowed the U.S. colonial regime to act with impunity as hero narratives of American empire erased the violence of U.S. conquest from history.

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[114] Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines," 104.
[115] Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, 20.
[116] Paul Kramer, "The Water Cure: Debating Torture and Counterinsurgency--A Century Ago," *The New Yorker* 25 (2008): 38.

Chapter 4

Maternal Soldiers of Conquest: Domesticity, English Instruction, and the American Teachers in the Philippines

"U.S. Army Transport Thomas, August 1901"
American Historical Collection, José Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University

On the morning of July 23, 1901, an anxious crowd gathered at San Francisco's Pier 12. Amidst the bustle and commotion of bowtied gentlemen and ladies adorned in fanciful Victorian hats, 523 American teachers frantically loaded their personal belongings. They walked up the gangway to board the *U.S.A.T. Thomas,* going over last-minute preparations for their month long sea voyage to the islands of the Philippines. Once named the *Minnewaska,* and serving as a cattle carrier between London and New York in her[1] former life, the *U.S.A.T. Thomas* had been converted into a vessel that would serve the needs of the U.S. military during the Spanish-American War. She had already proven useful in transporting U.S. troops, horses, and goods to battle regions in Cuba and Puerto Rico[2].

Three years after the U.S. defeat of the Spanish in the Philippines in May of 1898, the *U.S.A.T. Thomas* was now serving to transport a new breed of American soldiers. Instead of being trained in military schools, these soldiers received their conditioning in

[1] U.S. Embassy, *To Islands Far Away: The Story of the Thomasites and Their Journey to the Philippines* (Manila, Philippines: Thomasites Centennial Project, 2001), VIII. Gendered pronoun usage is intended to highlight the personification of the object, the U.S.A.T. Thomas, as feminine, adhering to descriptions of the transport vessel as described by editors of The Log of the Thomas. I employ this pronoun with the intention of pointing out the manner in which gender was steeped into various objects of the transnational colonial project.

[2] Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901."

elite institutions of American higher learning, hailing from universities that included Harvard and Princeton. A contingent of 25 University of California alumni ensured that the San Francisco Bay area was adequately represented in the colonial educational venture that was to take place in the new U.S. colony of the Philippines. These soldiers, women and men, carried their tools of conquest and occupation--books, chalk, the English language, and the ideological morality of Whiteness' burden--upon their bodies. This educational army would serve the agenda of U.S. occupation by imposing the linguistic discipline and punishment of mandated English instruction in the schoolhouse, complementing the ongoing physical confrontations against a rising Filipino nationalist movement in the battlefields of the Philippines.

Whereas the previous chapter focused on Section 14 of Public Act 74, which mandated the curriculum of English instruction, this chapter explores Section 15 of the Act as a colonial articulation which established the Thomasites, as the teachers aboard the transport came to be called, as the personification of U.S. colonial benevolence. This chapter intends to investigate the structural implications of these American teachers as situated within the political economic context of U.S. conquest. This focus highlights the systemic functions of the teachers within President McKinley's program of Benevolent Assimilation and to illuminate the structural effects of their colonial labor.

In this investigation, this chapter demonstrates three important points in regards to the American teachers. First, it describes how the strategic positioning of the Thomasites, as servants of colonial governance illuminates U.S. colonialism's dependence on the framework of bourgeois domesticity. As discussed in the previous chapter, the particular paternalism expressed through the benevolent tutelage of English instruction attempted to entrap Filipinos as child-like racial subjects without adequate language to express the terms of their self-governance. The Thomasites, then, as transnational laborers imported for the specific goal of nurturing the infantilized Filipinos with the language of civilization, completed the colonial family dynamic. As the teachers responsible for the development of the infantilized Filipinos, the Thomasites were at once constructed as *both the mothers and the servants of empire*.

In this manner, the 1901 U.S. mandate of English language instruction articulated the American public school system in the Philippines as a site for playing imperial house The schoolhouse became a political theatre for staging a public performance of home, in which colonial domesticity would be imposed through what Ann Stoler describes as 19th century colonialism's dependence on transnational family relations.[3] Demonstrating the constant interaction of ideology with material reality[4] the rhetoric of U.S. imperial benevolence shaped the structural implementation of colonial education through sustaining colonial relationships expressed in terms of familial dependency. Within these hierarchical relations of family, the teachers as mothers were celebrated for creating

[3] Ann Laura Stoler, "Imperial Dispositions of Dis-Regard: Beyond Ignorance and Bad Faith" (presented at the Center for Race and Gender Fall Symposium, University of California, Berkeley, November 15, 2007).

[4] For an understanding of the material base of ideology, see Zeus Leonardo's exploration of Althusser, education and race. Leonardo offers that "through Althusser we understand that ideology is not limited to the realm of ideas, but has material underpinnings," Zeus Leonardo, "Through the Multicultural Glass: Althusser, Ideology and Race Relations in Post-civil Rights America," *Policy Futures in Education* 3, no. 4 (2005): 400–412.p. 401.

intimate bonds of closeness with their Filipino charges. This was a critical factor in allowing for the enactment of tender violence in the schools.

In relation to this, this chapter reveals, as its second point, how the Thomasites operated as a crucial force in carrying out the administration's imperial directive of pacification, making the teachers an educational corps, which functioned in conjunction with the military.[5] Military officials were able to observe the teachers within "close range," as Thomasites themselves were able to get within "close range" of the Filipinos and convince them of the "beneficent purposes" of the U.S. government in ways that the soldiers could not.[6] Despite the fact that the first U.S. teachers were soldiers, several of whom returned as Thomasites, the presence of the American teachers constructed artificial yet crucial binaries—teacher/soldier, peace/war--that supported the rhetoric of benevolent U.S. rule. Thus, the Thomasites were presented in contrast to the armed soldiers, delineating times and spaces of peace from that of war, even though the bloody U.S. campaign continued on. Consequently, the Thomasites were able to establish a physical and emotional closeness with Filipinos, an advantage central to achieving the mission of pacification. In this manner, they provide an important opportunity for a more clear and focused examination of the manichaenistic imperial dichotomies that substantiate empire, exposing the superficial nature of their premise.

A most crucial binary, which underpinned the teacher/soldier and peace/war dichotomies, was that of gender difference. As its final point, this chapter investigates how the domestic framework of U.S. colonialism relied on gendered characteristics of femininity—most notable, that of inherent care and nurturance--to portray the Thomasites as a maternal body. American political cartoons of the time consistently illustrated the teachers as women, though a majority of the first teachers were in fact men.[7] The educational work performed by the Thomasites, as a feminized force, then couched them within the sentimentality of benevolence in a gendered manner. The binary of gender differentiated the teachers from soldiers on an emotional axis. In other words, the teachers were not merely different from the soldiers because of the fact they were teachers, but because they signified tenderness and intimate care; whereas the soldiers signified the hallmarks of colonial masculinity-- aggressive 'defense' and forceful 'protection.' As the grammar of empire, the policy of English instruction attempted to teach Filipinos to read the American teachers as a linguistic sign of maternal nurturance.

In this manner, the Thomasites were the personification of colonial benevolence, providing the caring face of conquest. Their educational mission complemented the physical, masculinized conquest of land by attempting to pacify the cries for Filipino independence through a program of infantilizing English language disciplining. These American teachers operated as the maternal soldiers of conquest, carrying the American

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[5] For an understanding of this coupling of teachers and the military within the context of ideology, see Zeus Leonardo's discussion of Ideological State Apparatus and Racial State Apparatus in Ibid.p. 409.

[6] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, n.d., 246, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 5, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[7] Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick estimate the initial numbers of American teachers aboard the U.S.A.T. Thomas at 509, with 368 men and 141 women, see Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner and Judy Celine A Ick, eds., *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines* (Pasig City, Philippines: Published and exclusively distributed by Anvil Pub, 2001), 5.. Roland Sintos Coloma demonstrates that "by 1910, out of 732 American educators, 493 or 67% were men," see Coloma, "Empire and Education," 39–40.

flag of democracy into the ideological warfront of the U.S. established public schools in the Philippines. As representative of peace, they were able to perform a colonial function, as what Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick term the "Bearers of Benevolence."[8]

English instruction as provided by the American teachers, therefore, was more than merely a matter of unifying linguistic difference, but in the specific context of its colonial imposition in the Philippines, a matter of instruction in the roles of an imperially racialized domesticity. As the mother figures of American empire, they were responsible for enacting a maternal colonialism,[9] guiding the development of the infantilized Filipinos into political adulthood. Carrying out the policy directives of the U.S. military government in the Philippines, the Thomasites were an educational infantry of "nurturers" with English as their weapon of mass democratization. As mothers of colonial domesticity, the violence and destruction that define imperial occupation were swept under the skirts of a colonial domesticity.

The Colonial Family

The metaphor of family, and its requisite heteronormativity, has been well documented by scholars of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines.[10] In regards to the institution of colonial education, my earlier chapters explain the function of the U.S. father figure and the infantilized Filipino in establishing the 'benevolent' policy of English instruction. This chapter explores the framework of domesticity to demonstrate how the hierarchical familial bonds of colonialism required the maternal figure of the Thomasites. "White love," explains Vicente Rafael, "holds out the promise of fathering, as it were, a 'civilized people' capable in time of asserting its own character. But it also demands the indefinite submission to a program of discipline and reformation requiring the constant supervision of a sovereign master."[11] Colonial benevolence as a global expression of white love thus equated "white fathering."[12] The stern paternal 'care' imposed by both the military and civil colonial government as the "sovereign master" of the Filipinos continued to be met with resistance. White fathering, then required a softer side, a tender partner to assist in the disciplining of the child-like Filipinos. The presence of the American teachers, whose purpose was to nurture Filipinos into intellectual and political adulthood, united the colonial family, solidifying American occupation under the sentimental banner of benevolence.

White Fathering

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[8] Hollnsteiner and Ick, *Bearers of Benevolence*.

[9] Margaret D Jacobs, "Maternal Colonialism: White Women and Indigenous Child Removal in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940," *The Western Historical Quarterly* (2005): 453–476. Zeus Leonardo discusses this concept as "feminized forms of racism," see Leonardo, "Through the Multicultural Glass," 407–409.

[10] Vicente L Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity: White Women and United States Rule in the Philippines," *American Literature* 67, no. 4 (1995): 639–666; Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*; Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*; Go, "'Racism' and Colonialism"; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*.

[11] Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, 23.

[12] This phrase is borrowed from Reynaldo Ileto, in his reference to Vicente Rafael's *White Love*, Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 22.

The very racialization of Filipinos as colonized peoples went hand in hand with their imagined inferiority to the masculine prowess of the colonial father figure. One factor that propelled U.S. expansion in general, and the colonization of the in the Philippines in particular, was an underlying crisis of white male hysteria as tied to economic anxieties. [13] Such gender ambivalence served as the underpinnings for a paternalist discourse that asserted white male dominance in the U.S. colonial family of the Philippines. The paternalism of white fathering was not merely a matter of condescension. Rather, it was heavily laden with oppressive political ramifications that justified ongoing U.S. violence.

Responding to the parading of the Katipunan[14] flag following the August 1907 Philippine Assembly elections, Americans were quick to vocalize their disdain. Many colonial officials expressed the patronizing and paternalistic desire to put Filipinos back in their place. "While the child remains under the parental roof," Major William H. Anderson sounded off, "the father will not be downed."[15] As peoples of a dependent territory, Filipinos were rendered the dependents of Uncle Sam, who was responsible for guiding the "little brown brothers"-- or "little Juan de la Cruz," as was the popular personification of the Philippine Islands—into independent self-actualization. Paternalist policies were then in order for the people who were reasoned as unable to govern themselves. In fact, in 1905 Secretary of the Philippine Commission James A. LeRoy expressed to the Lake Mohonk Conference attendees that many Americans in the Philippines were in favor of more forceful "paternal" policies. [16] The policy of English instruction was part and parcel of an abusive white fathering that enacted violence under the guise of tutelage.

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[13] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 27; Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 9; Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 31.

[14] Founded in 1892, the Katipunan operated as a secret organization aimed at overthrowing the Spanish government. It was founded upon Masonic principles, its key leaders, Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo, were both Freemasons, paralleling the U.S. revolutionary movement and American leaders such as George Washington.

[15] Kramer, "The Water Cure: Debating Torture and Counterinsurgency--A Century Ago," 333.

[16] Ibid., 294.

Wearing the pants in colonial education's transnational family.
"Bureau of Education, 1912."
American Historical Collection, José Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.

The paternalistic dynamic of underdeveloped Filipino-as-child, which could only exist through the relation to the colonial 'burden' of white fathering, was foundational to the justifications established for the mandate of English instruction. "[I]t it became the root of the corollary discourse of civilizational evolution," explains Maria Teresa Trinidad Pineda Tinio, "which progresses from primitive to medieval to modern and which is in turn also the root of the six-point rationale."[17] Couched within the metaphor of family, paternalistic policies such as English instruction manifested their destiny through claims to a universal appeal to goodness. Good intentions were self-righteously declared simultaneously as the motivations and justifications for colonial rule.

In his 1904 inaugural address to the U.S. colonial administration, Governor General of the Philippines Luke E. Wright performed the political invocation of good intentions to deflect public criticism of the prior Taft administration, under which Public Act 74 was established. "I think however, we must justly claim at least the benefits of good intentions and honest efforts," he stated. "It seems to me, furthermore, that when a comparison is made between the situation as it existed three years and a half ago and as it exists now, even the least observant or the most censorious must be struck with the marvelous change for the better. "[18]Wright's summoning of good intentions, and the resulting progress towards modernity, was an attempt to tug at the moral heartstrings of the colonial public, diverting attention from the fact that such sentiments were employed as an explicit racial politics of conquest.

[17] Tinio, "The Triumph of Tagalog and the Dominance of the Discourse on English," 72.

[18] Luke E. Wright, "Inaugural Address of Governor General Luke E. Wright, Inaugurated February 1, 1904," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, June 16, 1933.

Though paternal invocations of good intentions presented American occupation as benign, colonial benevolence was always backed by violence.[19] Thus, the road to colonialism was paved with good intentions, as previously noted, and always guarded by armed military personnel. The policy of English hinted at this reality as it sanctioned the intimate coupling of the military with schooling as a matter of organizational practicality. In addition to declaring that "[t]he English language shall, as soon as practicable, be made the basis of all public school instruction," Section 14 of Philippine Public Law Act 74 also stipulated that "soldiers may be detailed as instructors until such time as they may be replaced by trained teachers."[20]

Paternalism in Action

Soldiers-as-teachers played an important function in sustaining the framework of the colonial family as they brought the white father closer to little "Juan de la Cruz." Soldier teachers brought the white father into the classroom, and thus into the daily lives of the Filipinos. Paternal benevolence was not longer merely colonial rhetoric but it became a real practice, an educational one at that. Military occupation incorporated the intimate campaign of colonial nurturance. Demonstrating the convergence of paternal tutelage, the military, and English instruction, Army recruit Bedford B, Hunter describes his experiences as an accidental teacher in the Philippines,

> *It was while in the office of Sergeant Major that I decided to do something for the uplift of those about me. So I picked up a few urchins who were hanging around our office and persuaded them to come every evening and study English. I soon formed a class of twenty and began to formulate a method for getting English to them. A few days later I was favored by being given a furlough to Manila, and while there heard the call for teachers, to which I responded, and plead guilty of being with them until now, the hardest worked and poorest paid bunch in the Islands, but crowned with the brightest halo of success.*[21]

In his report to the Director of Education, Hunter further describes his work teaching English, specifically likening his role to that of a parent nurturing its young. He fondly recalls entering the schools and "putting word after word into the eager openmouthed children as a bird feeding so many young ones." "So persistent did we keep up our work," he continued nostalgically, "and so hungrily did the children devour the lessons left them from day to day, that within a month we were able to have a public entertainment in which we demonstrated that the children we really acquiring the English

[19] What Althusser would identify as the convergence of the Ideological and the Racial State Apparati and what Gramsci would argue is the basis of the power structure, consent and force, of hegemony.

[20] Philippine Commission, "Public Laws Passed by the Philippines Commission: During the Period from September 1, 1900, to August 31, 1902. Comprising Acts Nos. 1 to 449, Inclusive.," 103.

[21] Bedford B. Hunter, "From the Report of Bedford B. Hunter to the Director of Education," in *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines*,, ed. Mary Racelis and Judy Celine Ick (Tuao, Cagayan, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 94.

language and showed them our method of teaching, which was met with much applause."[22]

Hunter reveals how the good intentions of English instruction were racialized through the subtleties of an imperial domesticity that erased the colonial violence upon which it was predicated. The paternal care he provided for his racially infantilized students-- "putting word after word" of English into their hungry mouths-- portrayed an intimacy and colonial compassion that belied the violent realities of U.S. conquest. After all, before finding his calling as a teacher, Hunter's very presence in the Philippines was dependent on his service as a soldier in the military occupation of the islands. His account as a soldier-turned-teacher is particularly significant in that it blurs the distinction between the two roles, hinting at an alternative reality that highlights the non-duality between soldier and teacher in the U.S. colonial project.

When the violence of ongoing war was placed in the context of English instruction and the resulting cultivation of intimate tutelage, it became a tender violence, which pushed the brutal realities of physical conquest out of sight and mind. Exemplifying the force of such tender violence, former Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Carlos P. Romulo affectionately remembers his experience learning English from a U.S. soldier:

> *Our sergeant friend taught us from Baldwin's Primer. 'I see the cat. Do you see the cat? Does the cat see me?' I can see him now, that blue-eyed, friendly man, relaxed under our nips palms with his gun at his side, 'on the ready' (in readiness for our fathers in hiding), using that simple book to teach a small circle of big-eyed little boys to read and write in English. 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!*
>
> *I came to trust our enemies, to love them, and knew at last there was no difference between us, because we were friends.*[23]

Though Romulo was explicit taught a phrase, "on the ready," that pointed directly to the violence of American rule, he still came to trust and love the soldiers, even with the knowledge that his "friends" were always "in readiness" for their "fathers in hiding." Memorizing English words--" 'I see the cat' 'Do you see the cat' "--distracted from memorizing the countless scenes of atrocious violence. The soldiers as teachers enabled white fathering to establish sentimental bonds with Filipinos in a manner that military subjugation could not accomplish. Moreover, through English instruction, these soldier teachers could supplant Filipino devotion for family and nation with love for the white father.

However, maintaining the delicate balance of military duty with the tenderness of English instruction was a difficult task. Trained in warfare, many soldiers were not suited for teaching. In response to a proposal that would have Filipino boys learn English from troops of American soldiers, one general wrote to Secretary of War Elihu Root strongly

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[22] Ibid., 95.

[23] As cited in Gaerlan, "The Politics and Pedagogy of Language Use at the University of the Philippines," 100.

advising against such measures. Citing the crass vulgarity liberally employed by the army men, General Robert Hughes confided that, "The men are not from polite society to start with, and coming out here where no refining influences or social restraints are thrown about them, they habitually employ a language that is not English and much of it I cannot understand myself. The obscenity of it is something that the most fertile imagination could not produce, and how some of the language used comes to mean to the initiated what it now signifies is beyond solution."

So adamantly opposed to exposing Filipinos to such military realities, that General Hughes pleaded with Secretary Root, "For the credit of the American people as a nation, and for the sake of the Filipinos our new subjects, I beg that we may not take a step that will propagate this most vile obscenity in this most fertile soil." "I wish to avoid," he continued, "what I cannot but feel would be a serious mistake and one that will make us blush for our country in the near future."[24] For all the declarations made about the civilizing force of English and its inherent superiority, General Hughes' communication demonstrates the many dirty truths behind the claims.

He also illustrates a few of the difficulties with the continued use of soldiers as teachers. Considering the scale of public instruction that the Philippine Commission had sought to establish, there were not enough soldier teachers to carry out the mission at scale. Neither was there a ready supply of soldiers qualified to teach the intricacies of English to young students unfamiliar with the language. As a matter of practicality, reinforcements had to be sent. Detailing the development of the teaching force from soldiers to American teachers, Bedford Hunter reported that "when, in the course of a few months, a boat load of Americans arrived fresh from America and College and we received reinforcements to the extent of some eight or ten *maestros* and *maestros*, a High School Principal and a Division Superintendent, a general complaint went up that we did not know what we were doing and could not possibly teach their children much less to teach them a language."[25] In this manner, the Thomasites took up the position of colonial caregivers and complimented the work of the U.S. military through the tender violence of English instruction.

White Mothering: The Thomasites

Section 15 of Public Act 74 crafted the import of American teachers, the "Thomasites," to carry out the implementation of the English policy throughout the islands:

> *Sec. 15. Authority is hereby given to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to obtain from the United States one thousand trained teachers at monthly salaries of not less than seventy-five dollars, the exact salary of each teacher to be fixed by the General Superintendent of Public Instruction in accordance with the efficiency of the teacher in question and the importance of*

[24] Hughes, "To Adjunct General of the Army."

[25] Hunter, "From the Report of Bedford B. Hunter to the Director of Education," 95.

the position held. The necessary traveling expenses of such teachers from their places of resident to Manila shall be paid by the Government.[26]

Act 74 thus allowed for the transport of the Thomasites as transnational laborers of U.S. colonialism, incorporating them into the colonial household under the servitude of patriarchy. This served as a nuptial of sorts, legally joining the white fathering of the colonial administration with the white mothering of the Thomasites. As nurturers of English, they would reinforce the domestic organization of education by rearing the colonized 'children' into proper adulthood and instilling in them the morally superior Anglo-Saxon values embedded in the English language.

With the passage of Public Act 74, the Philippine Commission set to hiring American teachers for the immediate replacement of the soldiers. Military officials throughout the islands expressed a strong urgency for such a corps of teachers to man the provincial schools. "As soon as practicable," relayed Major M. LeRoy Brown in the Schools of the Western Islands report, "American teachers and equipment should be provided all schools."[27] Under the direction of General Superintendent of Public Instruction Fred W. Atkinson, the Commission issued a call to qualified candidates in the U.S. to fill teaching positions in the new overseas territory. Applicants had to satisfy the following four requirements:

1. *Applicants must be either Normal or College graduates.*
2. *They must have had several years' successful experience in school work and be now engaged in teaching.*
3. *Copies of testimonials and a late photograph should accompany each application.*
4. *They must be physically sound and able to withstand a tropical climate, and willing to accept whatever location may be assigned to them by the General Superintendent of Education. A certificate of good health from a reliable physician will be required of all appointees.*[28]

As part of the application process, potential teachers were required to fill out a questionnaire and pass an examination specifically developed for teaching in the colonial context. The test covered proficiency in content areas, such as math and geography, and included questions that assessed the political leanings of the candidate. For example, in the section titled "Examination in Current Topics," applicants were asked, "What is meant by the term "expansion" as applied to the affairs of our national government?[29] These questions were assigned point credits, and without a sufficient score, candidates would be deemed unqualified for the post. Describing the selection of teachers, Atkinson explained, "In making appointments, care has been taken to secure professional teachers,

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[26] Philippine Commission, "Public Laws Passed by the Philippines Commission: During the Period from September 1, 1900, to August 31, 1902. Comprising Acts Nos. 1 to 449, Inclusive.," 103.

[27] George LeRoy Brown, *Schools in the Western Islands* (Paragua, Philippines, July 27, 1901), 2, C-B 944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[28] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 183.

[29] Ibid., 193.

i.e., men and women who are in sympathy with the work and are making it their vocation in life."[30] As the examination question illuminates, "the work" that the teachers had to align themselves with was both instructional and ideological.

Atkinson partnered with the U.S. Civil Service Commission and American universities in order to recruit and hire the new teachers. "Teachers have been appointed both by letter directly, and by authority delegated to various heads of normal schools and colleges, together with state officials, upon whom I deemed it wise to confer a limited appointing power, owing to the great distance and the impracticability of personal conference with applicants," Atkinson detailed in his report.[31] By his accounts, established teachers and individuals new to the field were both greatly interested in the positions. "While men of nearly every profession and, doubtless, a large number without any profession, have applied for appointment to educational work in these islands," he continued, "quite a number of capable and enthusiastic teachers holding good positions in the United States and vouched for in the highest terms, have signified their willingness to accept work here at the same salaries." So eager were some applicants that in some instances they offered their services abroad "at smaller salaries than they are now receiving at home."[32] He soon had 8,000 applications from Americans interested in implementing the colonial education program.[33]

Most of the appointment had been secured "by the early part of 1901," but the transport of teachers became a logistical issue as American carriers were impacted with soldiers traveling to and from the Philippines and the continental U.S.[34] In, the 1901 Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Fred Atkinson detailed that "Over 200 hundred teachers have been appointed and are now awaiting transportation in the United States"[35] The earliest teachers, a group of 48 Americans, departed the U.S. in May aboard the *U.S.S. Sheridan* and immediately replaced some of the military officials serving the in the colonial classrooms.[36] Where there was room aboard the transports, the "teachers continued to come by twos and threes until mid-summer." It was then next available transport, "the special teachers' transport '*Thomas*' was assigned to carry all awaiting transportation" in 1901. Though American teachers would continue to travel to the Islands over the period of American rule, including a group of 94 teachers departing from New York aboard the *McClellan* in February 1902,[37] it was the *Thomas* that would remembered as the vehicle which brought forth what Thomasite Adeline Knapp referred to as an "educational army" of teachers.[38]

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[30] Ibid., 182.

[31] Ibid., 177.

[32] Ibid., 182.

[33] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 85.

[34] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 198.

[35] Atkinson, *Report of General Superintendent of Public Instruction*.

[36] Julian Encarnacion, "From the Days of Lakans to the Coming of the Transport Thomas," in *B* (Manila, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 33.

[37] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 208.

[38] Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901," 11–12.

Female Thomasites and Filipino Boy
"Arriving on S.S. Thomas, 1901, Thomasites"
American Historical Collection, José Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University

Colonial Connections

On the voyage to the Philippines, the *Thomas* made a stop in Honolulu, "for three days rest and recreation."[39] Given the historical the role of education in the project of U.S. colonialism, this stopover made perfect imperial sense. Sending American teachers to subdue colonial territories was a well established pattern through previous episodes of U.S. conquest in Hawai'i and in continental territories occupied through westward expansion. A handful of the teachers aboard the transport Thomas had previously served as instructors in the Hawaiian schools. One, Henry S. Townsend, would climb the colonial education ladder in the Philippines to become a noted principal and regional education administrative figure.[40] Not surprisingly, several of the American teachers who departed for the Philippines and a similar education project in Puerto Rico had also taught at federally mandated American Indian schools.[41]

A section of the *Log of the Thomas* titled, "Notes of the Voyage," provides a description of talks provided by teachers on board the transport who were well

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[39] Ibid., 26.

[40] Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901," 26.

[41] Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901," 50, Catherine E Walsh, *Pedagogy and the Struggle for Voice: Issues of Language, Power, and Schooling for Puerto Ricans* (Bergin & Garvey New York, 1991), 9. In Puerto Rico, English was also established as the medium of instruction, though officials had cautioned the speed to which it should be introduced for fear of riling suspicions about the intent to replace Spanish. The use of Spanish in the schools was allowed during the initial ten years of American colonial rule, but it was to be replaced by English thereafter. In the meantime, American teachers were needed to impart English in the Puerto Rican Schools. Paralleling the Philippines, educators from the continental U.S. were shipped to Puerto Rico in 1901, replacing the initial soldiers who served as teachers, see Ibid., 11..

experienced in practices of U.S. colonial education in particular and in instructing non-'Americans' in general:

> *During the voyage we have been treated to a series of interesting talks by teachers who have done work along special lines. On August 9, H.S. Townsend of Honolulu gave a practical talk on the methods employed in the schools of Hawaii. Having been in the Islands for twenty years, he has a large fund of information from which to draw. August 9, W. H. Hilts spoke on "Designing and Drawing," which is his specialty. August 13, Mr. and Mrs. P. L. Sergeant spoke of their work among the North American Indians, and on August 14, Miss Kate Bassett gave a most interesting talk on "Kindergarten Work" among the children of foreigners in Chicago. On August 15, Miss Lincoln spoke of her experience in the schools of Persia*.[42]

In fact, in his 1901 report, Atkinson counted 3 teachers from "Indian territory," and 4 from Hawai'i. In addition, there were a number of discharged soldiers "who had been detailed to teach under military regime."[43] The educational program of English instruction was thus inextricable from the broader realities of U.S. expansion, through ties to other territories and to the foundational role of military occupation.

Teaching Duties

Upon their arrival in Manila, Atkinson had arranged for the teachers to be housed in a government building erected specifically for them in Ermita, "one of the coolest and pleasantest residence portions of Manila." They remained at this site while "awaiting transportation to their permanent stations" across the Islands. Daily meals were provided by the insular government through a restaurant contracted with a Chinese, "Ah Gong, a hotel proprietor of the city."[44] Teachers were able to purchase goods at the commissary, a distinct and 'practical' marker of their alliance with the military as servants of U.S. colonialism.[45]

By 1902, 1,074 Thomasites were dispatched throughout the archipelago (there would be fewer American teachers after this time, as the Filipino teachers they were responsible for preparing were permitted to assume more of the educational duties). [46] In replacing the soldier teachers, the daily duties of the Thomasites included the instruction of both Filipino youth and teachers. Describing their work, Atkinson detailed that the teacher "looks after the school work in his town and oftentimes in the neighboring barrios; instructs the native teachers daily in English and in other studies; spends a part of his own time in teaching the children; and has charge of all property and supplies."[47] One Division Superintendent further reported that the duties for the teachers in his particular

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[42] Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901," 50.

[43] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 209–210.

[44] Ibid., 199.

[45] *Ibid., 205*.

[46] Encarnacion, "From the Days of Lakans to the Coming of the Transport Thomas," 33.

[47] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 240.

province included the instruction of "the teachers of the central school one hour daily," the investigation of barrio schools, and the supervision of "the work of barrio teachers."[48] Indeed, an important part of the work of the Thomasites was teaching the local teachers English so that they could, in turn, teach their students the "mighty English tongue."[49]

The Thomasites and the Normalizing of Racial Hierarchy

This further established the American infantilization of Filipinos as the Filipino teachers were deemed unqualified to teach those in their own communities. That they also were forced under the colonial guidance of the Thomasites demonstrates the stratified dimensions of power that were embedded in the familial relations of colonial domesticity. For example, Filipino teachers received less pay than their American counterparts. This inequality was justified through the imposition of English as the measure of knowledge, and the resulting 'deficiency' and 'inefficiency of the Filipino teachers. "We are obliged to discriminate between the salaries of American teachers because of the differences of efficiency among them, " Philippine Commissioner Bernard Moses reasoned.

The policy of English rationalized the institutionalization of racial prejudice as a matter of common sense practicality. "The discrimination in this respect which we make among teachers in the service of the Government is not a discrimination between Americans and Filipinos," Moses justified, "but between inefficient and efficient teachers, and when the Filipino teachers shall have acquired such a knowledge of English and the methods of instruction and of the subjects to be taught as will place them on a level with the American teachers in knowledge and efficiency, they will have no grounds to complain of unjust discrimination."[50] In this colonial framework, equality would be easily achieved through hard work and earnest effort in mastering English. Thereby naturalizing the corollary that any lack of increase in pay was at the fault of the teachers, and not a structural inequality.

This mode of progress was predicated upon the normalization of racial hierarchy and it represented the broader goals of the objective of English as tutelage. In fact, the pay differential between the American and Filipino teachers is a most fitting example of the type of racial subjugation that the colonial curriculum of English instruction set to establish in the Philippines. The substitution of the Thomasites for the soldiers as 'well trained' educators further normalized the imbalance of power through their sentimental capital as self-sacrificing, caring teachers. As such, they translated the inequalities and violences of U.S. conquest as harmless, and even helpful, acts of benevolence.

An "Educational Army"

The policy of English instruction established a new mode of patriotic duty in the colonies. Whereas military service had been the predominant means for the everyday

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[48] Ibid., 262.

[49] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 315.

[50] *Outline of Remarks to the Superior Advisory School Board*, November 30, 1901, 3–4, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

American man to participate in the U.S. campaign, the call for English teachers created an additional avenue. There were now two main routes to serving the nation, military duty and teaching; to die or to educate in the name of the United States. Act 74, therefore, had important colonial implications that spanned beyond the scope of the classroom. It illuminated the way that the educational program was inseparable from nationalist ideology.

As the colonial family metaphor demonstrates, this ideology was embedded in white supremacy and patriarchy. It is important to note that the call for American teachers was foundational in bringing white women to the Philippines. Prior to the arrival of female Thomasites, almost all of the American women in the islands were the wives or daughters of colonial officials. As Vicente Rafael discusses, white women in the Philippines were "doubly" positioned, as both "subaltern (and therefore akin to the 'natives') yet privileged (hence close to white men and creole/mestizo elites." They lived in the articulated space at the conjuncture of their positioning as both oppressed and oppressor, "invariably participat[ing] in the simultaneous enactment and disavowal of the everyday violence of colonial rule."[51] As teachers, women were encouraged to take up the 'burden' of colonialism in gender appropriate ways:[52] as nurturers of a dependent peoples. This gendered element would serve the purposes of pacification in crucial ways as it portrayed the mass of Thomasites as performing non-threatening benevolent care.

Thus, the whole of the American teachers (including the male Thomasites), were equated with peace and order. "The American teacher," Atkinson wrote in his report, "if true to himself, his calling, and his country, is, perhaps, the chief factor at present. The success of this great educational experiment depends on his ability to establish sympathetic relations with Filipino pupils, parents and teachers; to work day and night conscientiously and tactfully; and then patiently to await results."[53] The teachers were not merely "the chief factor" in the "educational experiment" but, more importantly, they were essential in the broader mission to pacify the islands—a campaign implanted in colonial education. In this manner, the work of the teachers was directly tied to sustaining the U.S. occupation.[54]

Read against the metatext of the Philippine-American War, these English teachers were positioned as agents of the state, responsible for muting expressions of Filipino dissent to American rule. In his communication to Atkinson, Governor of the Camarines, James Ross expressed his satisfaction with the teachers in specific regard to their role in serving the colonial aims of the government. "The conduct of teachers along this line has been most satisfactory as a rule, and I have found that they use very good judgment and tact in dealing with the natives, thereby making themselves active agents of the government in convincing the people of the benefits they are to derive by trusting and remaining loyal to the United States government, and in showing them the way to a

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[51] Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity," 641–642.

[52] Paul Kramer provides a discussion on the gender significance of the arrival of white women in the Philippines, explaining that it "marked a central boundary line in the marking of colonial time. War had been defined in terms of brutal, racialized confrontation between men; the arrival of American women signified not only a margin of safety but a transformation of colonial politics from war to suasion," see Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 178.

[53] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 264.

[54] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 169.

higher plane of civilization." "I believe you will agree with me," he continued, "in considering this to be a part of the teacher's work as much as his daily routine in the school room."[55] As Ross demonstrates, the teachers were invaluable as "active agents," garnering trust in the American system in ways that the soldiers could not. "Their power for good or evil," observed William H. Johnston, Governor of Isabela Province, " exceeds that of a single soldier."[56]

In this manner, the Thomasites as mothers in colonial education's transnational family were simultaneously placed within the framework of military service. The discipline of English instruction, which they were responsible for commanding, was an ideological tool that was pedagogical in rationale and strategic in its function in the military occupation of the Philippines. Many 'Thomasites' readily identified their service to uphold American empire as analogous to a military mission. In describing the educational operation they were embarking on, Thomasite, and former *San Francisco Call* writer, Adeline Knapp referred to the teachers as an "educational army." In "A Notable Educational Expedition" she writes:

> *Never before in the history of the world has any country set out a body like this, and it rests heavily upon every member thereof to make good the promise and the hope that has brought the educational army into existence. Soon its soldiers shall be scattered over the insular field, fighting each his battle with what might has given him, and upon the faithfulness of each must depend the efficiency and the faithfulness of the whole. There is a solemnity in the thought that should hush all desire for exploitation of the opportunity, all dreams of personal gain, all of lesser worth that would take from the dignity, the high nobility of that which the army is sent out to do…Each member of the new army musty carry into his work in the wilderness the spirit of love, of loyalty and faith, and a knowledge that those to whom we go are akin to us of, like need and aspiration with us---"Lest we forget, lest we forget."*[57]

Knapp concludes with a reference, "Lest we forget, lest we forget"-- from Rudyard Kipling's 1897 poem "Recessional," warning against the arrogance of empire. In doing so, she illustrates how the teacher corps was morally and sentimentally placed in contrast to the military, thus enabling them to perform the tender violence of educational pacification. That she urges her fellow teachers to approach their duties with the "knowledge that those to whom we go are akin to us" demonstrates the familial bonds of colonial domesticity that structured the Thomasites' sentimental positioning.

However, the emotional distance and difference from the soldiers was merely a superficial duality. As highlighted earlier through the case of Bedford Hunter, many soldiers taught. Some continued to teach as Thomasites. The *Log of the Thomas* indicated "Ten of the teachers on board the *Thomas* like the Philippines well enough to return after having spent a year or more in the Islands, under the trying conditions of service in the

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[55] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 258.

[56] William H. Johnston, "To Superintendent of Public Instruction from Providence of Isabela," February 15, 1902, Banc Mss 71/229c, Moses Vol. 2, Bernard Moses Papers, Bancroft Library.

[57] Gleason, "The Log of the Thomas: July 23-August 21, 1901," 12.

army. They come back to the country they helped to reclaim from misrule and industrial waste filled with the pioneer spirit eager to take part in the development of a new territory."[58] The work of the teachers in pacifying the Filipinos was not far from that of the soldiers.

Instructing Pacification

The American teachers received much praise for their capacity to provide the Filipinos with an education in colonial acceptance. "I cannot praise too highly the work of American teachers in this province," wrote John W. Green, Senior Inspector Constabulary of Misamis Province, Mindanao. "It is an ever-active force for peace and progress." Explaining their power for pacification, Green expresses, "A well-equipped army may put down insurrection for a time, but no one knows when it will break out again. With the progress of education insurrection will be stamped out forever."[59] C.J. Bailey, Senior Inspector of the Constabulary for Tarlac Province, echoed Green's sentiments:

> *To the soldier of civilians whose knowledge of the situation in this province has been gained by experience in the islands, there is a more real assurance as to the development of a satisfactory condition here, more hope of a reasonably speedy settlement of all antipathies in the work of the school teachers than in any other agency. The highest tribute that be paid to their (the teachers') tactful diplomacy is found in the general satisfaction their teachings have given the former insurgent leaders… the Ramos family are satisfied that what their children are taught will remove whatever grounds still remain for anti-ultimate Filipino independence. Much of this result is no doubt due to the energy of individual teachers with which the campaign of knowledge being conducted. When native school children daily gather in groups on the streets and plazas and sing 'America' and 'The Star Spangled Banner' in good English and with a vigor that would have made our Pilgrim forefathers envious, they voice the beginning of the end, and promise that that end shall come speedily*.[60]

The Thomasites, bearing the benevolence and progress of English, were able to make inroads with "the former insurgent leaders" through the sentimental mechanics of language instruction. Performances of "America" and "The Star Spangled Banner" posed a less aggressive frontal attack than armed weapons, while hitting a most sensitive target: the children of the former resistance leaders. Thus, the framework of colonial domesticity functioned to rearrange the familial dynamics so that Filipinos would cultivate filial piety for the white mother and father instead of the Philippine Republic.

"The American teachers in this province are doing more to bring about peace and good will between the American and Filipino than any other persons on earth," reported Governor of Albany Province, A.W. Betts. Detailing the teachers' effect on the parents,

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[58] Ibid., 49.

[59] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 254.

[60] Ibid., 246.

he writes, "Their work appeals to the parents, whose pride is greatly increased through the knowledge of the progress the child is making in being able to converse in English. No more striking illustration of this can be had than to see the smile of approval on the parent's face when the child salutes you in English."[61]

"The school children as well as their parents have the fullest confidence in the intention of the Department of Public Instruction to do well by them," Inspector Bailey noted. "I know that they are beginning to comprehend its beneficent purpose and its vitalizing results, because I have had opportunities for observing them in this connection at close range."[62] As Bailey illuminated, the sentimental quality of instruction allowed for a crucial physical and emotional closeness that enabled the campaign of pacification to be instilled full force. In regards to the objective of "maintaining order and peace in the Archipelago," Henry T. Allen, Chief of the Philippine Constabulary felt strongly "that the body of teachers, in addition to their value as instructors, will have a tremendous influence" and "will produce a far reaching effect scarcely attainable by any other method."[63]

[61] Ibid., 250.

[62] Ibid., 246. This phrase draws directly from McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation rhetoric, as evoked in his Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation. It's direct application to educational practice here illuminates the function of education in enacting political ideology.

[63] Ibid., 242.

Maternal Soldiers of Conquest

Sentimental Binaries

As discussed, the binary function of the American teachers as a contrast to the soldiers served to effectively disguise the reality that they complemented the work of the military. Instead of killing, raping, and pillaging their way through the provinces, the teachers arrived with books in tow and entrenched themselves amongst the people. "In a word they are proving by their acts as well as words the wisdom of the policy adopted in regard to education here," Allen expressed. "These teachers afford the people an opportunity of learning in a most expedient and practical way what good American citizens are and what may be expected from American control. Without them," he continued, "the ideas of these people would be formed largely from those with whom they have come in contact during unfortunate times—the soldiers."[64] The presence of the teachers also served to create a binary in colonial time. The Thomasites served as markers of peace and progress, since the insular government was reluctant to place them in hostile areas, delineating the passage of brutality and violence. In reality, the war continued.

These binaries were predicated upon a sentimentality that was itself based in gendered difference. Governor Ross of the Camarines reported to Superintendent Atkinson that he was "pleased to observe that most American teachers in this province have apparently come here thoroughly imbued with the idea which I consider the essence of the American policy in these islands, viz: to get into as close touch as possible with the people, and by kind, courteous and honorable conduct toward them gain their respect and confidence."[65] That the teachers were encouraged "to get into as close touch as possible with the people" points to their role in cultivating a colonial intimacy. Such relations were employed to establish American rule as an emotional and psychological bond to white parenting.

Gender, particularly white mothering, played a critical role in forming these intimate relations between American teachers and the racially infantilized Filipino populace. Where possible, female Thomasites were placed so that they could teach Filipino girls, as was the custom in many of the provinces under Spanish rule. Philippine Commissioner Bernard Moses attributed inherent maternal qualities to these women teachers stating that, "[t]hey performed an important function as instructors of children."[66] As such, they were seen as vehicles for imparting the demure qualities of Western civilization. "Wherever there are lady teachers," Constabulary Green reported, "the native women in particular showed a marked tendency to adopt American dress. These influences are not limited to the centers of population but are beginning to assert themselves even in outlying districts…."[67] Indeed, sentimental gender differences

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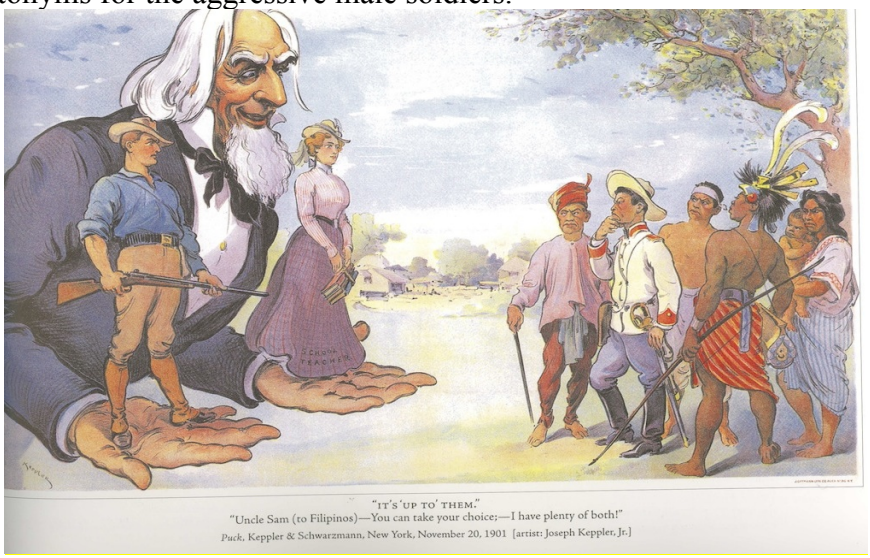
[64] Ibid., 242.

[65] Ibid., 258.

[66] Bernard Moses, "Women Teachers in the Philippine Schools," n.d., Banc-Mss B944, Carton 2, Bernard Moses Misc. Writings on the Philippines, Bancroft Library.

[67] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 253.

substantiated colonial binaries by feminizing the American teachers and establishing them as antonyms for the aggressive male soldiers.



"It's Up to Them"
"Uncle Sam (to Filipinos)—You can take your choice;--I have plenty of both!"
Puck, Keppler & Schwartzman, New York, November 20, 1901 [artist: Joseph Keppler, Jr.][68]

The Caring Face of Empire

The 1901 political cartoon "It's Up to Them," published in the American humor magazine Puck, provides a vivid illustration of the colonial binary constructed through the deployment of the American teachers. Here, a god-like Uncle Sam presents a contingent of Filipino peoples, most of who are yielding 'primitive' arms, with two options. On one the hand stands a broad-shouldered American soldier with his rifle relaxing-yet still pointing at the Filipinos—in his hands. His eyes are steadily fixed on them as he is "on the ready."

On Uncle Sam's other hand, stands a gentle looking woman dressed in respectable Victorian attire. The words "School Teacher" grace the hem of her long, flowing skirt. Instead of a rifle, she dangles a trio of books. The caption reads "*Uncle Sam (to Filipinos)—You can take your choice;--I have plenty of both!"* In a show of power that is smug in its supposed magnanimity, Uncle Sam presents the options, the soldier and the teacher, as the personification of war and peace. Choosing continued resistance to American rule would result in bloody encounters with the soldiers. Choosing peace would enable the progression of civility, symbolized through education.

Of central importance to the many layers of binary distinction in this imagery is the gender demarcation of the colonial options. Although the majority of the Thomasites in 1901 were still men, the teacher is imagined as a woman. Her thin arms are a stark contrast with the brawn muscles of the soldiers. While his arms are half raised, prepared for battle in a moments notice, her hands hang down in front of her skirt, demonstrating her peaceful intentions. He is stern; she looks serenely at the Filipinos. These invocations

[68] Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 67.

of femininity served a colonial purpose. It exploited bourgeois notions of womanhood in order to sanitize oppressive relations of power under the pretext of peace.

The "Thomasites-as-woman" was a popular trope, as practically all of the American political cartoons at the time portrayed the teachers as females. In addition, the image of the female teacher reinforced the framework of colonial domesticity and veiled the inherent violence of U.S. nation-building. The maternal qualities and responsibilities of the teacher constructed a sense of domestic intimacy and tenderness that pushed the brutality of war out of the frame. In fact, as Laura Wexler details, this was a literal visual practice enacted through white women photographers who captured genteel scenes of American soldiers in the Philippines.[69] Carrying the gendered attributes of womanhood, the American teachers then became the public face of U.S. benevolence, embodying the rhetoric of colonialism as caring tutelage.

"The American Policy"

Revisiting the political cartoon, "The American Policy" (from Ch. 2), with this understanding of gender politics reveals an important colonial formation in the illustration. It's not just that Uncle Sam is ushering the infantilized Filipino into the colonial school, but rather, the 'fact' of the female teacher, and her positioning at the entrance of the schoolhouse, highlights that an important domestic unity is being achieved: the colonial family is finally complete. The import of the American teachers as English instructors enabled the full implementation of the civilizing agenda.

[69] Wexler, *Tender Violence.*

Colonial Family Portrait
"Baguio School Children with the Thomasites, Leonard Wood, and William Taft"
American Historical Collection, José Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University

Maternalism and White Women Teachers

U.S. overseas expansion was influenced by bourgeois social norms established earlier in the 19th century through "The cult of true womanhood." These gendered expectations developed out of the expansion of new industries and the resulting growth of the middle class family. New notions of womanhood delineated the home as the proper sphere for respectable woman, and the domestic space became their prime area of concern and expertise. Child rearing was a vital function in true womanhood as it had implications for the home and the larger nation state. The family unit served as a symbol of nation, therefore raising proper children meant raising a healthy, vibrant nation.

Lingering influences of true womanhood were enveloped with U.S. continental and overseas expansion and white protestant middle class women took it upon themselves to dictate the proper childrearing of nonwhite groups as part of their "maternalism."[70] President McKinley's administration included just such influences. Margaret Jacobs documents that social reformer Estelle Reel served on McKinley's 1896 election campaign. He then appointed her superintendent of Indian education, where she advocated for an educational program backed by force. Reel also imposed white maternalism upon Indian youth, often separating mothers from their children for 'civilizing' purposes.[71]

[70] Jacobs, "Maternal Colonialism," 461.
[71] Ibid., 468.

Overseas conquest afforded white women new opportunities as the proper sphere of home was expanded to include the domestication of the colonies.[72] Maternalism thus spread to the Philippines where it was practiced through colonial education. The Thomasites fulfilled an important mothering role as they solidified the idea of Filipinos as children under the care of American rule. The curriculum of English instruction reinforced the bourgeois colonial family dynamic. The familiar practice of coparenthood, *compadrazgo*, was erased from the textbooks and replaced with depictions of the heterosexual Western family unit: one father, one mother, and children.[73]

Although still under the limitations of white patriarchy, white women could now exert a level of power over racialized Filipinos that positioned them above non-white men and women. As teachers, many of them saw themselves as the proper role models of womanhood. Charged with English instruction, they were responsible for teaching Filipino students to speak English and to develop the habits of Western civilization. Their maternalism required the rejection of Filipino motherhood as a poor imitation. This served as a representation of the Filipinos' supposed inability to rear themselves into democratic adulthood. Similarly, as the teachers of the Filipino teachers, the Thomasites served as exemplars of civilization and womanhood. The local teachers were then assumed to be deficient in both their educational capacity and in their gendered qualities. Indeed, Commissioner Moses declared that the female Thomasites "set a standard of efficiency for the native women teachers with whom they were associated."[74]

One of the first Thomasites to arrive in the Philippines, Mary H. Fee's account of her relationship to the local population evidences the colonial reprimand of racialized motherhood in the private sphere of the Filipino family while commenting on the role of colonial educators as proper mothers for the publicly infantilized Filipinos. Here, Fee describes an episode with a student and her mother:

> *It was a very small girl in a long skirt with a train a yard long and with a gauzy camisa and pañuelo—a most comical caricature of womanhood. She was speechless with fright, but came on so recklessly that I began to suspect the cause of her determination. It was, in truth, behind her, as my groom of the front yard soon let me know. Again the elfin face and the wiry pompadour leaned around the door-jamb—"One more pupil, letty—the girl's mother."*
>
> *But she was not a pupil, of course, and she had only come in response to the heart promptings of motherhood, white, black, or brown, to talk about her offspring to the strange woman who was to usurp a mother's place with her so many hours of each day. She was quite as voluble as American mothers are, and her daughter was quite embarrassed by her volubility. The child sat stealing frightened glances at me and resentful ones at her mother.*[75]

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[72] Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity"; Allison L Sneider, *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: US Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929* (Oxford University Press New York, 2008).

[73] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 100.

[74] Moses, "Women Teachers in the Philippine Schools."

[75] Mary H. Fee, "A Woman's Impression of the Philippines," in *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines,* (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 125.

Fee's description of her female pupil as "a most comical caricature of womanhood," best captures the colonial construction of Filipinos as inadequate adults, thus reinscribing them as children. At best, her student is a poor imitation of American notions of feminine adult standards. That Fee sees her as a 'caricature' reveals her colonial deficiency. She will not truly be a woman without white mothering. Her approaching Fee "speechless with fright" further demonstrates the imperial correlation between language and colonial development into adulthood and (national) independence.

The child's mother comes to the new American school specifically to challenge Fee, as the surrogate colonial mother, in regards to her right to motherhood, yet her vocalization of protest is noted as merely 'voluble.' She is loud, but not coherent since she does not speak English. Her words are then reduced to noise. Her 'volubility' demonstrates a colonial translation that dismisses the viability of the mother's articulated resistance to colonial education as incoherent, unintelligible noise; again, reducing the Filipino mother to an irrational and infantilized being. Fee disavows the relevance of the Filipino mother as she describes her student's embarrassment and subtly implies its appropriateness.

Fee describes the Filipino mother as being "quite as voluble as American mothers" and expresses an understanding along the lines of a universal maternalism--"she had only come in response to the heart promptings of motherhood, white, black, or brown, to talk about her offspring…" However, the sentimentalism of her benevolent compassion is predicated upon colonial education's deeply normalized notions of white racial and gender superiority. Fee was not just any "strange woman" who was attempting to "usurp" the Filipino mother's place. She was a white women imported to the Philippines for the specific purpose of nurturing the Filipinos in the democratic values embedded in the English language. Thus, her maternalism was peculiar to the sentimental context of 'benevolent' conquest, and therefore, inherently violent.

As mothers charged with domesticating the colony, Thomasites such as Fee were crucial in carrying out intimate acts of tender violence. With the gendered attributes of true womanhood bestowed upon them, white women teachers were particularly important in serving American empire. Their 'caring' faces aided in institutionalizing inequality, in gendered manners—and mannerisms-- that their soldier and male teacher counterparts could not capitalize on. Writing to the Philippine Commission on June 17, 1904, Superintendent David P. Barrows commented on the effectiveness of the females Thomasites, "in the classroom their work is fully equal if not superior to the men."[76]

A division superintendent report to Atkinson that in his province, "One presidente asked for three ladies and gave as a reason that the children could not distinguish between an American soldier and an American male teacher." His statement illuminates how the gendered services of the white women teachers were key to establishing the superficial colonial binary between soldier and teacher, war and peace, oppression and benevolence. The division superintendent continues:

[76] David P Barrows, "Regarding Appointment of Miss Florence Painter as a Teacher in the Bureau of Education," June 17, 1904, Box 84, File 470, Doc. 135, 350 Bureau of Insular Affairs, National Archives.

There is a grain of truth in this, but there is a better and truer explanation, though the presidente has not perhaps thought of it. A woman in the presence of children can become more sympathetic and kindly that can a man. Especially is this true in the present stage of the development of the schools, when the situation in respect to many things is as hard and strange to the children as to the teacher. The best class room instruction I have seen in this division has been given by the American women.[77]

Indeed, the "sympathetic and kindly" instructional work of the female Thomasites was essential in carrying out the pacifying objective of colonial education. "Our bayonets and rifle balls may force them into subjection," observed Thomas Leonard, Inspector of Public Works in the province of Capis, "but it is left for our public schools to raise and elevate them and put them upon the plane of thinking men and women, capable of governing themselves wisely and well"[78] And it was left to the feminized teaching corps. to do such work. In conjunction with the other gendered binary constructs they embodied, the Thomasites became the maternal soldiers of conquest, carrying out the pacification work of the military in the familial setting of the schoolhouse.

Returning to Adeline Knapp's "A Notable Educational Expedition," her reference to a 'new army' conveys the militaristic spirit of the teachers' colonial education endeavor. Equating the intended academic objective of English instruction to soldiers fighting a battle, Knapp reveals the non-duality of solider and teacher. Merging the transnational maternal construction of English instruction as child rearing with the masculine imagery of physical battle, she implies that the Thomasites were just as capable and deserving of opportunities for military conquest in the service of the imperial patriarchy. Particularly poignant is the Thomasites' declaration of the Philippines as their 'new home,' further demonstrating the extent to which colonial occupation was based on a transnational family organization that situated the Thomasites as colonial laborers in the context of defending imperial domesticity abroad.

Conclusion

"If They'll Only Be Good"
"Uncle Sam.—You have seen what my sons can do in battle;--now see what my daughters can do in peace."

[77] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 263–264.
[78] *Ibid., 255.*

Puck, Keppler & Schwartzman, New York, January 31, 1900 [artist: Samuel Ehrhart][79]

As depicted in the political cartoon "If They'll Only Be Good," the American teachers represented a new civilizing force. Published in *Puck Magazine*, a Democratic-leaning outlet that had previously presented anti-McKinley cartoons, "If They'll Only Be Good" demonstrated the pacifying efficacy of the American teachers in providing the illusion of peace. The Thomasites, illustrated as all women, provided the strategic means by which to construct binaries of peace and violence gendered through the maternal affections of true womanhood. In this manner, the presence of teachers implied peace and the end of war.

Uncle Sam declares in the cartoon, "You have seen what my sons can do in battle, now see what my daughters can do in peace," subtly normalizing the delusion that the period of violent occupation had ended since it achieved its purpose of bringing peace. We see the sons of battle departing with their guns in hand, being replaced by the daughters of peace who come bearing the books of civilization in the language of freedom. The men, with their masculine duties of conquest fulfilled, leave the islands while the women immediately take up the remaining task of raising the new colony.

The white female teachers tower over the half dressed Filipinos, instilling in the American audience the racial imagery of Filipino infantilization. So urgent is the need to provide the islands with proper cultivation that one teacher is already pointing to a page in her book as if nurturing a starving child; feeding him "word by word" as soldier teacher Bedford Hunter recalled. If the Filipino's will only be good, the cartoon expresses, they would receive the full knowledge of the "beneficent purposes"[80] of the American government.

Indeed, the teachers aboard the *Thomas* were to continue the legacy of American occupation initiated by U.S. soldiers in the battlefield and the classrooms. The Thomasites as maternal soldiers of empire embodied a tender violence as their presence masked the realities of an ongoing brutal war. Positioned against the soldiers they were portrayed as a gendered benevolent contrast. In reality, they served to compliment the objectives of the military by attempting to pacify Filipinos with patronizing tutelage.

Conscripted by the policy of English instruction, the Thomasites were integral to producing domesticated subjects by mothering the infantilized, incoherent children of the Philippines into eventual independence. In this manner, the Philippines archipelago was constructed as a peripheral, racialized home; one that needed to be managed by the guardianship of white parenting.

In *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*, Laura Wexler discusses how photographs of Native and African American students at Hampton and Carlisle served to situate them within a framework of bourgeois domesticity, pushing the violent context of their uprooted lives out of the frame. "If They'll Only Be Good," operated similarly, literally illustrating how the tender violence of English instruction provided by the American teachers allowed for the brutal violence of occupation to exit

[79] Ignacio et al., *The Forbidden Book*, 69.

[80] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 262; William McKinley, "Message from the President of the United States."

the frame. On July 4, 1902, President Roosevelt declared that the Philippine-American War had officially ended.

In reality, the convenient colonial binary of war and peace, soldier and teacher did not exist so cleanly. Contrary to the depiction of soldiers departing the islands upon the arrival of the teachers, Superintendent Atkinson's 1901 report to the Philippine Commission reveals otherwise. "It will be remembered," he notes, "that the transports at this time were overcrowded owing to the large numbers of soldiers, some en route to the States, others on their way to the Philippines."[81] Indeed, the war raged on, especially in the Moro South, for another ten years, and military sponsored torture, such as the method of water boarding, remained in practice.

[81] *The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines*, 198.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Colonial Rearticulations: The Impossibilities and Possibilities of English Instruction

With the 1916 Jones Act,[1] the United States officially proclaimed Filipino independence as the goal of its colonial policy. Yet, the act constituted the continuation of American policy more than its transformation. Though the act declared that "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein…,"[2] its vagueness served to distract from reality. The language of the act functioned to mask the true intentions of continued colonial rule.

The Jones Act is a prime example of English as the grammar of empire, demonstrating how both the political and linguistic deployment of a sentimental vocabulary was used to achieve conquest. This final chapter provides a brief exploration of the Jones Act as a colonial articulation that encapsulates the domestication process of English instruction as detailed by this dissertation. The chapter is divided into two parts: **Mission Impossible**[3] and **Critical Possibilities**.

Mission Impossible demonstrates how the rhetoric of the benevolence of U.S. conquest, as expressed through the policy of English instruction, was achieved through the inherent impossibility of fulfilling the claims. This section situates the Jones Act within the context of the discourse of benevolence and English instruction. It delineates the manner in which colonial benevolence was successful in achieving its intended goal of enacting tender violence. This section also highlights the manner in which the success of the rhetoric of benevolence required the failure, or unachievablity, of the expressed pedagogical aims of colonial tutelary.

Critical Possibilities examines colonial articulations as expressions of colonial critique intelligibly generated by the "colonized." It details moments of resistance to the imposition of English and U.S. rule. These acts of speech are examined in dialectical relation to the legislative Acts of U.S. conquest investigated in this study (Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, Public Act 74, and the Jones Act). They are presented as moments of philosophical and political contestation, punctures in panoptical time and anachronistic space, that expose the operation of colonial power structures, to reveal a glimpse of their hegemonic function and premise. This section concludes with a

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[1] Not to be confused with the 1917 Jones Act in Puerto Rico.

[2] "The Jones Law of 1916" (U.S. Congress, August 29, 1916), http://www.gov.ph/the-philippine-constitutions/the-jones-law-of-1916/.

[3] This section title is borrowed from a shared moment at the American Studies Association's 2012 conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico. During the panel "Schools in the Making and Unmaking of U.S. Imperial Formations," the participants and attendees were suddenly treated to a recording of the Mission Impossible theme song, which was blaring from the conference room next door. The chair of the panel, Philippine Women's University Prof. Jose Francisco Benitez, commented on the appropriateness of the interruption, seeing as we were discussing the impossibility of the project of Americanization and colonial education in the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

discussion on the implications of this study as a whole and its contributions to understanding American schooling and colonialism.

Mission Impossible

In a 1915 Sunset Magazine article titled "Watchful Waiting for the Philippines," former Secretary of the Taft Philippine Commission, Daniel R. Williams, responded to the question of Philippine independence. Referring specifically to the issue of language disunity as a representation of democratic disability, Williams stated:

> *That the Filipinos have not yet reached the status outlined and are not yet ready for independence is axiomatic to every unprejudiced observer. They lack unity of language; at least ten per cent of the population is uncivilized, and a much larger proportion illiterate; the masses have had no political training, are subservient, emotional and easily influenced, and have little or no conception of a government based upon a respect for the will of a majority.*[4]

Fourteen years after the enactment of the English language policy, American colonial officials maintained that Filipinos were developmentally unprepared for self-rule. Williams, like many other administrators, resorted to some of the very same claims that were used to justify the establishment of English instruction following the Spanish-American War. His statement illuminates the manner in which such colonial justifications served to maintain a system of hypocritical and tenuous foreign rule rather than to provide a valid observation of Philippine society.

The utility of the curriculum of English instruction, then, was not in its pedagogical strength, but in its ability to institutionalize the colonial rhetoric of tutelage. That is, its impossibility was its central virtue. This allowed the U.S. regime to present itself as benevolently developing avenues for Filipino political progress, while continuing to disavow their political and intellectual capacity. Though Williams declared the Filipinos "emotional and easily influenced," the policy of English instruction enabled the colonial government to fully enact their emotional program of 'benevolence' through intimate cultivations of affection and pacification in the classroom.

A year later, President Woodrow Wilson echoed Williams' sentiment in regards to the Filipinos' readiness for self-rule. He signed the 1916 Jones Act, a vague acknowledgment that the U.S. would permit eventual Philippine independence as soon as they were deemed fit. Wilson's assurance that Filipinos would ultimately be granted the opportunity for self-actualization, at a time decided by the U.S., displays the kind of insincere sentimental vocabulary entrenched in English as the grammar of empire. Also known as the Philippine Autonomy Act, the Jones Act provided a legislative performance of benevolence, one that served to mask the continued political economic goals of American imperialism.

At the center of this discourse was the linguistic manipulation enabled by English. For example, Wilson found the Jones Act to be "a very satisfactory advancement in our

[4] Daniel R. Williams, "Watchful Waiting for the Philippines," *Sunset Magazine*, December 1915, xi.

policy of extending [Filipinos] self government and control of their own affairs."[5] Yet, Americans maintained a stronghold in determining the course of civil society in the Philippines and Filipinos were not granted independence from U.S. foreign rule until 1946. As the final U.S. colonial articulation of this study, the Jones Act provides a most illustrative summary of the superficial nature of colonial benevolence.

The policy of colonial English instruction presented an impossibility in regards to actualizing the intentions of sentimental benevolence, such as expressed through the Jones Act. "[A] too-thorough identification between helped and helped risked a degree of social leveling," explains Susan Ryan, "as well as the loss of the destitute other against whom the benevolent defined themselves. The impossibility of complete sympathetic identification, then, is a phenomenon integral to what sentimental benevolence is and how it works."[6] The impossibility of ideological goals of American occupation was symbolized through the structural pedagogical failures of the curriculum of English instruction.

In 1925, the Monroe Commission was established specifically to investigate the effectiveness of colonial education in the Philippines. Headed by Paul Monroe, Director of Columbia University's Teacher's College, the commission concluded in their report that while Filipino students fared well in math and science, they were performing poorly in English and related subjects. Monroe Commissioner George Counts wrote in "Education in the Philippines" that "[t]he inferiority of achievement in the Philippine school varies directly as the function measures is dependent on the mastery of the English language." "In reading their inferiority is so great," Counts relayed, "as to bring into question the fundamental procedures of the school and even to raise doubts regarding the wisdom of the present expenditures for education." Further demonstrating the severity of the situation, Counts noted, "First year high-school pupils read only as well as fourth-grade American children, and during the four years of secondary education they gain but a single American grade in reading power."[7]

More importantly, the commission found that these results were attributed to structural issues in the educational program, not to any supposed racial deficiencies of the Filipinos. Though there were those who "would accept the facts of school achievement merely as evidence of the inferior capacity of the Filipino," Counts reported, "[d]ata at hand, however, seem to indicate clearly that this is not the explanation." Instead, Commissioner Counts found "the language problem," the fact that the Filipino teachers were "relatively untrained," and the reality that "the curriculum [wa]s not adapted to Philippine needs and conditions" to be the major factors contributing to the low achievement results.[8]

English instruction in the Philippines at this point was a failure. Though Public Act 74's mandate of English instruction was intended to rectify the supposed backwardness of Filipinos, "the language problem"—that of instruction in English--was cited as a major impediment to the success of the colonial policy and the academic achievement of the Filipino students. "The pupil must receive all his instruction through

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[5] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 361.

[6] Ryan, *The Grammar of Good Intentions*, 19.

[7] George S Counts, "Education in the Philippines," *The Elementary School Journal* 26, no. 2 (1925): 99.

[8] Ibid. Counts, p. 99.

the medium of a foreign tongue," Counts explained. "As a consequence, because of the basic role played by language in the process of education, the functioning of practically every procedure of the school is impaired, and the work of formal education is often rendered ineffective."[9]

After the report was issued, former Superintendent Frank L. Crone, who had moved on to work for textbook publisher D.C. Heath and Co., confided in his colleague David P. Barrows, who had served as President of the University of California and was now Chair of the Political Science Department. In a letter sent to Barrows on Oct. 3, 1925, Crone admitted, "I was quite prepared for criticism in the report on Philippine schools, on the teaching of English." "It will take a long time to work this out," Crone continued, "but I am still hopeful that English will prevail in the Philippines."[10]

Crone's hope that English would still prevail in the Islands, despite his understanding of the flaws of English instruction, mirrors the Jones Act's expression of continued American rule, despite its claim that "it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipiency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement…"[11] English as the political and linguistic grammar of empire enabled the illogic of the Jones Act to be read as a coherent democratic practice. The failure of the program of English instruction—or, as it was more commonly interpreted by figures such as former Taft Commission Secretary Daniel Williams, the failure of Filipinos to master English-- was an essential component to the justification for maintaining the period of American occupation. As discussed above, Williams' argument that "the Filipinos have not yet reached the status outlined and are not yet ready for independence" because, amongst other reasons, "[t]hey lack unity of language; at least ten per cent of the population is uncivilized, and a much larger proportion illiterate,"[12] demonstrates the inherent structural design of pedagogical failure in order to maintain the rhetorical claims of colonial benevolence. This necessary function of educative impossibility contributed to the justification of continued occupation, so that, in the language of the Jones Act, Filipinos would "be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence" at a later date.[13]

Critical Possibilities

The focus of this dissertation has been on the establishment, implementation and colonial effects of the policy of English instruction. Because empire is a monumental force in history and in the lives of the 'colonized,' it is important to understand the policies that drove colonial administrations and the structures of power that sustained them. This is an acknowledgement of the need to understand "history from the top." My current body of research is interested in systemic patterns evidenced and maintained by

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[9] Ibid., 100.

[10] Frank Linden Crone, "To David P. Barrows," October 3, 1925, Banc Mss C-B 1005 Box 15, David P. Barrows Papers., Bancroft Library.

[11] "The Jones Law of 1916."

[12] Williams, "Watchful Waiting for the Philippines," xi.

[13] "The Jones Law of 1916."

policy. My future work looks more closely at "history from below" and the organized conversations by Filipinos in regards to these structures of dominance.

Though this study focuses on the policy level of analysis, it is important to note that this perspective does not imply that Filipinos as a group accepted colonial education passively. First, to conceive of Filipinos as a homogenous group would be a gross misunderstanding. At the time of the U.S. occupation, Filipinos were already a deeply diverse mix of peoples; Indigenous, Chinese (including Chinese mestizo), Spanish (including Spanish Mestizo), Christian, Muslim, elites, peasants, and proletarians. Second, depending on what kinds of ethnic, class, and gender backgrounds the students hailed from, their exposure to and reception of colonial instruction might differ greatly. This was true both in terms of the type of curriculum (which, as structured by the framework of domesticity, was gendered) and in terms of the educational influence it created.

Third, there was a demonstrated resistance to the colonial program. An examination of Filipino resistance would be interesting in helping to enlarge the understanding of power. It would illuminate the contours of colonial domination by presenting contestations to its enactment. These displays of opposition serve to demonstrate both the vulnerability of the seemingly impenetrable veneer of hegemonic colonial power as well as the mechanisms by which it maintains itself in the face of constant threat.

"The most difficult part" of putting together a collection of recollections of colonial education in the Philippines, historian Judy Celine Ick reflected, "was trying to find the voice of the students. The little that can be gleaned, however, from the voices we hear in these accounts complicates the clear-cut pictures of American colonialism even further," she writes.[14] This statement held true in my research as well. However, there were some accounts of students resisting the curriculum.

"I Have Took the Dare to Civilize this Language"

In his historical study of American teachers abroad, Jonathan Zimmerman found resistance to English to be a pattern in the Philippines and in Puerto Rico, where "students resisted American efforts to foster English."[15] In my own research, I came across a few key examples of students challenging both the colonial ideology of the curriculum as well as grammar of English itself. Describing his observations of the colonial schools in his 1905 article, "The Public-School System in the Philippines," Willard French relays one particular incident that occurred at The Normal School in Manila, highlighting the kinds of challenges students posed to the structural inequalities that were imposed on them. Detailing a students response to a U.S. history lesson on Captain Smith and the Virginia settlers, "their oppression of the Indians," and the Indians' "final obedience to Smith's demand that they plant corn and potatoes and beans for themselves," he writes:

[14] Hollnsteiner and Ick, *Bearers of Benevolence*, 266.

[15] Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad*, 182. Zimmerman, Innocents Abroad, 182.

A bright-eyed youngster sitting in the rear, having obtained permission, asked, very respectfully:

"Where did they obtain the seed?"

"From the Indians, of course," said the teacher.

"If the Indians disliked them so and wished them away, why did they give them the means to stay?" he asked.

"Probably, the English bought and paid for it," the teacher said; but the boy persisted;

"We learned that the Indians had no money and no use for it, and that they did not care for the gold or how much of it the English took with them, if they would only go away."

"Well, I don't know how they obtained the seed," the teacher replied. "I only know what the book says, that they got it."

"I myself do not know," the boy said politely. "But I saw a picture in which Captain Smith held an Indian boy the throat, with a pistol at his head saying: 'Your money or your life!' I myself do not know what was true. I was only thinking of—of the Philippines."

There was a sparkle—a glint—in many dark eyes, and dark lips were smiling, all around the room, as the boy sat down.

French then proceeds to describe his own reaction to this teachable moment. "It was nothing. And yet, as I sat with Dr. Beattie, the Superintendent, in his private office, afterward, I couldn't help remarking that if he purposed to pursue the history of the United States with those children, he ought surely to provide expurgated editions." Despite the colonial education program, as exemplified by the benevolent narratives of texts such as Barrows' History of the Philippines, students could still glean the truth of U.S. occupation from the larger history of American oppression.

Thomasite Russell Trace provides another account of a Filipino student who disrupts the English curriculum to point out the unjust system of American rule. Here, he describes how his students reference a lesson from American history, one speaking specifically to a core tenant of American republicanism, to highlight the Philippine parallel:

The Deputy Treasurer went to Balayan in 1903 to enforce the payment of taxes. I was then principal of the intermediate school. (I believe it was then dignified by the name of high school.) One class was studying history and their lesson was about the causes of the War of 1776. Julia Lopez was in this class and her family being rich was much effected by the treasurer's visit. She recited on this subject and without further provocation said among many other things, "Just like the Americans with us. They tax us without representation." She showed her anger so much that some members of the class laughed at her. She could not control

herself and became almost hysterical when Eliseo Buhay said, "I have paid my taxes." Julia never came back to school. That was the end of her education.[16]

Though Trace concludes that Julia's bold demonstration of resistance resulted in "the end of her education," there existed options for Filipinos who were opposed to the American curriculum. Private schools, predominantly religious, were a main form of alternative education. Many of these schools were adamantly against American education. The parish priest of Surigao went so far as to preach, "The American school is the school of the devil!"[17] Julia could have continued her schooling at one of these schools. Whatever the case, her refusal to participate in the colonial charade indicates the end of her participation in that particular mode of education.

Then there were those students who subverted the program through the very act of speaking English. Vicente Rafael documents how colonial domesticity enabled white American women in the Philippines to enact a mimicry of their Filipino and Chinese servants' bad English to reinstate their power. "White mimicry," he explains, " opens the path to the restoration of a communicative and domestic order." It was predicated on the idea that the servants could only mime the proper English of their colonial employers. Therefore, "in citing the servants' mimicry, white women can reclaim communicative authority in framing and thereby domesticating their encounters with them. In doing so, white women set themselves apart from the intimate presence of servants even as they ironize and so render benevolent their authority over them."[18] However, mimicry could also serve as a site full of possibilities for Filipinos to subvert the colonial script.

Thomasite Russell Trace wrote of such an occurrence. He described how one student, "Pantaleon," submitted a letter for permission to be excused from class for one day. "The preamble to this request," Trace reports, "I quote verbatim, 'Though I am indign to remit to you this letter because I am a yours poor pupil, I have took the dare to civilize this language'."[19] While Trace's reflection of Pantaleon's declaration was intended to highlight the deficiencies in his English, it also illuminates the embedded possibility to exert resistance. That Pantaleon "took the dare to civilize this language" demonstrates what can be referred to as a *critical mimicry*: a mimicry that inverts the relations of power, and reverses the direction of the civilizing process. It is at once a pedagogical, political, and philosophical move. Pantaleon rearticulates the colonial articulation of the policy of English instruction and, instead, shows that Filipinos can maintain their resilience.

Ick provides another example of such critical mimicry as she references Thomasite Anna Donaldson's recollection of one of her mestizo students' recitations of patriotism:

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[16] Russell Trace, "Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands," 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), 91.

[17] As cited in Hollnsteiner and Ick, *Bearers of Benevolence*, 261.

[18] Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity," 658–659.

[19] Trace, "Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands," 92.

> *I remember distinctly a certain little girl who had a Chinese father, and a mother half Spanish, half Filipino. She was only a yard high, but she used to declaim the following in a singsong manner with explosions at the ends of lines:*
>
> *'I lub de name ob Washington:*
> *I lub my country too;*
> *I lub de flag, de dear old flag,*
> *Ob red and white and blue.*

Ick points out the ambiguity in the student's rendition of the poem, noting that the flag she refers to can be interpreted as either that of the American or the Philippine Republic, or even both at the same time. "Try as her *maestra* might, she could not make her love Washington, she went on 'lubbing' him," Ick notes. The colonial articulation of English instruction, therefore, contains possibilities for rearticulations, as Stuart Hall theorizes,[20] of power. The performance of critical mimicry then, to borrow from Ick's analysis of the mestizo student's recitation, "may very well be a metaphor for colonial education itself;" one that goes head to head with the metaphor of colonialism as tutelage.[21]

Colonial Articulations: Exposing Empire

In a most coherent and rigorous example of the employment of critical mimicry, we can turn to a contingent of Philippine nationalists who vocally contested the American rhetoric of sentimental benevolence. In response to the colonial paternalism imposed upon them by President McKinley's January 4, 1899 Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, these activists received the declaration with their own proclamation of resistance. Read in dialectical relation to the military government's public issuance of the decree, their opposition to the sentimental claims of colonial tutelary presented a moment of philosophical and political contestation. In a letter addressed to the Philippine Commission, these scholars decried the rule of a hypocritical American government, citing previous moments of sentimental benevolence as evidence of the violence that was enacted through the rhetoric of care. Expressing their refusal to "be subjected anew to the dominion of a race which carries upon its banner the sanguinary fame of being an exterminator of colored people," these Filipino leaders denounced

> *the violent and destructive character of American people in their dealings with the colored race, quoting as example the extermination of the Indians in the different states of North America, whose population has been disappearing from those extensive plains, and adding an American maxim which says that "A good Indian is a dead Indian."*[22]

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[20] Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-structuralist Debates," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 2, no. 2 (1985): 91–114, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/15295038509360070; Stuart Hall, "Ideology and Communication Theory," *Rethinking Communication* 1 (1989): 40–52.

[21] Hollnsteiner and Ick, *Bearers of Benevolence*, 266–267.

[22] Pedro Banganiban, "Proclamation to the President and Members of the Commission Appointed by the Government of the United States to Study the Conditions of Fitness and Capacity of the Philippine People," April 30, 1899, 4–5, RG 59 General Records of the Department of State Records of the U.S. Commission to

Their ability to craft an articulate response, in English, that spelled out the inconsistent claims in the Proclamation illuminates the false premise upon which claims of Filipino incoherence and unintelligibility, which served as justifications for English instruction, were laid. Moreover, the Filipino nationalists' vocal critique of the rhetorical intentions of U.S. empire exposed the power structures that maintained American conquest, puncturing the imagination of Western linear progress in the schematic of panoptical time and anachronistic space by highlighting the 'civilized' U.S.'s continued reliance on savage racial violence to engage with other peoples. In direct and clear challenges to the points articulated in the Proclamation, the Filipino leaders detailed the illogic of the colonial logic and the violence embedded in expressions of sentimentalism.

> *In the third paragraph of the proclamation sentiments of fraternity and friendship are invoked. Where sovereignty exists it is useless to invoke such centiments for they are incompatible taking into account the meaning which the dictionary gives to the word sovereignty and as a condition sine qua non between the sovereign and the governed there can be nothing but tyranny. That is to say, where there is a sovereign there is a vassal and between one and the other there can be no fraternity, but the rigor of discipline which in colonies is converted into slavery. There are such patent examples of this that the truth of this statement can not be denied.*[23]

These Filipinos had already mastered the "mighty English tongue,"[24] well before Public Act 74 of 1901, well enough to point out to the Americans the incoherencies and inconsistencies of their benevolent occupation. Their reference to the dictionary definition of sovereignty performed a critical colonial mimicry that provided the Commission with a refresher lesson in English. Through this speech act, the Filipino leaders adeptly illustrated the linguistic paternalism entrenched in colonial English and demonstrated a clear understanding of the violence perpetrated through the linguistics of sentimental colonialism. Furthermore, this move employed the grammar of empire itself to highlight its very deployment as a deceptive grammar of empire.

In addition, they called into question the oppressive vagueness afforded by the language of benevolence, particularly in relation to promises of independence.

> *The sixth article speaks of the establishment of a Philippine government as a mere incident and instead of explaining this very essential point with frankness and without ambiguity or suspicion outlining its form, its character and its powers concretely, as should be done if the Philippine people is to enter heartily into a reconciliation compatible with its honor and its liberty.*[25]

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the Philippine Islands, 1898-1909. Bureau of Insular Affairs, Miscellaneous Manuscript Material.1899., National Archives.

[23] Ibid., 8.

[24] Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, 315.

[25] Banganiban, "Proclamation to the President and Members of the Commission Appointed by the Government of the United States to Study the Conditions of Fitness and Capacity of the Philippine People," 8.

As a precursor to the ambiguity reiterated and reinstated in the 1916 Jones Act, the rhetoric of benevolence exemplified in the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation afforded questionable commitment to Philippine autonomy to pass as reassurance of independence. By employing a critical colonial mimicry, the Filipino leaders highlighted the illusory conditions established by the language of the colonial text. Through the above such colonial articulations, these activists rearticulated the expressions of care to illuminate the colonial regime's irrationality and maintain their own right to self-actualization. Though expressed through the grammar of empire, their words speak for themselves.

Implications

The central contribution of this study is that the policy of English instruction policy was not simply a reform that either worked or failed in colonial education, but that it was essential to the project of U.S. imperialism. The conceptualization of the policy was grounded not only in the hegemonic necessity of pacifying the Philippines, but also the ideological necessity of reconciling the contradiction to notions of democracy within the United States. This research demonstrates the complex co-constitution of colonialism, education, language, race and gender. Moreover, instead of merely seeing these dimensions of power as intersecting, this dissertation presents them as inherently unstable articulations of power.

This dissertation investigated three colonial documents as colonial articulations of the benevolence of U.S. empire. The colonial articulation of President McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation provided a sentimentalism that enabled military conquest to continue as uplift, evidenced in particular through the establishment of American schools. The colonial education system functioned as a crucial element of the military's pacification campaign. Schools as pacification then performed a tender violence, sanctioning the brutalities of occupation through the cultivation of familial intimacies between the stern yet caring colonial father and the infantilized Filipinos as children.

The 1901 Philippine Public Law Act 74 served as a colonial articulation that mandated English instruction (section 14) and detailed the deployment of American teachers in the Islands (section 15). The policy of English instruction operated as the grammar of empire, or the political and linguistic rules for expressing the justification of American foreign rule. It created a material need for new textbook, which enabled the production of fictional narratives of benevolence and institutionalized these stories as historical fact. The pedagogical functions of the curriculum normalized racial assumptions of Western linear progress and presented the resulting oppression of American rule as a necessary stage in the historical development of Filipinos towards modernity.

A crucial pedagogical role of English instruction was its establishment of curricular practices which required Filipino students to read about themselves as American dependents. Additionally, Philippine culture and history was rewritten with the imperial logic of benevolence infused in colonially imposed English. In this manner, English instruction proved powerful in instructing pacification. The version of history

presented to generations of Filipino students was one aligned with colonial ideologies and sentiments of democratic tutelage and self-development. As various Filipino scholars have argued, the effects of such a miseducation has had enduring effects.[26]

Public Act 74's colonial articulation for the establishment of a corps of American teachers to serve as English instructors in the Philippines highlighted the role of domesticity in the normalizing process of English instruction. As American teachers replaced the initial military personnel in the classroom, they performed gendered acts of patriotism by embodying bourgeois femininity. As personifications of the caring tutelage of conquest, these teachers assumed the role of the white mother, nurturing Filipino intellectual and political development by feeding them the English alphabet. The soft characteristics of bourgeois womanhood enabled teachers as a whole, even the men, to carrying out the tender violence of English instruction under the guide of mothering. As maternal soldiers of conquest, the Thomasites represented the private sphere of the home. Their work was a colonial homemaking in which they domesticated the 'childlike' people of the colony through the discipline of English instruction, thereby sweeping the brutal violence of American occupation out the door.

As a whole, this dissertation provides important contributions to the field of education as it presents both an in-depth study of the policy and implementation of English instruction in the Philippines, of which this is the first of its kind, and examines its broader implications. Illustrating that English functioned as the sentimental grammar of empire, washing away the atrocious violence of American conquest through bourgeois domesticity, this dissertation then provides its most significant contribution. It illuminates the manner by which English instruction served as a pedagogy for forgetting the U.S. colonization of the Philippines. Through the analysis of colonial articulations, this study demonstrates that education and colonialism were co-constitutive of each other. This work speaks not only to the operation of American education in the Philippines, but it also demonstrates how the use of education, language, and domesticity to reconcile colonialism and democracy is a fact of education in the United States as well.

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Returning to the *Los Angeles Times* article discussed in chapter 1, the contributions of this research allows for a more informed reading of the dimensions of power that structure the sentences and logic of the article. The March 18, 2009 article detailed Los Angeles Unified School District's practice of recruiting teachers from the Philippines to work in their inner-city schools. In a reversal of the Thomasites tradition, these teachers, the article explains, were sought after due in part to their fluency in English, as "most Filipinos speak English and can understand some Spanish, which is embedded in the Filipino language as a result of Spain's 300-year colonization of the islands."[27] This research illuminates the fact that there is a subtle yet atrocious violence embodied in the blank spaces of the sentence.

In the silence of this narrative is the naturalized history of U.S. empire in the Philippines, written out of contemporary time through the discourse of colonial benevolence and Western linear progress. This discourse was dependent upon the labor

[26] Constantino, *The Mis-education of the Filipino*, 5.

[27] Watanabe, "Filipino Teachers Exchange Homeland for Jobs in America."

of domesticity, which instructed the very political and linguistic grammar which erased both the brutalities of empire and the existence of the mechanisms themselves. Moreover, this study demonstrates that these concerns are not merely relevant to understanding the Philippines and the U.S., but in understanding American empire in a broader temporal and spatial scope.

The culmination of the writing of this dissertation coincides with the 10th anniversary of America's war in Iraq. Around the world today, the U.S. continues to engage in colonial wars and continues to deploy education as a primary evidence of the benevolence of such violent occupation. Yet, the New York Times reports that in our nation's capital, "The 10-year anniversary of the American invasion came and went on Tuesday with barely passing notice." "With American troops now gone," the article continued, "the war has receded from the capital conversation and the national consciousness."[28]

This dissertation on English instruction in the Philippines helps us understand how the Iraq war has become so easily dismissed. It highlights the role colonial institutions such as education have served in enacting a tender violence that instructs a pedagogy of forgetting. In this manner, American occupation persists despite the absence of the signifying presence of troops, as it continues to permeate the margins and blank spaces of our lived histories.

[28] Peter Baker, "Iraq War's 10th Anniversary Is Barely Noted in Washington," *The New York Times*, March 19, 2013.

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