A COMPARISON OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES AND PUERTO RICO DURING AMERICAN RULE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a comparative study of American public education strategies in two of its colonial possessions at the beginning of the 20th century. The United States defeated the Spanish in 1899 and took over the Philippines and Puerto Rico, both of which shared a long history of Spanish rule. Victory in the war with Spain propelled the United States into the ranks of the imperial club and posed challenges greater than any encountered in the conquest of the native Americans and the West. At the time of Spain's defeat Filipinos had already taken up arms against the Spanish while Puerto Ricans had won concessions through negotiation and both looked forward to independence; however, the U.S. intention to retain lands that they felt had been won fairly in battle dashed such hopes. Before President McKinley could apply American-style, liberal, republican governance to what he and most Anglo-Saxons viewed as the less civilized natives of these territories, the army had to quell an armed Filipino resistance and lay the groundwork for a colonial government. Offering free public education became a key component of a U.S. strategy to create compliant citizens and at the same time shrink the ranks of those willing to take up arms against American rule. American attempts to expand the availability of education in the Philippines, scene of some of the most ferocious fighting, have received a lot of praise mainly for its nobility and accomplishments. However, judging the effort based upon the original goal of

creating an educated populace capable of taking its leaders to task reveals shortcomings.

This thesis compares American public education in the Philippines with the system implemented in Puerto Rico. It has been over a century since Admiral Dewey entered Manila Bay, but a study of the strategies used in the American territories can still provide lessons today. Nations, including the U.S., continue to invade other countries for various reasons, stated and otherwise. Invariably, some form of rebuilding occurs after an invasion and are presented as concise steps leading to a preferred outcome. Looking back at early American imperialism in the Philippines and Puerto Rico provides evidence that plans, even those that are the centerpiece of a strategy, remain very malleable- pushed, pulled and sometimes broken due to the exertions of those who claim an interest or instead may be threatened. The influence of native leaders, colonial administrators, U.S. politicians, and corporations all played a part in determining the successes and failures of the imperial enterprise.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to show that education as a means of social change ceased to be a vital aspect of the American administrations in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Legislation and policies that led to Puerto Ricans being granted citizenship and Filipinos a path to independence limited the purpose of public education. Officially, the U.S. colonial administrations still emphasized the importance of education and attempted to enlarge student populations, but in both cases the results after twenty years of rule were poor and not effectively resolved.

Americans arrived in the Philippines with high-minded ideas of indoctrinating Filipinos in Jeffersonian republican ideals that eventually had to be dropped. Initially, soldiers taught basic lessons to win over hearts and minds during a violent insurrection by Filipino nationalists. Hundreds of American teachers followed and were sent across the countryside to teach and convince Filipinos of the good intentions of their new rulers. Education would be the means that poor Filipinos could resist corrupt leaders. However the cost of the war, resistance of Filipino elites and political dissension at home reduced American enthusiasm for formal imperialism. Rather than transitioning government offices and municipal jobs to Filipino control after generations of education under American administrators as the first Commissioner William Howard Taft had suggested,

it started to occur within 10 years. By that time primary education had already come to focus on industrial skills rather than the ideals originally planned.

American plans in Puerto Rico differed in that prior to the invasion a decision had been made to keep the island. As in the Philippines the initial plans included public education, but the goal differed in that Puerto Ricans would be Americanized. Unlike the Philippines, American capital was allowed to flow in unfettered, and it quickly resulted in the taking over of industries by American corporations. A native elite also existed that had won concessions from the Spanish just prior to the invasion and initially offered resistance but came to work with the Americans once a form of self-rule was established. For the sake of stability in a territory that the U.S. did not intend to relinquish, the goals of public education were ultimately subordinated to the needs of local industries that needed laborers with industrial skills.

The 1999 centennial of General Emilio Aguinaldo's declaration of independence sparked celebrations throughout the Philippines. The United States, a key ally and trading partner, participated in the celebration of this historic event, but there is some irony since its actions in 1898 prevented the first serious Filipino attempt at being an independent nation. In 1999, the U.S. embassy created pamphlets for general distribution during the centennial celebrations that described and praised the generous motives behind American involvement in the Philippines and how its actions led to widespread improvements in the lives and prospects of all Filipinos. Of particular note for this study is the pamphlet, *The American Contribution to Philippine Education 1898-1998*[1] praising the role of America in creating a successful system of public education open to all Filipinos. This thirty-nine

[1] Greta N. Morris, *The American Contribution to Philippine education: 1898-1998* (Manila: United States Information Service, 1998).

page pamphlet describes the role of American educators and administrators responsible for bringing liberal teaching methods to the archipelago. These educators are credited with providing Filipinos with the training necessary for involvement in a democratic society and elected government. Through numerous photos and facts the pamphlet describes the experiences of Filipino students from all socioeconomic classes joined together in public schools. The desired impression is that students developed the ideas they learned in the classroom to become capable of resisting corrupt leaders. The view that the U.S. administration of the Philippines, including public education, benefitted Filipinos stuck in their less developed state continues to be the common theme. The popular belief is that America's push to spread its values and republican principles in its first overseas imperial foray was an exceptional event that bettered its subjects. American teachers and education administrators won accolades for being key components in the transformation of Filipinos into politically aware, freethinking people capable of resisting the autocracy and corruption so prevalent under the Spanish. A government review done after twenty years of American rule in the Philippines reported less auspicious results.

Ambitious goals set by the first American Philippine commissioners failed to materialize and instead efforts fell quite short. Initially, Filipinos benefited from the American focus upon providing free education, but as the system evolved it could not keep up with the demands placed upon it. The waning support of the American public and the volatile policies of new administrations reduced support for what it would take to use education to remake Philippine society. Instead, less ambitious goals led to less impressive results.

A similar evolution took place in Puerto Rico where education was also seen as the centerpiece of an effort to Americanize the natives. American administrations treated Puerto Rico as a long term acquisition with economic and strategic importance, which led to an early determination to use education as a means of maintaining stability. Direct attempts at Americanization and teaching English encountered strong resistance. Schools instead became a means to supply American companies with trained laborers.

Few comparative studies exist for U.S. administrative method or education policies in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Instead the popular trend has been to isolate the U.S.-Philippine experience as a unique moment in the history of imperialism with any comparisons designed more to highlight the exceptional nature of American rule. Comparisons designed to accentuate the altruistic motives of America, like juxtaposing it with the harsh Japanese imperial systems in Taiwan or Manchuria, strengthen the weight of the argument supporting an exceptional situation in the Philippines but do not encourage a deeper examination of American rule. Histories that counter the general acceptance of a generous and progressive U.S. rule started to appear in the 1970s and coincided with the tumult associated with Ferdinand Marcos' declaration of martial law and dictatorial rule. *A History of the Philippines(1976)*, by the late Renato Constantino, characterizes U.S. misrule in the Philippines and paints a portrait of an education system designed to pacify the lower classes and stratify the classes between the haves and have-nots rather than breed a democratic society. However, Constantino focused upon what he viewed as the evils of U.S. imperialism without seeing the importance of comparing with the policies of other empires of the period.[2] Glenn Anthony May's *Social Engineering in*

[2] Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976).

the Philippines (1980) succeeds in shedding light upon the sometimes less noble motives of the American government, but Glenn limits his comparison to how the population disparity between colony and mother country may have affected administrative strategy.[3] Stanley Karnow examines the Philippine-American relationship during and since the colonial experience in his Pulitzer Prize-winning *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines (1990)*[4]. Karnow goes to slightly greater lengths to contrast American ways with those of European empires while also briefly portraying U.S. rule as milder and more well-meaning. He does provide information and references that are vital to any historians interested in comparative research. The more recent, *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives (2003)* is a relatively rare comparative history that examines and links the actions of the United States in the Philippines with other parts of American and European empires in Southeast Asia. [5]

The journal entries, letters and speeches of the people responsible for directing U.S. policy locally reflect many points of view. Most of these men sought books and reports describing the administrations of European empires as examples to draw upon. The nature of the U.S. colonial experience, and the relatively small group of people familiar with colonial administration, fostered the circulation of ideas. Soldiers that served during the invasions later came to serve as administrators in multiple possessions and earned a reputation as experts in native rule. Much of the early history of public

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

[4] Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990).

[5] Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, ed., *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

education in America's Philippines consists of romanticized accounts describing kind-hearted teachers arriving in Manila on the steamship *Thomas* to teach Filipinos how to be civilized. Political speeches of that period and afterward extol the altruism of Americans who chose to serve in the Philippines despite the harsh conditions and alien culture. Later, as the focus of education shifted to industrial training and Filipinos took over teaching and administration, reports showed that the majority of students received an incomplete education lasting an average of three years. Meanwhile in Puerto Rico, where American interest grew and the administration expanded, minor increases in literacy levels were attained but real economic opportunity remained the domain of American businesses and elite Puerto Ricans for many years. The administration did not have to retreat from the major goal of providing education, even if it became more focused on vocations, because the U.S. had decided to keep the island before the first troops had come ashore. For the first twenty years of American rule in Puerto Rico approximately a third of government expenditures went towards the budget of the board of education. Curriculums differed from those in the Philippines in that they focused upon technical training and Americanization so that the economy, increasingly dominated by American businesses, would be provided with a trained, docile workforce. Institutions were formed and staffed by people who had shown themselves to be allies of the American administration. Special interests played a role in shaping the policies affecting these new territories and their people. There were business interests in the U.S. that did not want Filipinos to become citizens or to allow their cheap products into America where it would hurt their profits. However, the strategic concerns of trade access to China and a modernizing Japanese empire forced the U.S. to emphasize stability rather than

potentially disruptive change. The initial concern that Filipinos needed to be taught how to be free, liberty loving citizens faded away with the transfer of power to the Filipino government. In the Philippines, a gradual evolution took place where American concerns gravitated towards stability and accommodation with elites. The public education that was meant to free Filipinos from corrupt leaders instead helped to stabilize the situation and maintain a status quo.

U.S. officials in the Philippines and Puerto Rico eventually came to the conclusion that working to convince the local elites to cooperate made their jobs easier. Both parties agreed that unchecked nationalism undermined their interests. Americans needed their subjects to be loyal or at least passive while native elites wished to ensure that they remained at the top of the local hierarchy. Spain had incorporated native elites into their administrations in the Philippines and Puerto Rico because it kept administration affordable but also prevented them from uniting and becoming leaders in agitating for freedom or fomenting unrest. The educated elite in the Philippines, the *ilustrado*, gained political power during the previous fifty years of Spanish rule, largely due to a willingness to work for their rulers in the vain hope that cooperation would lead to acceptance in Spanish circles and real sharing of power. Many even sought out roles in the new colonial government during and after the successful American defeat of native insurgent groups. Working with the Americans seemingly guaranteed the retention of some of the power won during the 19th century under the Spanish. Meanwhile the Americans came to see in the *ilustrado* the means to keep the Philippines passive and the people cooperative. *Ilustrado* like Pardo de Tavera, Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña cooperated with the Americans while influencing government policy to avoid drastic

changes in policies that could upset their hold on Filipino politics. Both Quezon and Osmeña successfully navigated this period and would later serve as the first two presidents of the Philippine Commonwealth while in de Tavera Americans had a respected intellectual who supported U.S. policies until he misjudged political headwinds.

Ilustrado supported public education yet rejected it as the means through which lower classes could challenge them for a grip on political power. If schools provided a means for the lower and middle classes to attain success or influence outside of the realm of Filipino politics and patron-client relationships it would threaten *ilustrado* power. Initial American hopes for the success of education constituted a worst case scenario for the ruling elite in the Philippines if it exceeded a very limited scope a more politically active population might result. Instead, it was more palatable to support a public school system that provided minimal education while also providing Filipino and American politicians with evidence of their goodwill. As it turned out, a passive Filipino society and stable rule came to mean more to American administrators than the liberal ideal of spreading republican virtues and civic responsibility.

There are a great many government reports, debates, and records documenting the histories of the administrations in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Records of discussions and debates help to point out why certain decisions and policies were made. The annual reports of the colonial governors to the President and Congress, including the sections on Public Instruction Departments provide a great deal of information that is important in reconstructing what influenced policy. Statistics are also available to determine how far-reaching and successful education was at any given point in time. I will incorporate the

research of primarily American, Filipino and Puerto Rican historians. Ideological influences are noted, especially in the works of a historian like Renato Constantino who wrote in the midst of Ferdinand Marcos' crackdown on Marxist groups in the Philippines.

Understanding the circumstances that compelled American colonial administrators to change education policy will help us understand ongoing world events that include concepts of nation building. Nation building in the Middle East as well as numerous possibilities in Africa and Asia continue to present situations where a 19th or 20th century "colonial-style" experience might be repeated. The U.S. experience with imperialism began with violence but also with the promise that it differed from previous colonial occupations. Public statements from the major players, whether they consisted of politicians, bureaucrats or soldiers, stressed how they wished to improve the condition and prospects of the natives that they had subjugated. The fact remains that in the course of implementing and managing these plans, decisions were made that compromised them and turned them into something different. For the sake of strategic, political and economic considerations, education was scaled back and expectations lowered to match the disappointing results. For the most part, the rhetoric of the original plan remains in romanticized accounts.

CHAPTER 2

MANIFEST DESTINY

The United States underwent many changes in the decades leading up to the clash with Spain in 1898. The previous hundred years had witnessed the nation's uneven but persistent development into a world power. Early in the 19th century the British Army had burned Washington D.C., yet fifty years later the Union military ranked among those of the European powers. Reductions in the post-Civil War military proved temporary, and near the end of the century a push to modernize and increase military capabilities ensued. It was in the midst of this period tension between the U.S. and imperial Spain escalated to dangerous levels.

The economic growth that eventually fueled increases in military potential came from the conquest of North America. Throughout the century population growth and movement had expanded the nation's borders west to the Pacific and South to the Rio Grande. Indian tribes and later Mexico could not stop the relentless push of an American culture that increasingly viewed domination of the continent as a destiny ordained by God. Disregarding the history of Indian land use as the workings of primitives, Americans looked upon a pristine wilderness that required their industry. The steady reduction in the range available to Indians and epidemic disease brought from Europe

increased the stresses on their societies. American policies placed Indians in a position where they became dependent on their enemies for survival. Historian Richard White provides an example of this in the plight of the Choctaw in attempting to resist American force during the first half of the 19th century. The growing strength of the United States and its willingness to take advantage of divisions in Indian society led to total Choctaw submission. A story commentators repeated many times as the United States took shape.[6]

What would come to be called "manifest destiny" inspired American settlers, capitalists, missionaries, and soldiers to stream over the continent. Claims were made on land Indians had used for centuries that Whites judged to be wasted or misused. Reservations set up on the least desirable land, at least for the moment, became the new smaller ranges for Indians. The trespassing of settlers and miners continued unabated as did the constant pushing of Indians off of the land desired by Whites. Resistance became increasingly futile as local White populations increased and Indian societies shrunk from disease, starvation and assimilation.

Expansion across North America required the United States to formulate policies that combined violence with compassion. The outcome of Indian wars, and in some cases American peace, sometimes resembled genocide, but publicly American policy incorporated a responsibility to "civilize" Indians. Though most Americans viewed Indians as savages, they also saw it as their responsibility to teach Indians how to live in a civilized fashion. Efforts to "uplift" Indians included forcing them to develop European male-centered hierarchies, become agrarian, and send their children to Anglo schools. Boarding schools took Indian children far from their homes to get them away from

[6] Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press: 1983), 113-122.

influences that could cause backsliding. Educated youth could return to their tribes where it was hoped they would become leaders and increasingly do away with inferior Indian cultural practices. Efforts to curb native practices included frequent restrictions on Indian religious and social ceremonies on reservations. Agents also attempted to break down Indian communities by forcing the allotment of land over communal property and the provision of White teachers to instruct Indians in farming. The goal was to transform Indian men into yeoman farmers with a sense of personal industry. As the government worked to create loyal American Indians, missionary churches set up shop in and near reservations across the nation. Protestant and Catholic clergy introduced their one and true god to Indians in an effort to save their souls and at the same time destroy native spiritual and social beliefs.[7]

Conquest of the West took a relatively short amount of time to accomplish. The results of the 1890 U.S. Census showed that there was such a sharp reduction in unsettled areas that the Superintendent of the Census, Robert P. Porter, in an 1891 Special Bulletin, surmised that a frontier no longer existed.[8] There were still Indians, reservations, and open lands but the conquest of the West driven by ideas of manifest destiny had been almost completely successful. This period also saw an increase in the American desire to display its power outside of U.S. borders. It is during the late 19th century that modern war colleges started to take shape and the theories of men like Alfred T. Mahan, who called for a strong and modern navy, became popular with politicians. As the initial American experience overseas in places like the Philippines and Puerto Rico would

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[7] Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of the Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York:Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 135-140.

[8] U.S. Department of the Interior, *Extra Census Bulletin*, (Washington, D.C., 1891), 3-4.

show, Americans still had a strong urge to spread their democratic ideals and educate the "lesser" people they conquered. The acquisition of these two countries, but the Philippines in particular, eventually strained this belief and forced a reassessment of the original American policy.

CHAPTER 3

AMERICA'S EMPIRE

Prior to the first shots of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the U.S. planned the invasion of Spain's colonies, but it was rushed and turned out to be inadequate. The Federal government lacked the resources, in the form of experienced people and appropriate departments, to plan and consider the conquest and long-term occupation of overseas territories. American overseas experience was also limited. It is rumored, although it may be an apocryphal story that after reports came in of the victory of Commodore Dewey's fleet over the Spanish President McKinley could not find the Philippines, let alone Manila Bay, on a globe.[9] The United States had no comparable colonial departments like those in Britain and France that produced officials that managed far larger native populations in Asia and around the world. From a military perspective, an overseas campaign appeared farfetched based upon current capabilities. The U.S. Army, which would have to handle most of the fighting, had not been involved in a major conflict for over thirty years, since the end of the Civil War. Despite lacking the experience or many of the tools necessary for overseas expansion, many Americans did support making the leap and, in effect, expanding manifest destiny beyond America's

[9] Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984), 13.

borders. The President, congressmen and commentators spoke with conviction about defeating the Spanish Empire and enlightening the simple natives in its former colonies. Certainly the rapid success of the nation's westward expansion over the course of the 19th century had helped to foster these initial steps toward overseas imperialism.

Regardless of these glaring shortcomings, the administration of President William McKinley cobbled together plans for war taking ideas from various sources. The army still had a cadre of officers with Civil War experience to lead its troops. The limited-term volunteer soldiers, making up the majority of the initial troops, did not match regular army troops in terms of training or obedience; yet , they started the campaign with enthusiasm. The shortcomings of U.S. forces paled in comparison to those of Spain, where problems with equipment, morale and training proved insurmountable.

The Cuban revolution against Spain and the strategies that Madrid used to maintain control compelled the U.S. to slowly become more involved. Spanish tactics involving the forced removal of civilians, leading to deaths typical in war, and the reach of newspapers helped to dramatize the horrors of war to a larger audience than ever before. Newspaper publishers, key among them William Randolph Hearst, took horrific stories and made them even more lurid in order to sell papers. Playing up the threats and assaults on Americans in Cuba added to a growing American hatred for evil and corrupt Spaniards.[10] President McKinley's protests and Spain's failure to subdue insurgent forces kept the suffering in the news. In 1897 McKinley, likely urged by public opinion and Congress, sent a diplomatic message to Madrid indicating that the situation in Cuba would eventually lead to the U.S. having to make important decisions. His sending the

[10] Evan Thomas, *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898* (New York: Little Brown and Co., 2010), 190-198.

battleship Maine to Havana and its subsequent destruction by an explosion in February 1898 ultimately precipitated the Spanish-American War. Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, helped to draw the Philippines into the battle plan by issuing instructions to Commodore Dewey's squadron to sail for Manila once war was declared. [11]

Elihu Root, the Secretary of War, was assigned the task of putting together a coherent strategy for the conquest and rule of Spain's colonies. Root was a corporate lawyer prior to joining the administration and his search for ideas included collecting the latest books and reports on the British and French empires, but he eventually decided that their systems would clash with an American style of rule. Ironically, he supported a policy of incorporating American principles of government into what would become the nation's first colonial possession. The policies that the War Department ultimately followed had to be changed and eventually bordered on improvisation since the U.S. Congress lacked the experience of colonial rule to govern the nation's newest possession in the Philippines. Though Root saw the necessity of infusing colonial rule with American principles of freedom, he considered improving the conditions of the lowest Filipino classes at the expense of the local elite as a goal of U.S. administration. Root, a conservative, was wary of destabilizing Filipino society while it was under American rule. [12]

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[11] David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 32-36.

[12] Glenn Anthony May**,** *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913 (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies)*, (Westport & London: Greenwood Press, 1980), 3-8.

Prior to the arrival of U.S. forces in Manila Bay, a Filipino nationalist army had been on the verge of overpowering the forces of their beleaguered Spanish masters. For nearly half a millennia Spain, from its base in Manila, had exerted control over most of the Philippine archipelago either directly or through co-opted native leaders. The Muslim *Moros* of the southern archipelago eluded their direct control. Up to 1898 Filipino society had become stratified under Spanish rule, with Spaniards, of course, at the top and holding all the privileges of being imperial rulers. The Catholic Church shared power with the Spanish government, especially in the countryside where Spanish control was decidedly weaker than in urban areas. Below them were the local leaders *–principalía-* which the Spanish entrusted with governing rural towns and small villages. The newest class of urban elites, the *ilustrado*, came from wealthy families and attained their own separate status by receiving private schooling in the Philippines or if they were from families of greater means, in Europe. Below these groups were the vast majority of uneducated farmers and laborers that often worked under local leaders and on the extensive estates belonging to the Catholic Church.

The *principalía* developed out of the local chiefs from rural areas that had cast their lot with the Spanish conquerors. So long as these chiefs acted as extensions of Spanish imperial will, they would retain their status and receive gifts. Over the many years of Spanish rule this class developed and incorporated new people, through intermarriage with Spaniards and Chinese mestizos, into strong patronage networks across regions and towns. Money, favors and promises solidified relationships and created bonds between *principale* families and peasants. These connections made the *principalía* important to the groups to which they pledged their allegiance. They would

benefit from the reduction in Spanish and Church oversight that a successful revolution would bring.[13]

The *ilustrados* owed their existence to reforms that the Spanish enacted in the mid-19th century. Trade restrictions were lifted, and Filipinos could engage in more external trade which gave rise to some very affluent families. *Ilustrado* were very often mestizo and came from urban areas. The Education Decree of 1863 reformed the school system in the Philippines ostensibly for the benefit of the masses, but in reality only the wealthy could afford to do without the work of their children and send them to state run schools. Families that had engaged in the export trade sent their sons to private schools in the cities or Spain. These men eventually became business leaders and occupied the relatively few government positions that Spain allowed to Filipinos. A successful revolution against Spain would have thrown open central government offices to the educated *ilustrado* and removed any remaining Spanish-imposed restrictions on their upward mobility and business activities.[14] *Ilustrado* overtures toward the invading Americans, at the same time they claimed to support Aguinaldo, helped to fatally weaken the Filipino revolution. However, it also left the American administrators in a position that they had not been in recently and that was dealing with a class of native elites that was wealthy and as educated, or more so in some cases, than they were.

Puerto Rico did not undergo the same violent rebellion against Spain that ripped apart the Philippines and Cuba prior to U.S. involvement. During the course of the 19th

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[13] Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisted, Vol. 1* (Quezon City: Tala Publishing Services, 1975), 141-142.

[14] John M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902 (Contributions in Military Studies)* (Westport & London: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973), 10-12.

century, Spain instituted a gradual reform that allowed their Puerto Rican born subjects to participate in rule. Puerto Ricans could gain offices and achieve low levels of government involvement, as would happen in the Philippines, and in the same fashion this reform did not occur quickly enough to satisfy the native elite. Power remained centralized with a governor selected and sent from Madrid, and his appointees. Popular political movements developed and challenged one another as they also argued for the loosening of central control from Spain. Unlike the Philippines, a successful rebellion did not develop prior to the invasion of U.S. forces.

Leading up to the U.S. invasion two political parties vied for power in Puerto Rico. The Autonomists, led by Luis Munoz Rivera, mainly represented the interests of the *creole* members of the economic and intellectual elite - planters, small merchants and professionals. Rivera and the Autonomists sought peaceful reforms that would loosen colonial trade restrictions and allow some self-rule while remaining within the Spanish orbit. Arrayed against the Autonomists were the Spanish-born merchants, *peninsulares*, of the Unconditional Party that controlled most of the commerce and held many of the mortgages taken out by island businessmen. The Unconditional Party called for full annexation by Spain. Late in 1897, the Autonomists won concessions from Spain that established a limited form of self-rule. The first meeting of the new Parliament established by these concessions met a month before the United States invaded and quashed any realistic hope for Puerto Rico's independence.[15]

The history of education in Puerto Rico followed a similar path to that of the Philippines with many reforms occurring during the 19th century. Catholic schools

[15] Pedro A. Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999) 6-7.

provided the only source of education for the first several hundred years of Spanish rule. Reading and writing were taught around a central curriculum based on Catholic teachings, with education goals matching the religious goals of the Church. Enactment of a plan to provide a better-rounded education only occurred in the mid-19th century when Spanish reforms divided Puerto Rico into districts assigned to individual teachers. According to records the reforms proved insufficient, and success outside of the San Juan district remained noticeably absent. An 1865 Royal Decree[16] offered public instruction for free to those that could not afford it, and also made it compulsory. However, most of the students benefitting from this decree came from the wealthier strata of Puerto Rican society, while the children from rural areas and lower economic classes generally did not benefit.[17] This is the state of education that Americans found when they invaded.

[16] The Organic Decree of June 10, 1865.

[17] José-Manuel Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908* (New York & London: Routledge, 2002) 7-8.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION POLICIES OF THE U.S. MILITARY

Units of the U.S. Army began to arrive off of Manila in June 1898 to follow up Admiral George Dewey's defeat of the Spanish fleet. The slow, steady build-up of American troops and the increasingly sporadic communication that Filipino General Emilio Aguinaldo had with American leaders left him suspicious about their ultimate intentions in the Philippines. General T.M. Anderson, the first army commander to arrive, apparently reassured General Aguinaldo that the United States held no ulterior motives, similar to what Dewey had said to him. However, once General Wesley Merritt, the overall commander of the operation, arrived, he ordered all communications with Aguinaldo to cease.[18] Tense suspicion overcame both armies as they guarded the besieged Spanish outside the walls of Manila.

President McKinley's instructions to his army commanders and those from various members of his administration indicated that plans for the Philippines after Spain's defeat remained undecided. In fact, Merritt had left Washington and a meeting with the President without receiving clear instructions aside from the objective of keeping the peace while peace negotiations with the Spanish proceeded. In August 1898 the maneuvering of Aguinaldo's forces along the Manila line conflicted with Merrill's line

[18] Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*, 41-43.

and he wired Washington D.C. for instructions. The instructions he received from the President remained vague, and confined him to keeping the peace. At this point only Spain stood as the sole enemy when another wire arrived, instructing him to pursue actions necessary to prevent Filipinos from taking the city, but then in a separate telegram he was instructed to do all he could to "preserve the peace".[19] To ensure the capture of Manila remained an exclusively American affair, a partially choreographed battle, meant to limit casualties, was arranged with the Spanish governor commanding the city garrison. Merritt took this opportunity to plan the occupation of Manila so that his forces would enter the city ahead of Aguinaldo's forces.[20] The "battle" went as planned, but it initiated a stalemate with Aguinaldo's forces holding positions outside of central Manila that lasted for months pending the outcome of peace negotiations.

The American forces occupying Manila found that municipal services had stopped during the siege, and civilians lived in miserable conditions. Many people had escaped the city, and many services typically taken for granted, such as sanitation, policing and the delivery of fresh water, had fallen apart. The U.S. Army in Manila possessed training well beyond that necessary for combat. It contained many men that could help in this worsening situation with more than 75% of the army then in the Philippines consisting of volunteers only a few months removed from the work they had been doing in their civilian lives. Among both officers and men were lawyers, merchants, students and tradesmen who had various skills that could be put to work in restoring some services to the city. Many of these men came from American urban centers and

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[19] Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*, 44.

[20] Brain McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 23.

were familiar with the progressive reforms enacted to improve conditions for city residents.[21] While the stalemate with Aguinaldo's surrounding forces continued, soldiers with civilian training could be used to bring basic services back on line.

One mission that McKinley had made clear to Merritt was that Filipinos should be made to know that American intentions were beneficent. This mission was enthusiastically acted upon, and many soldiers with their civilian life experience were set to win over Filipinos. Once Merritt's forces had control of Manila, he used his troops as a police force to enforce curfews, restore fire and water services, and respect Filipino customs as practically as he could.[22] One of the first public institutions that he restored within the city was the school system in September of 1898. Merritt gave responsibility for the city schools to Father W.D. McKinnon, a chaplain of the 1st California Volunteers. McKinnon had to repair many damaged buildings and rent out space in order to open thirty-nine schools in the month after the occupation of Manila. Soldiers were enlisted as teachers to replace the shortage of teachers remaining in the city. Despite shortages of supplies, space, and teachers, the initial curriculum included English, and for the first time Manila had secular public education.[23]

Schools reopened during the occupation of Manila by American troops. General Elwell Otis, who replaced General Merritt as commander of forces in Manila after he left for peace negotiations in Paris, is credited with helping to accustom Filipinos to an American presence that was not based solely on the threat of violence. Otis, a Harvard

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[21] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902,* 60-67.

[22] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902,* 6-7.

[23] Ibid., 60-66.

Law School graduate, was highly regarded as an administrator but not as a combat officer. He instead freely released soldiers to teach primary school classes in English. As the war moved into the countryside surrounding Manila, this practice appeared in the small village schools that dotted the rural areas.[24] Through these actions he closely followed the instructions that President McKinley wired him in January 1899, shortly before the opening of hostilities with Aguinaldo's forces, to "improve the condition of the inhabitants, securing the peace, liberty, and the pursuit of their highest good." McKinley hoped that if insurgent Filipinos realized that they would benefit from cooperating with the U.S. bloodshed could be avoided.[25] From the perspective of the army it also made sense to provide for the wants and needs of the native population in order to maximize goodwill and reduce the number of people that could become potential recruits and supporters of Emilio Aguinaldo's *Katipunan*.

The war between Filipino nationalists and American forces started in February of 1899. Once war began, it is debatable whether American officers took President McKinley's instructions to use "tact and kindness"[26] to heart but at the time they needed some strategy to separate civilians willing to remain passive from those that supported the forces of Aguinaldo. Civic improvements like free public schools, even if they initially provided very limited curriculums, could foster the goodwill that the *Katipunan* would find hard to duplicate while under pressure from U.S. Army troops.

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[24] Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990), 153.

[25] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902,* 39-40.

[26] Ibid., 39-40.

General Otis realized the importance of using his forces to perform other missions aside from pushing back Aguinaldo. American troops continued to work at bettering the living situation of the average Filipino civilians in Otis' expanding area of control. Otis took an interest in the details of the school system that his army had been called upon to support and dedicated resources to providing soldiers and supplies. Much of the effort did result in an improvised education system, especially in the more rural areas, but Otis believed that displaying American largesse in a time of war remained important.[27] The public relations face of this strategy, which may have differed at least initially from the army's intent, manifest in statement by an American journalist, H. Phelps Whitmarsh, in December 1899:

> They feel now, for the first time, that they are being helped. At no very distant date, I hope, when the suspicious nature of these people is satisfied, the work being done in the schools here will have its effect. It 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.[28]

A year later Whitmarsh would become the first civilian provincial governor appointed by the Commission.

The arrival of the first Philippine Commission in March 1899, headed by Jacob G. Schurman,[29] brought the first official civilian attention to the needs of America's newest territory. At the time Schurman served as president of Cornell University. The Commission completed its work in September without ever having gone outside the

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[27] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902,* 86-87.

[28] Phelps Whitmarsh, *"Conditions in Manila"* in *The Outlook*, edited by Rev. Lyman Abbott and Hamilton W. Mabie (New York : The Outlook Co., 1899), 921.

[29] Typically called the Schurman Commission.

vicinity of Manila, nor did it interview a sampling of Filipinos from different backgrounds. Instead many of the interviews came from *ilustrados* that had approached the Americans and offered to help in the transition of power.[30] Though the needs of all Filipinos were to be examined, the list of those who went before the Commission consisted largely of educated men from wealthy backgrounds representing banking, railroads, shipping and the legal profession.[31] Later some of these interviewees became part of the colonial government and legislature. The following year the Commission published its findings based partly on the interviews and included, among their other points, a recommendation that free public education be provided to all Filipinos.

The U.S. Army relentlessly advanced across the Philippines and as it went assigned soldiers to set up impromptu schooling, in the process helping to win the hearts and minds of Filipino townspeople. While the army brought more towns under formal control, the Schurman Commission conducted its Philippine survey in and around Manila. The task of providing schools faced daunting challenges with books, teachers and buildings in short supply. Fierce fighting continued as U.S. troops pushed out into the countryside. Dedicated funding for education materialized only when the reorganization of municipal governments under American guidance transpired. In an effort to focus resources, and direct them where they could be most beneficial, the army created the Department of Public Instruction commanded by Captain Albert Todd in March 1900. To his and the army's credit, within 5 months 100,000 pupils had been enrolled in approximately 1,000 schools. The army also shipped in and distributed $100,000 in

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[30] Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, 151.

[31] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 112.

school supplies and textbooks. Captain Todd used the suggestions of soldiers teaching in the field to create a plan for compulsory primary education that other officers supported partly because it offered a less destructive means of pacifying the more desolate areas of the Philippines. Field notes from officers indicate that Filipinos generally appreciated a program that attempted to provide any education at all while the war continued.[32] The Spanish public education system, established primarily for the lower classes and heavily influenced by the Catholic clergy, had resulted in basic literacy rates (in Spanish) of 2% and left the country with fewer than 2,000 teachers of all skill levels, or approximately 1 teacher per 3,500 inhabitants. This meant that directing a modest amount of aid to education could go a long way. The U.S. Army and, later, the civilian government, initially found itself in a situation where they could improve the situation significantly through the use of a relatively small number of people and limited funds.[33] Once the war ended and formal education plans were implemented, the needs of the schools would quickly outstrip the resources.

General Otis had excellent training in administration and knew that he needed to reestablish the Filipino municipal governments, rule of law and financing streams. The army could sustain services only for a limited time, which made funding and budgets paramount. In January, 1900 Otis established a board containing three of his officers and two Filipino *ilustrado*, Cayetano Arellano and Florentino Torres. The war against Aguinaldo's nationalist army continued, and the Army required a plan to manage the

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[32] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902,* 136-138.

[33] Patricio N. Abinales, and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005) 92-93.

towns falling under its control. The board members, representing a mix of American officers, focused on keeping public order in the middle of a war, and *ilustrados* with their own concerns for preserving the Filipino social order never recommended drastic changes to the system that existed under Spain. Instead they agreed to maintain existing structures of municipal government and to create a very small electorate invariably voting for *principalía* and *ilustrado* leaders.[34] Despite sporadic eruptions of friction between Americans on one side and Filipino leaders of *ilustrado* and *principalía* backgrounds on the other, many of the decisions made during this period demonstrate that relations between the groups functioned well and that stability became an increasingly overriding concern.

The strategy of aiding Filipino municipalities while fighting a war against Aguinaldo worked to split the *Katipunan* from its civilian support. Increasingly, towns refused to offer aid to Aguinaldo, and *ilustrado* officers left to work with the Americans. General Aguinaldo was forced to split his forces and attempt a guerilla war which increased the violence and destruction. Aguinaldo's leadership came to an ignominious end as he was captured on March 23, 1901 by a special team of U.S. soldiers and Filipino scouts who had tracked him to his mountain base. The following month he took an oath of allegiance to the United States. The guerilla war officially continued for another year before being declared over in July 1902.[35]

What became known as the Philippine Insurrection had lasting effects on how the American public and officials viewed the Philippines. Americans initially believed that

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[34] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-191,* 44-45.

[35] Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*, 168-175.

Filipinos would welcome them as saviors. Instead, stories flowed back to the U.S. about the horrors of what became a guerilla war involving ambushes, the destruction of towns and torture of prisoners. The war cast a shadow upon the whole enterprise and shaped policies that limited the duration and extent of U.S. rule in the Philippines.

A strategic interest in Puerto Rico developed slowly within the political and military circles of Washington D.C. during the 1890's. Economic, demographic and political shifts pointed in the direction of an increasing American interest in exerting power beyond its borders. The theories and writings of U.S. Navy officer Alfred T. Mahan are significant in indicating how strategic thinking evolved and showing how overseas bases became important for a nation with many trade routes and interests to protect. Overseas bases provided the means to exert power far from the mother country, and as a side benefit could also provide new markets. However, even Mahan initially thought that Cuba would be of more consequence than Puerto Rico in his testimony to Congress before the war.[36] But thinking in strategic terms, taking Puerto Rico was a wise move to cut off any Spanish relief forces from using the naval facilities on the island, which would in turn be useful to U.S. forces. This plan, originally viewed as a temporary measure, instead found advocates who favored keeping the island and the bases for an indeterminate length. Letters and telegrams from U.S. leaders confirm that a more permanent U.S. presence was desired. Two months prior to the invasion, Theodore Roosevelt wrote the following to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge:

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[36] Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932*, 26-27.

> I earnestly hope that no truce will be granted and that peace will only be made on consideration of Cuba being independent, Porto Rico ours, and the Philippines taken away from Spain.[37]

Roosevelt's stance is reflected in a note from President McKinley to John Hay, the U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, about a month prior to the invasion in which he insisted that the cession of Puerto Rico would be required in any peace negotiations with Spain and that money would not be accepted in its place. [38] Economic and strategic reasons would be found and used to strengthen the arguments for keeping Puerto Rico, but it is clear that U.S. leaders increasingly viewed the occupation of Puerto Rico as very long term the closer they came to the launching of the military operation.

The conquest of Puerto Rico was distinct from military operations in the Philippines in being brief and having relatively few casualties. Unlike the Philippines there was no nationalist army or armed insurrection in progress against the Spanish. The area around the chosen place of disembarkation, the port of Guánica, housed many creole elites who were against Spanish rule. Once U.S. troops landed, it took only nineteen days to complete the campaign with the help of Puerto Ricans taking an active role in providing information and scouting services. [39] Local leaders, especially the *Autonomists*, initially welcomed the U.S. because they believed, based upon their knowledge of American ideals, that they

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[37] Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt Papers Series 3 Letters Sent 1888-1918, as quoted in César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 189.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 14.

[38] Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932*, 35.

[39] Ibid., 32-33.

would get a form of rule which would allow them to get back on the trajectory leading to self-rule that they had been on under the Spanish. Even leaders among Puerto Rican laborers saw hope in being conquered by a country with advanced labor laws.[40] The statements of General Nelson A. Miles convinced leaders like Luis Munoz Rivera that short-lived occupation would ensue and quickly lead to Puerto Rican self-rule within an American empire. [41] General Nelson A. Miles proclamation reinforced the idea of the invasion as a liberation:

> They bring you the fostering arms of a free people, whose greatest power is justice and humanity to all living within their fold. Hence they release you from your former political relations, and it is hoped this will be followed by the cheerful acceptance of the government of the United States.
>
> The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and give the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberty consistent with this military occupation.[42]

The military campaign lasted nineteen days inflicting few casualties and less ill-will on the opposing sides in comparison to the outcome in the Philippines after the extended period of warfare.

Rule in Puerto Rico quickly transitioned from the Spanish to a succession of U.S. Army generals that exercised nearly unilateral power over the new territory. Providing education figured prominently in military and later civilian plans as a key means of transforming young Puerto Ricans into law-abiding

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[40] Luis Martínez-Fernández, "Puerto Rico in the Whirlwind of 1898: Conflict, Continuity, and Change" *OAH Magazine of History,* Vol. 12 No. 3 (Spring 1898): 24-29.

[41] Nelson A. Miles, Proclamation of July 28,1898, as quoted in Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2008), 56-57.

[42] Pedro Capo-Rodriguez, "The Relations Between the United States and Porto Rico." *The American Journal of International Law,* Vol. 9 No.4 (October 1915): 883-912.

subjects, if not yet duplicates of American citizens. Major John R. Brooke, the first military governor installed on October 18, 1898, abolished the legislature and distributed its responsibilities to departments headed by his appointees. Rivera and other Puerto Rican leaders were coopted to create a Council of Secretaries to assist in rule under Brooke's administration. A more coherent education strategy had to wait for the term of Major General Guy V. Henry, who in, January 1899, brought in General John Eaton to head the Department of Education. Eaton was experienced and had been the U.S. Commissioner of Education at the Bureau of Education in 1870. Similar to the strategy in the Philippines, one of his first moves was to direct that English become the centerpiece of an education process focused upon the Americanization of Puerto Ricans. Furthering this directive, he appointed sixteen supervisors of American or British backgrounds to oversee the rollout process in the school districts.[43] Education policies that stressed the teaching of English followed in step with the views of Secretary of War Elihu Root who believed that literacy, along with property ownership, were preconditions for allowing Puerto Ricans to vote. Root also saw literacy as a means to eliminate what he viewed as the institutionalized corruption left behind by years of Spanish rule.[44] The following statement issued from the Insular Commission that President McKinley sent to Puerto Rico in 1899 was in keeping with the opinions of Secretary Root:

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[43] Aida Negron De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900-1930* (Universidad De Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975) 3-7.

[44] Puerto Rico Insular Commission of 1899 as quoted in Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932*, 65.

> [Public education] will be more effectual in unifying the people, Americanizing the island , preparing them to be acquainted with our laws, customs and literature, and hastening the day when Spanish influence will be thrown off, illiteracy banished, and the people become fully qualified to exercise the full duties of American citizenship than all other recommendations proposed, with the children speaking the English language and the young people reading American books and using the American tongue all will strive to obtain and education to become full Americans.[45]

Spanish rule had left Puerto Rico and its latest rulers with an existing education infrastructure. Before the U.S. invasion there were 380 schools for boys and 138 schools for girls along with a school for adults and over 20 private schools on the island. Two normal schools also trained new teachers. Total enrollment was reported to be 44,861 in 1898 with about half actually in attendance on average. Urban centers received much of the benefit of access to schools; yet, generally many children failed to receive public education. The U.S. military began to build upon this system and expand it after they had total control of the island.[46]

Shortly after the establishment of a Bureau of Education headed by Eaton, U.S. officials announced new laws. On May 1, 1899, the first of these established the structure and responsibilities of the American education system in Puerto Rico. The law required school boards responsible for providing all school buildings and the hiring and boarding of teachers to set aside a separate budget to fund the operations of the schools in their district. Teachers had to learn English as a precondition for employment.[47] This began the long tug of war over the requirement to learn English in Puerto Rican schools.

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[45] Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932*, 54.

[46] Columbia University, International Institute of Teachers College, *A Survey of Public Educational System of Porto Rico* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926) 15-19.

[47] Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932*, 54-61.

The requirement that English be taught as the primary medium of instruction was the source of endless friction for army generals and later for civilian governors, once the government transitioned to civilian rule after April 30, 1900. Resistance to the new laws revealed itself in the lackluster response of school boards and municipalities in hiring teachers and building schools. In October 1899 Eaton created a new Board of Education headed by his assistant and eventual replacement, Dr. Victor S. Clark. The Board was given the power to intercede when local boards failed to perform their duties to hire, or fire, teachers. The Board could also use its power to authorize new school buildings over local board procrastination. This presaged moves made in 1901, by then Commissioner Martin Brumbaugh, to centralize most control over staffing and school building within the Board of Education.[48]

[48] De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900-1930,* 11-28.

CHAPTER 5

PUBLIC EDUCATION UNDER INSULAR GOVERNMENT

The arrival of the Second Philippine Commission in June of 1900 inaugurated the start of civilian control over the Filipino people and the country's schools. Headed by William Howard Taft[49] and armed with the recommendations from the earlier commission under Jacob Schurman, it faced a considerable workload. Surprisingly, they had received very specific guidance from President McKinley, in stark contrast to the vague orders he provided to his generals:

> It will be the duty of the Commission to promote and extend, and, as it finds occasion, to improve, the system of instruction already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this it should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free for all, and which shall tend to fit the people for duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community.[50]

Secretary of War Elihu Root had advocated very similarly that America's role was noble in his annual report to the President in 1899:

> …and that it is our unquestioning duty to make the interests of the people over whom we assert sovereignty the first and controlling consideration in all legislation and administration which concerns them, and to give them, to the greatest possible extent, individual freedom, self-government in

[49] Also referred to as the Taft Commission.

[50] William McKinley, "President's Policy in the Philippines." *New York Times*, September 18, 1900, p. 5.

> accordance with their capacity, just and equal laws, and an opportunity for education, for profitable industry, and for the development of civilization.[51]

Despite the resistance of Governor-General Arthur MacArthur, the military and civilian authority in the Philippines since May, Taft and his commission took over control of civilian affairs and the management of the education system in the Philippines according to schedule on September 1, 1900. Taft appointed Harvard graduate, Fred Atkinson, as the first director of education. Compulsory education for all had been the original intent of the Commission, but stark financial conditions then and throughout the period precluded such an ambitious plan. [52] Army established schools continued to be the only realistic means of getting schools open and operating across the country as the war with Aguinaldo's nationalists continued. Schools remained a symbol of American beneficence to Filipinos torn between supporting their insurgent brothers and sisters or falling into line under their new imperial government. As late as June 26, 1901 General Arthur MacArthur was still sending telegrams urging the prompt delivery of school supplies sitting on a wharf in San Francisco.[53] The Taft Commission conducted its own research into the needs of the Philippines with member Bernard Moses made responsible for surveying education in the country. The tendency of American commissions, and in this case Moses, to confer with men from *ilustrado* backgrounds continued as did their assessment of the condition of Filipino peasants as stated by Taft:

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[51] Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, ed., *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 11-12.

[52] Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, 200-201.

[53] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902,* 217.

> They need the training of fifty or a hundred years before they shall even realize what Anglo-Saxon liberty is.[54]

As the Commission took charge of the civil government, it also took over the responsibilities of a legislature with the ability to create and pass its own laws. A move meant to lend some validity to their actions, the Commission brought three Filipinos into its ranks, Pardo De Tavera, Cayetano Arellano and Victorino Mapa all from wealthy backgrounds. The Commission chose these men for their local expertise and to demonstrate to benevolence of home rule. [55]

Once the Americans arrived, and seemed very intent on staying, many Filipinos, elites and lower classes alike, reevaluated their loyalties to Aguinaldo and the cause of independence. Most *ilustrados* agreed with the goals of an independent Philippines where they would be able to fill the government offices vacated by the Spanish. The weight of arms America brought to bear against their army and the signals transmitted by Generals Merritt, Otis and later the Schurman and Taft Commissions forced them to reevaluate how they could achieve independence and more importantly how to retain the inroads into government that they had made under the Spanish. Initially, many came to the conclusion that General Aguinaldo would be defeated by the Americans and that switching sides presented the best chance for retaining their status and property. Pardo De Tavera represented a wealthy *ilustrado* who made the decision to cast his lot with the Americans very soon after their arrival.

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[54] William Howard Taft, William Howard Taft Papers, as quoted in Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, 173-174.

[55] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-191,* 44-45.

However, many Filipino leaders remained with the nationalists, hoping that their cause would gain momentum against the U.S. They also remained aware of anti-imperialist politics in America and hoped that elections might work in their favor. However, the defeat of Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryant and his anti-imperialist platform by incumbent William McKinley dashed any hopes for an anti-imperialist administration in Washington and caused one of the first large spikes in the surrender of Filipino nationalists. The capture of Emilio Aguinaldo in 1901 and the passage of municipal and provincial government acts by the Taft Commission signaled to many Filipino *ilustrados* and *principales* that the time had come to surrender and seek out ways to work with or at least influence the new American administration. Taft's sanctioning of the formation of the *Federalistas*, a political party that De Tavera initially headed, and developments pointing towards the establishment of a Filipino legislature provided the incentive for many former revolutionary patriots to make the switch and cooperate with America. [56]

For their part American officials like Taft and Schurman initially viewed the Filipino political elite as too heavily influenced by the Spanish and most likely corrupt. But they welcomed the opportunity to "teach" them the correct, and American, way to run the Philippines. While they looked down at Filipinos as primitives, they also sought out the advice and cooperation of men like De Tavera, Arellano and later Manuel Quezon because as educated men with status their opinions held some weight in the Philippines. Despite the poor opinion they earned from their American administrators, most *ilustrados* had received their training in private schools in the Philippines and Europe. Their

[56] John M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902 (Contributions in Military Studies)* (Westport & London: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973), 229-230.

education in many cases was on a par with or exceeded the education that many Americans in the Philippine administration had received.[57]

The capture of Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901 did not immediately quell the nationalist insurgency of the *Katipunan*. American officials held no fear of losing the war on the battlefield; yet, they did concern themselves with winning the hearts and minds of Filipinos while American officers led their troops in vicious campaigns against anyone supporting the *Katipunan*. The year 1901 saw the U.S. Army implement a reconcentration strategy in the central parts of the archipelago in retaliation for a successful nationalist ambush that killed almost half of a company of soldiers on the island of Samar. Reconcentration involved the wholesale, forced movement of Filipino towns and villages to concentration camps with nothing left behind that could aid the *Katipunan.* Public education was an important benefit that Taft and his administration could dangle in front of Filipinos that remained undecided in where to place their loyalties.[58] The violence, destruction and cost of a messy war had already detracted from what many American officials thought would be a short military campaign.

Civilian control over Puerto Rico benefited from the peace instilled by its quick and complete military conquest. However, the purpose of education and the methods it used to bring about an Americanization of Puerto Ricans quickly became apparent to local leaders. The focus on teaching in English became a lightning rod issue for opponents of surrendering Puerto Rican culture. Puerto Rican legislators and the newspapers that represented the voice of their political parties railed against education

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[57] Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, 174.

[58] Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*, 169.

policies that they viewed as attacks on their culture. Whenever there appeared to be growing popular resistance to a particular policy, U.S. officials would appease local sentiments in order to avoid serious discontent, but Puerto Ricans were never in a plausible position to provide overwhelming resistance to American rule. From 1900 to 1917, Commissioners of education continued to stress, with limited success, the need for English to be used in the classroom. Patriotic "exercises" remained a continuous part of education, with Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, and the Fourth of July set aside to train students how properly to celebrate these American holidays.[59] Still, according to Commissioner Faulkner's 1906 annual report, most students did not make it beyond the fourth grade. Illiteracy persisted as a problem throughout the period, while at the same time U.S. investment in the island continued to grow and tie Puerto Rico increasingly to the North American mainland's economy. [60]

School curriculums contained sections of reading, writing, arithmetic and some industrial training. Schools increasingly became places to receive a basic education in order to enter an economy tied to agricultural exports that supplied the U.S. market with sugar and coffee. Few students moved on to secondary education to learn skills useful in white-collar jobs. Unlike in the Philippines, no large program existed to teach students to manufacture goods that the school could later sell for profit. The system faced the same persistent problem of a lack of trained teachers and adequate facilities. The rate of growth was slower than that found in the Philippines, with 733 schools in Puerto Rico in 1901, which rose to 1,712 in 1918. Students attending class quadrupled during the same period

[59] Negron De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900-1930,* 47-49.

[60] Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908*, 84-88.

but many of the gains were in urban schools. [61] This is not a suggestion that students in Puerto Rico received a measurably more complete or better quality education than students in the Philippines. The lack of quick results in the classroom did not stop the following comparisons with the public school system in the United States from appearing in the Commissioner's early annual reports. In the 1902 report Commissioner Lindsay states the following:

> When contrasted with the schools which existed under the Spanish regime, which is the fairest means of comparison, and the one naturally employed by the Porto Rican people, the change is simply marvelous. The essential fact is that we have the American free public school in every municipality.[62]

Evidence of progress appears in the annual reports showing new school buildings and larger enrollment. Still, education still only reached a small portion of eligible students in Puerto Rico. A scholarship program to send gifted students to the U.S. either to learn a manual profession or train for college started in 1903.[63] The popularity of higher education was more evident by 1907 when more students, from families with greater means, were sent to U.S. schools using private funding. In the same year the government expanded the program to include more students, with a higher allowance and also included scholarships to the University of Puerto Rico. [64] The very limited nature of these success stories reinforces the lack of opportunities available to most of the students in the rural locations of the island.

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[61] Julian Go, "Chains of Empire, Projects of State: Political Education and U.S. Colonial Rule in Puerto Rico and the Philippines", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr. 2000): 138.

[62] U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, U.S.A.* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 6.

[63] Negron De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900-1930,* 79-83.

[64] Negron De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900-1930,* 115.

In 1914 Arthur Yager, the governor of Puerto Rico, stated that 70% of people in rural areas of Puerto Rico remained in a state of illiteracy. [65] The budget for the education system took approximately 30% of tax receipts, with the result that the number of schools and teacher staffing remained relatively flat from 1913 to 1918.[66] However, attendance declined to the point that only 7% of eligible students attended school regularly in the 1917-1918 school year. [67] Government administrators strove to improve the system but had to face the transition that Puerto Rico had undergone under American rule. Students leaving school, whether as dropouts or graduates, had to cope with a local economy that had increasingly becoming an appendage of the huge North American industrial economy. American firms became the dominant players in Puerto Rico, and they did not require a great deal of highly educated employees to fill their need for unskilled and semiskilled workers to support agricultural operations. The few students that did attain higher levels of education, typically from the more well off families, could seek positions in government or seek jobs on the mainland.

A survey authorized by the University of Porto Rico and conducted by a team from Columbia University in 1925 wrote a report containing the findings in 1926. The factors that the survey team examined ignored how well the schools have Americanized students. The team did evaluate the effectiveness of teaching English and literacy in general. When it came to percentage of eligible population enrolled in school, Puerto Rico compared favorably with the U.S., with 17.4 % enrolled as of 1923. The most recent

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[65] Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States 1898-1932*, 137.

[66] See Appendix C

[67] Julian Go, "Chains of Empire, Projects of State: Political Education and U.S. Colonial Rule in Puerto Rico and the Philippines", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr. 2000): 138.

figure for U.S. enrollment was 17.8% in 1920.[68] As in the government figures the actual average attendance was much lower than total enrollment.[69] Illiteracy stood at 80% of the population in 1903; yet it fell to 55% by 1920. The Columbia team reported that the school did a good job combating illiteracy and rates continued to decrease although at a much slower rate in poorly served rural areas of the island. Rural adults had a higher rate of illiteracy than children that may have received some education.[70]

The major issues facing Puerto Rican public education appearing in the report have similarities with those found in the Philippines. Rural areas of the island received many fewer schools than more urbanized areas as experienced in the Philippines. The system of public education remained one where a student typically received only three years of schooling before leaving. The first three primary grades contained 84% of the enrolled students in 1925 and continued a trend from prior years. The recommendation of the team from Columbia, based on this short learning time frame, differed markedly from the Philippines. The recommended action was to *not* teach English in the first three years of school because it was impossible to teach any meaningful skills during this allotted time. Instead it was felt that industrial training should finally receive more resources and be taught with the same import as math and science. English would be taught later to the few students who remained in the system after the third grade.[71]

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[68] See Appendix E

[69] See Appendix D

[70] Columbia University, International Institute of Teachers College , *A Survey of Public Educational System of Porto Rico*, 64-65.

[71] Ibid., 30-37.

CHAPTER 6

EXPANSION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

If Filipinos wanted substantial evidence that American intentions were benevolent it seemed to arrive with the steamer *Thomas* which dropped anchor in Manila harbor in August 1901. Aboard the *Thomas* were over 600 teachers, henceforth known as the Thomasites, hired under contract to serve at various stations in the Philippines. The journals of these teachers and the stories written about them offer an emotional and sometimes romanticized description of them as pillars of American morality and the great impact their work had upon Filipinos. Just like most large groups of people this initial group of teachers contained a mix of individuals who had come to the Philippines for different reasons. Most had teaching experience in the U.S. and had graduated from normal (teaching) schools or colleges and hoped to bring beneficial change to the Philippines. Based upon most accounts, a great number of them apparently came to the Philippines with great enthusiasm and continued to teach despite often horrendous conditions. Many teachers developed close relations with the Filipinos in the areas they had been assigned. The pressing need to find teachers meant that a few arrived with lesser qualifications. Some also came across the Pacific with less noble goals ranging from making a profit to just finding adventure. The inability of the Department of Public Instruction to quickly disperse the Thomasites to their posts, largely due to a lack of

facilities and the risks from the ongoing insurgency, did not help matters but when teachers did show up in a poor village they were welcomed and generally acted as ambassadors of goodwill.[72]

Under the administration of Fred W. Atkinson the Department of Public Education grew quickly and almost haphazardly due to the ambitious goals that had been set for it. Enthusiasm remained strong and a push existed to expand the system to include more students. Primary schools, high schools and a university system needed to be set up or reestablished and existing facilities expanded while curriculums were created to indoctrinate Filipino students in American theories of freedom. Atkinson did not have the liberty of waiting for the system to be built and instead had to constantly show improvement in the number of Filipinos that had access to some form of instruction.

Early into the occupation of the territory, the U.S. Congress decided that the administration of the Philippines, unlike Puerto Rico, should be a largely self-sustaining enterprise. This decision, along with a policy to limit capital investment from the U.S., caused a constant shortage of funds to run the government, which also included the maintenance and expansion of the schools. This shortage remained a problem throughout the period of American rule and hamstrung efforts to provide high quality education to an expanding school population. The annual reports from the education department and the Taft commission describe the ongoing expansion of schools and increases in student populations, but because resources remained slim, the process had the effect of reducing the quality of training in order to stretch the system. The new regulations imposed by Americans, the continuing war and having teachers spread across the countryside added

[72] Mary Racellis Hollnsteiner and Judy Celine A. Ick., *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 36-46.

to the challenges of attempting to provide a quality education. A report in 1901 boasted that 150,000 Filipino students enrolled in the primary school system during that school year, but in fact only an average of 75,000 attended on any given day. Between 3,000 and 4,000 Filipino teachers provided instruction in this system, roughly half of whom were simultaneously attending at least an hour of English lessons each day in order to fulfill the goal of conducting all instructions in English.[73] Indications of an overburdened system continued in 1902 when reports show that establishing the number, and identity, of teachers employed at the municipal level was impossible because of the constant appointments and dismissals resulting from various reasons. Enrollment had increased to 200,000 students in the primary school system; yet, daily attendance averaged only 65%.[74]

During the early years of civil administration it remained important both to win over the hearts of Filipinos and to staff the government and education system with people that shared in the mission to uplift Filipinos and teach American values. An excerpt from the Philippine Commission report of 1902, which came from a transcript of a speech made to teachers about to leave for the Philippine countryside and their school assignments, laid out the noble goal that brought them to the Philippines:

> Every interest of the United States which is properly the concern of an American citizen becomes a matter which we must not only attend to punctiliously, but must rouse zeal for in others who are now under the same flag. And we are not only teachers and citizens but men (and women of course) who have the interests of humanity at heart. No less than man's highest development in every relation of life, moral as well as intellectual

[73] U.S.War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1901), 45.

[74] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 870-871.

> and political, is the goal we have set for ourselves; and we have not caught the spirit with which our country occupies these islands if we have come here without the determination to make these ideals contagious. If we believe that honesty, purity and truth are and forever will be beyond the reach of the native Philippine character we had better go home at once and agitate for an abandonment of the islands…The American teacher, then, comes to these islands not as a contract laborer but as a representative of the Government in one of its branches; he stands for all that is included in the word citizenship, and he is concerned with all that is human.[75]

Both American and Filipino teachers faced challenges in performing their assigned responsibilities. Most Filipinos, including teachers, lacked fluency in English while American teachers rarely understood Tagalog or Spanish. A shortage of basic facilities and supplies, especially in the countryside, meant that a teacher needed to use whatever they had at hand. The sporadic nature of communications, and payroll, induced low staff morale and did nothing for the level of instruction students received. Friction from Filipino parents coming from various economic classes over the usefulness of the curriculum also affected attendance. Poor sanitary conditions and continuing warfare helped to spread cholera and smallpox epidemics that temporarily reduced attendance.[76]American administrators in 1902 wanted to focus on industrial training, similar to that provided in U.S. Indian Schools, because according to superintendent reports, Filipino parents had absorbed the corrupting influence of Spaniards and their disdain for honest work. Oddly, this argument mirrors the position used to remove American Indian children from the corrupting influence of their families and send them to off-reservation boarding schools. Added to these difficulties, a persistent shortage of trained teachers

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[75] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 943.

[76] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1903), 677-678.

prevented any serious consideration of making attendance at schools compulsory. The system simply did not have the buildings, people or money to provide education to all Filipinos of school age.[77]

Changes in the curriculum mirrored the fluctuation in leadership that took place in the Department of Public Instruction. Superintendent Fred Atkinson entered office in 1900 but resigned his position effective December 31, 1902. David Prescott Barrows assumed the role of Superintendent of Public Instruction in August of 1903. He zealously aimed to provide literacy training to children, especially from poor backgrounds, which would provide them with the basis and proper tools to break the bonds of subservience to *ilustrados* and *principales.* In the annual report from 1903 Barrows details how the opening of the Philippines to more commerce benefitted a very small part of the population, namely those literate in Spanish and at the same time offers a small compliment to the prior regime. While the wealthy enjoyed political power and economic freedom, the poor, lacking education and the "charm and grace of Spanish manners" remained submissive.[78] Under the direction of Barrows the Department of Public Instruction set out to provide a curriculum that would teach literacy and the importance of participating in their communities to Filipino students. Industrial training remained a part of the curriculum but reading and writing increased in importance.[79] His first annual

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[77] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 886-887.

[78] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 696-697.

[79] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-191,* 97.

report stressed the importance of increasing the teaching staff of primary school teachers from 3,000 to 10,000 in order to teach 600,000 students.[80]

Expansion of the school system continued briskly over the first several years of civilian control. The number of school structures built or taken over increased and more students enrolled but the available resources could not handle all of the students. Actual attendance and the number of hours taught remained low. Annual reports from 1902 estimated just over 1.4 million children of eligible school age in the Philippines. Enrollment in the schools totaled 193,000 or about 14% of the eligible student population in the country. These statistics are well below those reported during the period in the state of Georgia, where no compulsory schooling laws existed. Georgia's Department of Education could boast that 76% of the eligible school-age population attended public schools. Meanwhile in the city of Boston, where compulsory schooling did exist at the time, annual reports showed that 92% of eligible students were enrolled. The average attendance reported for the Philippine school system did provide hope – 72% versus Georgia schools' reported 53%.[81]

Schools continued to be built or acquired and other educational resources provided. The addition of new fees in 1902, collected by municipalities helped to provide funding for the training and staffing of teachers in villages. Announcements of new buildings permeated the early annual reports. Manila received a new circulating library and museum. The construction of eleven provincial secondary schools continued and would soon join the twenty-three that had already been completed. While there were

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[80] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 704.

[81] See Appendix B

many signs of progress, there was also criticism. An American teacher in Panay sent a letter to a supervisor complaining about the poor work habits of Filipino assistants that, in his opinion, had poor work and attendance habits. A district superintendent accused a provincial president of taking *Igorrote* children (*Igorrotes* are a mountain people residing on Luzon and have historically been viewed as primitives by both Americans and Filipinos) for municipal labor to the detriment of their school attendance[82]. These signs of growth along with critical reports are understandable considering the brevity of time between the beginning of the occupation and start of civilian administration. However, issues continued to multiply as the system took on a larger share of eligible students.

Between 1902 and 1909 David P. Barrows ran the Department of Public Instruction and implemented curriculums that were meant to produce civic minded citizens able to hold their leaders accountable. Barrows' strategy appeared to follow the spirit of the previous public statements from President McKinley, Elihu Root and Howard Taft touting the beneficial aims of the plan to educate Filipinos and mold them into responsible citizens that could handle the privilege of being free, within an American colonial system. The emphasis on the plight of students from lower economic classes evinces itself in Barrows' 1903 report:

> The greatest danger at present menacing the success of our schools is that, pleased with the capacity and cleverness of the youth of the cultivated class, and desirous of forwarding his success along the higher levels of education, we may forget the primary and essential importance of educating the child of the peasant.[83]

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[82] See U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War*, (Washington, D.C., 1902), The *Igorrotes* are a mountain people residing on Luzon who were viewed as primitives by both Americans and many Filipinos.

[83] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1903), 698.

Later in 1905, Howard Taft, reporting as governor of the Philippines, made a statement praising U.S. intentions while also drawing comparisons with the Dutch, British and French; major imperial powers in the region:

> The chief difference between their policy and ours in the treatment of tropical people arises from the fact that we are seeking to prepare the people under our guidance for popular self-government. We are attempting to do this by primary and secondary education offered freely to the Filipino people…Our chief object is to develop the people into a self governing people, and in doing that popular education is in our judgment the first and most important means.[84]

Barrows' plan called for a drastic increase in the number of primary school teachers to 10,000 from the existing staff of 3,000. He believed that a system staffed at such a level, also assuming adequate facilities, could handle the education of 600,000 Filipino students at one time.[85] However, politics, finances and conflicting theories of Filipino needs impeded and ultimately hamstrung any plan to focus on spreading quality public education to the majority of children belonging to poorer families.

The funding provided for education represented a significant portion of the overall budget of the government but still could not cover the plans of Superintendent Barrows. Policies that prevented large scale capital investment in the Philippines, such as limits on the amount of acres that could be purchased effectively barring foreign corporations from investment, kept tax receipts and money available for schools from increasing. The government of the Philippines spent $.25 per capita for education in 1903 while Puerto Rico's administration, which received large amounts of foreign investment,

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[84] Charles Burke Elliot PhD, *The Philippines to the End of Military Government* (Indianapolis:The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917), 58-59.

[85] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War*, (Washington, D.C., 1903), 704.

spent $.84. In the United States between $.80 and $6 per capita went to education, depending on the region. American teachers and the education bureaucracy absorbed two- thirds of the education budget. The total funding for the first five years of American rule fluctuated between $1.2 and $1.4 million but each year that represented a smaller portion of the overall government budget. School enrollment continued to increase, schools were built and more teachers hired necessitating the spreading of education resources ever more thinly.[86]

Shortly after his arrival Barrows had to ration education and reduce the number of years of primary education from four to three in order to increase the number of enrolled students without increasing staffing and structures.[87] At the same time a shortage of American teachers, and difficulty in finding replacements from attrition, led Barrows to implement a plan where the most gifted Filipino students also received concurrent training as teachers. After three years of training and supervised teaching, they would instruct classes on their own. The overriding goal of expanding enrollment forced the implementation of this plan despite the knowledge that the quality of instruction would probably decline.[88] Enrollment continued to increase and in 1904 stood at 227,600 of which 220,000 attended primary school with the rest in intermediate and secondary school.[89] The Commission government passed Act No. 1225 the following year to allow

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[86] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War*, (Washington, D.C., 1904), 833-848.

[87] May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-191,* 99-100.

[88] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1904), 816-821.

[89] Mary Racellis Hollnsteiner and Judy Celine A. Ick. *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines*, 36-46.

the hiring of a larger number of Filipino teachers at a lower pay scale, $120-$160 per year instead of $900-$2,000 per year. [90]

In 1905 the Commission government terminated the land tax, a major source of education funding. The original intent was to alleviate the devastation caused by a livestock epidemic that killed many of the water buffalos used to accomplish heavy farm work. Suspending the land tax offered a means to relieve some of the pressure on landowners, some of whom now occupied seats in the new Philippine legislature. The act to suspend the tax passed and removed funding for more than half of the budget for primary schools in 1905. The school administrators correctly surmised that legislators would not quickly reinstate the tax. A precedent had already been set in Manila where several years previously a local tax used to fund education had been suspended and never reinstated to the previous levels. Emergency funding from the Philippine treasury and the release of relief funds authorized by the U.S. Congress covered most of the loss in funding, but Barrows had to scale back any expansion plans in the interim. [91]

Barrows pursued an ambitious plan in 1904 to expand primary education without a correspondingly large increase in his operating budget. He had orchestrated a threefold increase in the number of elementary schools by the time he resigned in 1909. The total enrollment in March 1905 had surpassed 500,000, doubling enrollment over the previous school year. Average attendance was much lower. However, school districts could not handle the increase despite the addition of many Filipino teachers and aides. Staff

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[90] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1905), 371-373.

[91] U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior m, U.S.A.* (Washington, D.C., 1905), 378.

increases came at the expense of gradually lowered salaries especially among the native teachers. Reports that most students received, at most, a noncontiguous two to two and a half years of schooling before dropping out of the system reinforced the opinion that serious problems accompanied years of expansion and changes needed to be made.[92]

The public school system of Puerto Rico matched that of the Philippines in also requiring massive resources to expand its reach across all areas of the island. When the U.S. took over the island, it was reported that only one purpose-built school existed on the island with the rest of the structures made up of whatever space had been available. [93] Appropriations slowly increased over the first decade of American rule and avoided steep cuts that might have interfered with long term plans. Enrollment and average attendance also increased steadily but never as quickly as commissioners wished, especially in rural areas. Annual reports of the governor and commissioner repeatedly focus on ways to address poorly served rural areas, but the "graded" schools in cities and towns often received more attention and increases in the numbers of schools and teachers.

Civilian commissioners began to arrive with regularity on the island, and a strategy took shape that remained relatively intact through some difficult times. The intent had been for each to serve four year terms, and aside from a few resignations during this early period, the planned transfer of office worked. Commissioner of Education McCune could proudly state in his 1902 report, written four days after his arrival in Puerto Rico, that the work of his predecessor had increased the number of

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[92] U.S. Department of State, *Annual Report of the Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington, D.C., 1908), 804-807.

[93] U.S. Department of State, *First Annual Report of Charles H. Allen Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901) 49-50.

schools and enrollment by 20% and teachers by 14%.[94] Growth in school structures took time to grow significantly and actually decreased and fluctuated below 1902 levels until finally surpassing that total permanently in 1908. Simultaneously an increase in total enrollment took place that did not abate until the 1914-1915 school year. Commissioner Falkner, in his annual report for 1905, explained the reasoning behind his call for all superintendents and teachers to bring in as many students as possible into the schools. He had needed to reduce the number of schools because appropriations lagged behind the prior year by approximately $20,000 and it would be better to get as many children into the schools to get some education.[95]

Raw enrollment numbers increased until hitting a stretch of decreases caused by the war in Europe and later America's entry.[96] The impressive increase came partly as a result of the growth in urban school populations but a greater proportion came from the practice of double enrollment in rural schools. The practice entailed having one teacher teach two classes, each for half a day. Commissioner Dexter explained in his 1910 report how it would be impossible to do away with double enrollment when less than half of the children on the island got to school. He also thought it beneficial to let the children return home and help their families at work.[97] Rural schools also only went up to the sixth grade, by 1917 only the fourth, while schools in cities and towns taught all eight grades.

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[94] U.S. Department of State, *Second Annual Report of the Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902) 41.

[95] U.S. Department of State, *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War 1905* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905) 9-11.

[96] See Appendix C

[97] U.S. War Department, *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War 1910* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910) 167-168.

Expansion into rural areas came with the acceptance that pupils would have a sparser learning experience.[98] Results in this area would reflect poorly in the Columbia University education survey done in 1925.

Puerto Rico avoided the tug of war between academic and industrial training as the system grew. The closure of specific industrial training schools forced the addition of classes in the primary school curriculum but it did not precipitate a crash program that reduced the teaching of civics, English, or American history. The few products that students produced, when compared to the Philippines, show up in commissioner reports as supplies to be used in the classrooms or school offices rather than as merchandise for direct profit.[99]

The budget for education in Puerto Rico avoided deep cuts that enabled the sources of revenue to remain in place. Appropriations fluctuated mildly but generally increased from 1900 to 1918, aside from one instance of a special legislative increase of $1 million in the 1913-1914 fiscal year. Sufficient revenue depended upon the increasingly lucrative export of sugar, coffee and other agricultural products from plantations managed by American corporations.[100] Funds allowing schools to function came from the insular government's balance from tariffs on commerce and the municipal school boards share of taxes on the assessed value of property. Whereas in the Philippines many of the annual reports bemoan the reduction in budgets and the

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[98] U.S. War Department, *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War 1914* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914) 358-359.

[99] U.S. War Department, *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War 1915* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915) 330-332.

[100] "Progress in Porto Rico", *New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, June 21, 1903, p. 4.

insurmountable number of students to educate, in Puerto Rico the number of children admitted to school exceeded the appropriations designated for education. The Puerto Rican legislature in the period covered often voted for measures to increase appropriations for the hiring of more teachers and the floating of bonds to pay for additional schools.[101] However the legislature did prevent the funding of any further industrial training in stand-alone schools in 1906 despite the urging of the Commissioner.[102]

A decade after Puerto Ricans received U.S. citizenship, a survey of the public school system judged it a partial success. Expansion had succeeded in reducing the illiteracy rate and bringing education to a number of people comparable to the rates in the United States at the time. The survey focused on the same problem that most previous Commissioners of Education already knew of and included in their reports – the general lack of success in rural areas.[103] Coupled with rising unemployment and an economy increasingly based on a few major export crops, the lack of opportunity led many graduates, now citizens, to seek employment in the U.S., which was an opportunity not open to most Filipinos. The 1925 survey of Puerto Rican public education estimated that some 60,000 Puerto Ricans were then residing and working in New York.[104]

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[101] U.S. War Department, *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War 1913* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913) 55.

[102] U.S. War Department, *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War 1911* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911) 177.

[103] Columbia University, International Institute of Teachers College, *A Survey of Public Educational System of Porto Rico*, 64-65.

[104] Ibid., 262.

CHAPTER 7

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AND ACADEMICS

Once Barrows neared the end of his career in the Philippines, and after he left, changes to the system called into question the goal of public education. Expansion of industrial training in the curriculum was introduced in 1907 at the expense of academic training. Frank R. White became the superintendent in December 1909 under the administration of Governor W. Cameron Forbes and implemented plans to change the direction of public education. He organized a department within the Bureau of Public Instruction to oversee the industrial training, which he wanted as the major focus of public education and in the process undoing much of what Barrows had hoped to accomplish with the schools. Shortly after assuming office, White rolled out a new curriculum that expanded industrial training to ninety minutes a day from the hour it had taken previously during a typical five hour class day. The time allocated to industrial training came from reducing courses such as literature and mathematics. First and second graders learned simple skills that later as third and fourth graders would allow them to produce items, such as gloves, lace and baskets, for market. Whereas in the U.S. industrial education accompanied other classes in importance, in the Philippines it usurped the time allotted to general education. Students spent an increasing amount of time assembling cheap products that administrators hoped would allow them to earn a

living after finishing school. During White's administration, more than 90% percent of primary school students received an increasing amount of industrial training.[105]

Further changes came a year after Barrows departure, which brought about a crisis in the Filipino school system. White, deciding that budgetary problems required drastic measures, ordered the closing of almost 800 primary schools and the dropping of delinquent students from the system. Over the course of the next two school years enrollment dropped from 610,000 to 440,000. Governor Forbes, realizing that the cuts had been a step in the wrong direction, decided to reverse most of the closures and assigned emergency funds to reopen some of the schools as a stopgap. White's curriculum changes that expanded industrial training remained in place.[106]

Industrial training assumed an even greater focus in the years after White's death in 1913. A General Sales Department was created within the Bureau of Public Instruction in 1916 to oversee the sale of merchandise made in the schools. Separate offices were also opened in each school district responsible for the marketing and selling of products made by students. The department attempted to generate profits and income stream for the schools from the sale of the various products that students produced such as hats, baskets and mats. Warehouses regularly became full of items produced by students for

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[105] Glenn Anthony May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30" in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State,* ed. Alfred W. McCoy (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 154-155.

[106] Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913 (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies)* (Westport & London: Greenwood Press, 1980), 120-124.

which no ready market existed. The repeated failure of this sales effort resulted in the omission of any sales figures starting in the annual reports in 1919.[107]

The Jones Act, signed by President Woodrow Wilson in 1916, gave the Philippines a bicameral legislature with an American governor/overseer and also accelerated the Filipinization of the government bureaucracy. The handing over of many municipal roles to Filipinos had already been gathering momentum as American employees realized that they probably did not have a future in the Philippines. However, the purpose of education, especially primary and intermediate, retained the profound U.S influence instilled during the last decade and a half of American rule. Teaching staffs and student enrollment continued to grow faster than the budgets could accommodate, and the curriculum for primary and intermediate schools, representing the limit of education for the vast majority of Filipino students, remained wedded to an emphasis on industrial skills.

In 1925 the U.S. Congress sent the Monroe Commission to the Philippines to conduct a survey of the entire Philippine education system. Headed by Paul Monroe, it fanned out across the archipelago, visiting schools and examining the results of the system installed by the U.S. Their findings reveal a school system functioning at largely the same level as it had been twenty years earlier.[108]

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[107] Glenn Anthony May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30" in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State,* ed. Alfred W. McCoy (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 154-155.

[108] Glenn Anthony May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30" in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State,* ed. Alfred W. McCoy (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 157.

The commission found that education in the Philippines was geared towards teaching students in quantity rather than providing a high quality education. Slightly more than 95% of students in the system in 1923 were in the first seven grades (Primary and Intermediate). A large majority of students, 82%, failed to reach the fifth grade and these students performed only at the level of U.S. second graders according to tests administered to 32,000 pupils by the commission.[109] The relatively small population of students that attended high school and university received training in skills for which the job market in the Philippines had no particular need. Graduates and partially trained students found themselves jockeying for too few jobs in the government bureaucracy. Tests given to over 1,000 teachers showed that many of them had been hastily and incompletely trained and were unable to fix high student failure rates. They described the industrial training program as inefficient and outdated. No demand existed for the vast amount of products the students produced and inventory went unsold. The commission emphasized the importance of updating the industrial training program while also recommending the halving of the number of academic schools. Fewer academic offerings would force students into an updated vocational training program and direct them away from white-collar employment. The commission's assessment describes a system that attempted to do too much, too quickly, with inadequate resources. Its solution was not to rely upon teaching Filipinos to be like American citizens; rather pragmatically they recommend emphasis on training programs for trades that supported local industries and

[109] Paul Monroe, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Print, 1925), 7.

direct employment in agriculture with the plantations and companies predominantly owned by the powerful *ilustrados* and *principalia*.[110]

Industrial training in Puerto Rican school curriculums held a place of similar importance as other subjects but often fell victim to insufficient resources. Schools established specifically to provide industrial training were established in 1903 but a cut in funding forced their closure in 1907. Primary school teachers acted as the main source of industrial training, and each was expected to teach students what they knew using the equipment and supplies at hand. Even the teaching of agricultural skills, in a heavily agricultural country, was left to whoever happened to have some training. Lack of funds played its part in keeping adequate supplies from industrial/handiworks training. However, the focus on other training and Americanization kept the curriculum from deviating too far towards industrial skills. The teaching of this skill was judged to be so lacking that a 1925 study done of the Puerto Rican public school system recommended more resources should be expended to teach students how to produce marketable products.[111]

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[110] Monroe, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands,* 32-61.

[111] Columbia University, International Institute of Teachers College , *A Survey of Public Educational System of Porto Rico*, 195-196.

CHAPTER 8

EFFECTS OF LEGISLATION

The Foraker Act, also known as the Organic Act of 1900, passed by Congress in 1900 and signed into law on April 2, 1900, laid out the terms for U.S. rule in Puerto Rico. Policies established in this law lasted until added to and amended by the Jones Act of 1917, which granted U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans. The treatment that Puerto Rico received in the Foraker Act differed from that of the Philippines and provided a strong indication that the island would remain a part of the United States. Tariffs to protect American industries only lasted a year so that low-cost Puerto Rican products would eventually be on equal footing. Other duties were either eliminated or reduced to much lower levels so that trade would not be discouraged. The Philippines received similar reductions in some duties, but certain products were still subject to full protective tariffs because they competed with U.S. producers. The Philippines would have to wait for legislation passed a decade after the occupation to receive trade benefits resembling the benefits included in the Foraker Act. The U.S. citizenship provision would never materialize because along with the issue of race raised in early debates, the U.S. Congress had by this time ruled out annexation. The Foraker Act also provided incentives for capital investment, purchases of land, and establishment of U.S. businesses. Both the Foraker Act and the Philippine Organic Act of 1902 enacted restrictions on the purchase

of land parcels over 500 acres by corporations, but the Puerto Rican version did not provide a means of enforcing it. U.S. corporations could purchase large pieces of land until laws were put on the books in 1935 to enforce the original provisions.[112] A major effect of the law was to increase investment from U.S. corporations seeking to expand into Puerto Rico. The attraction of plentiful cheap labor and corporation-friendly policies drew American business to the island. In a relatively short time, Puerto Rico became a captive market to U.S. products. The increase in trade provided revenue from taxes, which helped to fund the operation of the U.S. administration of the island to a higher degree than in the Philippines. Customs duties passed back to the Puerto Rican treasury provided a considerable sum of money to the budget with total collected duties totaling $771,447 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.[113] The Act authorized an elected legislature which could draft bills and vote on laws but whose power was limited by an executive council staffed through presidential appointment. The council could veto any bill that made its way through the legislature. [114] The policies and structures that the Foraker Act established to improve the economic link between Puerto Rico and the U.S. make sense from the standpoint that American leaders had already decided that they intended to retain Puerto Rico indefinitely.

Keeping control of Puerto Rico presented less of a challenge to American leaders than any attempt to do the same with the Philippines. The debates that ensued between Democrats and Republicans after America defeated Spain and inherited an empire

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[112] Puerto Rico, *Acts and Resolutions of the Second Special Session of the Thirteenth Legislature of Puerto Rico, 1935* (San Juan:Bureau of Supplies, Printing and Transportation, 1935), 418.

[113] U.S. Department of State, *Fourth Annual Report of the Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington, D.C., 1904), 13-14.

[114] De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900-1930,* 21-26.

initially resembled the belief in manifest destiny. This belief did not survive the realization that ruling overseas possessions with large populations presented many more challenges than were encountered in the American West. The argument instead tilted toward determining the material benefits of holding territories. Captains of industry did not lobby Congress with a unified voice because some feared the low-cost competition from overseas while others longed for an opportunity to dominate newly captive colonial markets. The middle course of keeping Puerto Rico while limiting the growth of any further responsibilities in the Philippines made sense to American leaders and their constituents who at least thought they knew more about the Caribbean island than the Asian archipelago. The simple fact that Puerto Rico was geographically closer and the contemporary American opinion classified Puerto Ricans as nearly European due to their exposure to the Spanish made a distinct difference. This decision also helped to appease anti-imperialists and groups worried about the potential racial issues that admitting the Philippines to the Union would bring.[115]

[115] Julian Go, "Chains of Empire, Projects of State: Political Education and U.S. Colonial Rule in Puerto Rico and the Philippines", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr. 2000): 346-353.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The assessment of the impact of education in the Philippines and Puerto Rico done in 1925 had serious concerns with past performance and the future prospects of public education. Neither system had made great improvements in literacy or managed to reach the poorer, more rural, segments of society. A majority of children still did not see the inside of a classroom, especially in Puerto Rico where attendance hovered around 10% of those eligible to attend. Those students that did attend classes typically did so sporadically and did not reach beyond the third or fourth grades. Hiring trained teachers remained a problem for both territories as was providing sufficient salaries to those who were hired. Both public education systems had problems securing the budgets that their superintendents felt were necessary due to a mix of legislative and other practical reasons. However, the evolving strategies of U.S. education planners and politicians betray differences in how they saw the Philippines and Puerto Rico fitting into an American empire. Long before the decision was made to give Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship, the public education system in the Philippines started to stray from the original goals of creating educated Filipinos with republican values.

The actions of the U.S. government during the first decade after the conquest of the Philippines and Puerto Rico betray a marked decline in enthusiasm for the increasing

need for resources in appropriations and personnel to develop these territories. The Philippines in particular presented a conundrum because the first several years had been spent putting down an insurrection by forces representing Filipino independence. Philosophies incorporating manifest destiny had indeed worked better when the U.S. was dealing with an American West that had been depopulated of Indians by disease, starvation and war. In contrast, ruling millions of Filipinos as an imperial power had no precedent in U.S. history. Nor did the possibility of incorporating millions of what, to Americans were an alien people, a world away, into the Union. Puerto Rico presented some of the same racial and philosophical issues but genuine strategic and economic interests compelled the U.S. to retain the island and allow an influx of American capital that eventually led to domination of the economy. Puerto Rico provided a forward base helpful in protecting trade routes leading through the Panama Canal. The islands agricultural production and the view that its people would help the U.S. to gain stronger footholds in South American markets increased its potential importance. Changing administrations in the U.S. and a World War sealed the deal and by 1916 the Jones Act set Filipinos on a course for eventual independence, while Puerto Ricans received citizenship and a more permanent bond with the U.S.

Similar factors explain why education in the Philippines and Puerto Rico generated such poor results despite periods of heavy investment. American attempts to implement a system of education designed to make Filipinos duplicates of American citizens failed in many respects. Based upon initial statements from politicians and administrators, education would help to set the majority of Filipinos free from corrupt leaders left over from centuries of Spanish rule. But the die was cast soon after the U.S.

victory when political wrangling in the U.S. Congress led to the policies in the Philippine Organic Act that prevented a large increase in capital investment in the Philippines while also expecting the territory to be largely self-sufficient. These policies left the government underfunded, avoided the unpalatable possibility of American citizenship for Filipinos, and rapidly transitioned many government roles back to native leaders. Despite the statements of prominent leaders like Howard Taft that Filipino self-government would come only after many generations of tutelage under an American administration, there was too much resistance at home to entrenching the colonial relationship between the Philippines and the United States. Policies and legislation that placed limits on the amount of foreign investment capital also protected the interests of Filipino economic and political elites. Tariffs reduced the amount of investment and trade, especially with countries other than the U.S., and more importantly affected the amount of tax revenues the Philippine government could collect. U.S. administrators found that in order to operate effectively they needed to allow Filipino leaders a fair amount of leeway in return for their help in supporting legislation to raise funds for the government.

This forced the U.S. administration to reassess its original plan to enlighten Filipinos. They could no longer conceive of actually freeing Filipinos from the same *caciques* that they depended upon to keep the government running and the people passive despite what they judged to be a political establishment rife with the corruption taught by the Spanish. Instead, appropriation bills, including those meant to fund education had to tread a fine line and avoid affecting Filipino elites too harshly in order to receive their support. The new relationship barely helped to keep pace with the expansion of the school system, but soon it became essential for the government to be more practical and

increasingly rely on poorly paid and trained Filipino teachers to teach larger classes for fewer hours. Strategies to concentrate on industrial training instead of academics expanded and even went as far as establishing a sales department within the school system to market the goods created by students. Later, education surveys brought the failings of the system to light, but Filipinos still sent their children to school in order to give them what they thought might be a precious advantage. The continued expansion of the system reduced its effectiveness but Filipinos believed in the benefits of getting *any* education, especially if it might provide a means to a better life or job in the government. By any measure used in the U.S., the attempt to educate Filipinos into Americans failed miserably but did eventually help provide the means for an independent Philippines to sustain itself.

The reasons that education failed to fulfill its promise in Puerto Rico differed from those that humbled the grand plans in the Philippines. While American leaders did not formally laid out their intentions for Puerto Rico after the victory over Spain or the treaty signing, they anticipated that the island would remain a U.S. possession of some sort. Politically it was more acceptable to retain Puerto Rico because of its relative proximity to the U.S., and because the North Americans saw Puerto Ricans as less alien than Filipinos. The Foraker Act, or Organic Act of 1900, authorized the lifting or reduction of tariffs from Puerto Rican trade after a year of occupation, which put the territory and its government services on a far better financial footing than the Philippines found itself at that time. Policies encouraged the flow of money from the U.S. and investments and trade surged between the countries. Money from the increased custom duties, instead of being deposited with the U.S. Treasury in trust, reverted directly to the

Puerto Rican insular government to fund operations and improvements. The unrestricted influx of American capital and businesses displaced many of the Puerto Rican planters and merchants with managers working for absentee corporate owners. Large American plantations owned by corporations became an increasing part of the economic landscape and required a pool of workers with relatively little education to work in the fields or in supporting trades. The school system met the minimum requirements of the local economy and provided a basic education to a relatively small population of students. It also granted opportunities to a select few to attend higher education in San Juan and the United States, similar to the policy in the Philippines. At the time, Puerto Rico's agricultural economy could function without a school system that produced many graduates and the risk of popular unrest remained low. Steps to offer expanded quality education were not necessary in the short term. Geopolitically, no potential threats existed to U.S. rule in Puerto Rico as appeared in the Pacific where several empires, Japan eyed as the primary threat, surrounded the Philippines.

The acquisition of overseas territories strained the political environment and affected the lengths to which the U.S. would go to further democracy over commercial concerns. During the first five years of occupation, congressional debate over retaining the territories revolved around manifest destiny and the responsibility that the U.S. had to the natives of the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Increasingly the debates turned to the commercial benefits of keeping the territories as markets for U.S. goods. Pacification of insurgent parts of the respective societies and establishing an environment conducive to increasing trade became paramount.[116]

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[116] Leonard Frederick Geisecke, *History of American Economic Policy in the Philippines During the American Colonial Period 1900-1935* (New York: Garlan Publishing, 1987) 21-29.

Based upon the initial goals set forth by the American administration for the Filipino school system, it did not perform well. Students did not receive an education designed to provide them with an intellectual means of combating corrupt leaders. However, it did succeed in exposing a large number of students to *some* education and training. An even smaller group, the children of a nascent middle class, made it to high school and universities. The existing Filipino ruling class assimilated both groups into the patron-client system that had been a part of politics for over a century under the Spanish. Public education may have influenced the development of later popular and political movements in the Philippines, but it failed to bring about dramatic changes while the country was under U.S. rule.

Public schools in Puerto Rico did a slightly better job at instructing students than Filipino schools according to the 1925 surveys; yet, it never fulfilled all of its promise. Statistics show a fairly steady growth in schools, enrollment and teaching staff but beneath the numbers corners were cut in order to expose additional students to inadequate instruction. The benefits of education never penetrated deeply into rural Puerto Rico during this period, and most of the gains accrued to city and town dwellers. However, as new U.S. citizens the option of leaving the island to seek employment on the mainland existed for a few. Puerto Rican legislators were also willing to increase appropriations to avoid the steep declines in appropriations experienced in the Philippines. Despite this the system almost succumbed to the same issue of having too little funding to handle its mandate. Ultimately it did not matter because the economic ties with the U.S. had become too vital and lucrative. Leaders in Puerto Rico and Washington were willing to

press on with their plans knowing that education issues could be resolved over the course of a long period of U.S. rule.

APPENDIX A

TEACHER POPULATION IN THE PHILIPPINES 1900-1950[117]

	AMERICAN	FILIPINO	TOTAL
1900	889	2,167	3,056
1905	826	3,414	4,240
1910	773	8,275	9,048
1915	589	9,308	9,897
1920	385	17,244	17,639
1925	353	25,241	25,594
1930	307	25,279	25,586
1935	160	27,755	27,915
1940	97	43,682	43,779
1945	14	46,996	47,010
1950	8	85,396	85,404

[117] Mary Racellis Hollnsteiner and Judy Celine A. Ick, *Bearers of Benevolence: The Thomasites and Public Education in the Philippines* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2001), 257.

APPENDIX B

EDUCATION STATISTICS IN THE U.S. & PHILIPPINES 1901-1902

	School Age	Enrollment	Attendance	% Enrolled	Avg. Attendance
Georgia[118]	**660,870**	**502,877**	**265,388**	**76%**	**53%**
Boston[119]	**94,882**	**87,133**	**77,636**	**92%**	**89%**
Philippines[120]	**1,424,776**	**193,731**	**139,966**	**14%**	**72%**

[118] Georgia Department of Education, *The Thirtieth Annual Report From the Department of Education to the General Assembly of the State of Georgia for 1901* (Atlanta, 1902), 4-5. Note: Georgia had no compulsory schooling laws.

[119] School Committee of the City of Boston, *Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston 1903* (Boston, 1903), 126. Note: Compulsory schooling laws in effect since mid 19th century.

[120] U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C., 1901), 677-678.

APPENDIX C

STATISTICS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO[121]

	Enrollment	Attendance	Schools	Teachers	Student/Teacher
1901-1902	41,642	29,552	871	934	44.6
1902-1903	70,216	36,308	717	1,220	57.5
1903-1904	61,168	41,798	685	1,265	48
1904-1905	63,223	45,201	675	1,210	52
1905-1906	68,820	41,802	641	1,192	57.7
1906-1907	71,696	44,218	696	1,175	61
1907-1908	80,167	54,375	799	1,352	59
1908-1909	105,125	74,522	998	1,608	65
1909-1910	121,453	84,258	1,025	1,743	69.7
1910-1911	145,525	103,102	1,042	1,671	87
1911-1912	160,657	114,834	1,168	1,776	90
1912-1913	161,785	117,360	1,180	1,855	87
1913-1914	207,010	155,830	1,473	2,535	81
1914-1915	168,319	128,376	1,494	2,461	68
1915-1916	157,394	120,099	1,506	2,468	63.70
1916-1917	155,657	116,779	1,666	2,676	58
1917-1918	142,731	106,441	1,712	2,715	53

[121] Values collected from the Annual Reports of the Governors and Commissioners of Education from 1902-1918.

APPENDIX D

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN PUERTO RICO[122]

Year	School Age Population	Enrollment	%
1903	1,000,907	70,216	7.01%
1908	1,060,477	80,167	7.6%
1913	n/a	161,785	14.5%(est.)
1918	1,223,981	143,379	11.7%
1923	1,299,809	225,600	17.4%

[122] Columbia University, International Institute of Teachers College , *A Survey of Public Educational System of Porto Rico,* 151.

APPENDIX E

COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT[123]

Nation/Territory	Percentage of School Age Enrolled	Year
Puerto Rico	17.4%	1923
United States	17.88%	1920
Hawaii	15.5%	1920
Japan	14.9%	1920
Philippines	9.41%	1923

[123] Columbia University, International Institute of Teachers College , *A Survey of Public Educational System of Porto Rico,* 153-154.

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