

Island Chains: The American Imperial Education Web in the Early Twentieth Century

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirement of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(History and Educational Policy Studies)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2023

Date of final oral examination: April 5, 2023

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Acknowledgments

A project of this magnitude requires appreciation to innumerable people who have supported me along the way. Foremost, I have heartfelt appreciation for my advisor, Bill Reese, who provided me countless instances of encouragement, advice, feedback, writing edits, book suggestions, etc. He always made himself available in a variety of capacities while I worked through the classes, research, and writing while at the UW-Madison. I also want to thank many other faculty and staff members who made my time there productive and positive including the other members of my committee Adam Nelson, Walter Stern, and Matt Villeneuve. I greatly benefited from your knowledge and support. A special thanks to Michelle Morgan who has contributed from Springfield, Missouri over the last couple of years as well. Much of my financial support over the years came from the History Department, and I want to particularly acknowledge the staff for the graduate program, led by Leslie Abadie, who made my time as a TA, instructor, and PA for the department excellent professional experiences. I also greatly appreciate the faculty I was blessed to work with over the years – Cindy Cheng, Paige Glotzer, Bill Cronon, and Monica Kim – who taught me so much about teaching.

In the process of researching my dissertation, numerous entities helped me to piece together the sources about American imperial educators. In the fall of 2019, I was fortunate to be able to take a seven-week cross-country road trip split into two parts. The first three weeks took me to the east coast where I crashed on friends' couches while visiting the National Archives in Washington D.C. and the archives at Columbia University. The second part of my trip was a month to California where I visited the Bancroft Library at Berkeley and archives at the California State University at Dominguez Hills. In addition, I had taken a previous research trip to the University of Michigan as well. The staff at each of these repositories were gracious,

informative, and helpful as I scoured box after box of material that helped create this dissertation.

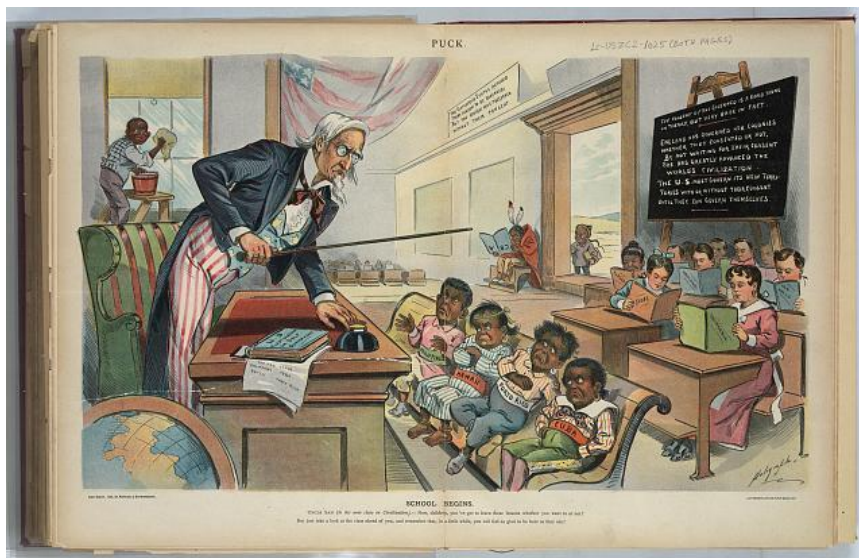
My time at the UW-Madison has been phenomenal and there is very little that I would change about my doctoral studies experience. I never in my life expected to earn my Ph.D. and have to thank Professors Craig Daigle, Anne Kornhauser, and Greg Downs who pushed and supported me during my Masters program at the City College of New York and saw potential in me that I did not even consider existing. I want to particularly thank my colleagues who have become close friends along the way. My completion, and joy in the process, would not have been possible without my fellow grad students who have been with me in the trenches. I have deep respect for your passion and intelligence and extreme appreciation for all of the study sessions, zoom check-ins, writing retreats, coffees, walks, terrace beers, dinners, games, brunches, and the myriad other ways we have hung in there together.

Finally, my time in the doctoral program was only possible through the love from family and friends who kept me grounded and content in my life beyond the campus. Moving to Madison changed my trajectory in more than just professional ways. The community of people surrounding me made the work less onerous and provided me perspective about the purpose and significance of research and teaching. Because of them, Wisconsin is not just a pit-stop on my way to future plans, but has become home. My friends and family in my other homes – Missouri and New York City – also provided immeasurable support from afar and inspiration to finish the degree. I want to particularly thank my mother and sisters who cheered me on and reminded me that my dad would have been so proud, too. And most importantly, my deepest love and appreciation to Christina who has never hesitated to say yes to my proposed adventures. “Without you where have I to fly?”

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Introduction

In 1899, the January 25th issue of *Puck* Magazine featured a political cartoon entitled "School Begins" which shows a stern Uncle Sam teaching a group of students in a one-room school.¹ The students in the room represent various peoples and localities within



"School Begins" by Louis Dalrymple in January 25th, 1899 *Puck Magazine*. The caption reads: "Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization) Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!"

the expanding American empire at the turn of the twentieth century. At the center of the cartoon in the front row of the classroom, the artist highlights the newly acquired island territories of the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. They are depicted as dark-skinned, unruly children who deserve the disciplinary attention of the teacher. The students along the periphery of the cartoon - who are outside the gaze of the educator - also represent subjects along various stages of incorporation into the territory and citizenship of the United States. Just inside the door, an American Indian student reads a book upside down in the corner of the classroom. A Chinese

¹ Louis Dalrymple, "School Begins," *Puck Magazine* (January 25, 1899). <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.28668/> (accessed March 3, 2023).

student looks in from the outside with books in his hand, clearly not allowed inside the building. To the side, a Black man washes the windows of the school, looking at the classroom activity but not able to participate. These students and the front row of island territories contrast with the desks of mostly white children who represent the perfect students in the empire. These representatives of full states (such as Texas and California) and territories (such as Alaska – the only visibly non-white student in this section) sit with perfect posture, studiously reading while their petulant classmates from the new territories receive the wrath of the teacher.

The cartoon by Louis Dalrymple is a metaphor about the tutelary rhetoric of American imperialism at the turn of the century as the borders of the United States expanded beyond North America.² Signs and chalkboards in the room provide a clear message about how England, the U.S. North after the Civil War, and now the American empire had the right to govern people without their consent “until they can govern themselves.” Dalrymple’s cartoon portrays a juncture which brought together older and newer territories and subjects of American empire under the forced tutelage of Uncle Sam. Through the nineteenth century, U.S. expansion across North America swept up Indigenous and Mexican people and lands. American commerce and industries reached across the Pacific to fill their labor needs with Chinese immigrants. And in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the U.S. began to expand overseas as well.³ In 1893,

² For a further analysis of this cartoon, see Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 36-37.

³ Rolando Coloma, “Empire an Analytical Category for Educational Research,” *Educational Theory*, Volume 63 no. 6 (2013): 645-646. Rolando Coloma connects territorial imperial expansion with internal colonialism of groups within the U.S. evidenced through practices such as “racial domination, oppression, and exploitation through territorial concentration, spatial segregation, external administration, the disparity between their legal citizenship and de facto second-class standing, their brutalization by the police, and the toxic effects of racism in their lives.” Other works similarly connect U.S. westward expansion, internal and external/overseas colonialism: David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997); Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Benjamin Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun: The Origins of American Imperial Education in the Philippines,” *American Post-Conflict Education Reform* (2009): 19-52; Natalie Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and*

decades of missionary and business contact in Hawaii led to a coup against the Hawaiian monarchy and resulted in American oligarchical control. Five years later, the U.S. legislature voted to officially acquire the islands as a colony. The war that broke out in 1898 against the dying Spanish empire also led to U.S. possession of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Cuba, filling out Uncle Sam's classroom by 1899.⁴ Education, both figuratively for citizenship and literally inside schoolhouses, became a central justification for the "benevolence" and exceptionalism of the overseas American empire.⁵

Dalrymple's cartoon aptly symbolizes American imperial rule at the dawn of the twentieth century.⁶ It is more than a symbol, however, because it succinctly portrays the colonial subjects who were included and excluded from actual American schools. "School Begins" prompts an investigation into how the practices of American imperial schooling in these various sites were connected to the larger "classroom" of the mainland and mainstream American society. While the students in the cartoon, whether American Indian, Hawaiian, or Texan, were

the New Liberal State, 1880-1930 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American School, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

⁴ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 6-7, 43. Despite these continuities between past forms of empire and the overseas expansion of the twentieth century, historians have pointed to 1898 as a break or transition from older forms of imperialism. For example, Matthew Frye Jacobson argues that this move to overseas empire in 1898 represented a new scale and bureaucratic orientation of American empire.

⁵ For more about the centrality of American schooling to the imperial project, see: Rolando Coloma, "Empire: An Analytical Category for Educational Research," 643; Benjamin Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun;" Stratton, *Education for Empire*.

⁶ Alfred W. McCoy, Francisco Scarano, and Courtney Johnson, "On the Tropic of Cancer: Transitions and Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State," in Alfred W. McCoy, Francisco Scarano eds., *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 4. Based on the definition of imperialism as a "form of global governance in which a dominant power exercises control over the destiny of others through direct territorial rule (e.g. colonies) or indirect influence (military, economic or cultural leverage) and colonialism as a form of direct territorial rule" from *Colonial Crucible*, I use the terms imperialism and colonialism interchangeably in this dissertation, since during this time period and in these locations, the U.S. was exhibiting direct and publicly recognized colonial rule of the Philippines and Puerto Rico as a type of imperialism.

in the same school, they had very different experiences. How, then, did schooling compare across the American empire? How were schooling practices in the newly-acquired territories and the mainland related to each other? This dissertation uses Puerto Rico and the Philippines as case studies to explore the historical context that shaped educational practices in each colony, including precedents from earlier forms of imperial schooling and new ideas developing in the crucible of overseas empire.⁷ It also explores how colonial sites shaped ideas and practices back on the mainland in the first two decades of the twentieth century, when public school engagement of citizens and subjects reached an all-time high.

This project explores the intersection of American empire and education in the early twentieth century during the Progressive Era.⁸ As the U.S. empire expanded, American society and education were also substantially transformed. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, millions of people moved from rural communities and villages to urban areas to work in the factories that fueled industrial capitalism. Dramatic increases in immigration and industrialization created fears of urban unrest and anxiety about the changing nature of American society. Leaders looked for ways to ease these transitions and assimilate an increasingly diverse populace. Though a wide-range of initiatives fell under the heading of Progressivism during this time, many people pursued reforms that emphasized social efficiency to accomplish their goals.

⁷ Although the U.S. also acquired Hawaii in the same year as Puerto Rico and the Philippines, according to a number of scholars, the annexation of Hawaii by the U.S. federal government did little to change the structure of schooling. For example see Michelle Morgan, “Americanizing the Teachers: Identity, Citizenship, and the Teaching Corps in Hawai’i, 1900-1941.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 149-150.

⁸ Though the term “Progressive Era” has a contested historiography, I will often refer to the time period as the “Progressive Era” following the traditional historical temporal framing describing the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For more information about the contestation around the term and meaning of “Progressive Era” see Daniel T. Rodgers, “In Search of Progressivism,” *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4, *The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects* (Dec., 1982), 113-132.

Middle-class professionals led a bureaucratic revolution in economics, government, and education. Schools became central to the “search for order” at the turn of the twentieth century.⁹

As the significance of education expanded to help smooth the social transition, school reformers popularized new ways to mold students for their place in the changing society. Key practices included centralizing control of local schools at the city, county, or state level, increasing the supervision and bureaucratic oversight of schools, using surveys and statistics to assess the quality of education, and pushing toward more “practical” subjects such as vocational education. Scholars have traditionally categorized these reforms such as centralization and vocational education under the headings of administrative progressives or efficiency progressives in the historiography about “progressive education.” Regarding other aspects of progressive education, some historians focus on the pedagogical, child-centered, or “humanitarian progressives” who championed practices like the kindergarten, playgrounds, and active-learning.¹⁰ However, David Gamson argues that all of these types of reforms were occurring at the municipal level in the U.S. and that school districts often did not “fit neatly into the standard analytic categories.”¹¹ Instead of being focused on only certain types of progressive reform,

⁹ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 57, 153, 166. The term “search for order” references Wiebe’s classic work about the Progressive Era in which he describes how “Americans looked to their schools as a bulwark of local defense, with increasing numbers insisting that public education infuse a new strength, a new cohesion, into the threatened community.” He argues that “The heart of progressivism was the ambition of the new middle class to fulfill its destiny through bureaucratic means.” Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 24. Similarly, Herbert Kliebard explains that school officials initiated “a veritable orgy of efficiency that was to dominate American thinking in the decades ahead.”

¹⁰ For examples of these divisions about “progressive education” see: A.J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*; and David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

¹¹ David P. Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban: Designing the Progressive School District, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 3-7. Thomas Fallace also avoids the dichotomous characterization of educational reformers during the early twentieth century “because the views of early progressive educators were inconsistent and messy,” Thomas D. Fallace, *Race and the Origins of Progressive Education, 1880-1929* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 8.

“urban school reformers scoured other cities and states for the most promising educational innovations” and, as my dissertation argues, they also looked at educational experiments overseas they could borrow.¹² As a result, many of these different innovative practices became widely adopted across the nation even though school systems in the U.S. were decentralized and locally controlled.

According to Gamson, one of the dilemmas Progressive Era reformers aimed to solve was, “how could American schools best educate a wide array of schoolchildren, especially when those students did not all learn at the same rate or in the same ways?”¹³ By the early twentieth century, educators in the overseas colonies had already grappled with these questions that rapid, mass school expansion created. American imperial schooling provided a model for mainland reformers, who successfully shifted the direction of American education by 1920.¹⁴ These new ideas and practices arose in concert with the increased significance of schooling during the period of massive economic and social transformations. They laid the groundwork for the modern system of American education. By the middle of the twentieth century, public schooling existed on a scale not known in the previous decades. Almost all children spent a large portion of their youth in schools that had adopted these educational reforms from the Progressive Era.¹⁵

¹² Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 4.

¹³ Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 69.

¹⁴ Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 54. Gamson suggests that “the narrow slice of time between, roughly, 1913 and 1918 (or, broadening it slightly, 1912 and 1919) constituted quite possibly the most productive period in twentieth-century educational thought, at least in terms of the publications, proposals, and plans that focused on the improvement of urban school systems.” This which coincides with the main time periods when ideas from the Philippines and Puerto Rico were being disseminated back to the U.S.

¹⁵ For data about the increase in school enrollment during the 1920s and 1930s see Claudia Goldin, “America’s Graduation from High School: The Evolution and Spread of Secondary Schooling in the Twentieth Century,” *The Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 2 (June 1998).

Scholars often treat the histories of American expansion and schooling separately, but they were mutually constitutive. Exploring the history of American schooling in Puerto Rico and the Philippines demonstrates how sites of colonial education were intimately connected. To uncover these linkages, one should ask: What bureaucratic, institutional, or pedagogical ideas and practices circulated in each colonial setting, and why did administrators find them appealing? Were there important similarities and differences between territories? How were the links between colonies and metropole forged? How did ideas and practices return to the mainland? That is, how did American imperial expansion influence mass public schooling during the Progressive Era? Key developments in the school systems in Puerto Rico and the Philippines shaped American education on the mainland during the early twentieth century.

By the early 1900s, durable “chains of empire” were forged between American empire and education. Scholar Julian Go defines “chains of empire” as “multifaceted links and connections that colonial rule necessarily entailed.” They include “translocal, crosscolonial chains that linked colonized populations, colonial administrators, branches of the imperial state, and various social groups on the home front.”¹⁶ Similarly, I use chains to discuss the flow of people and ideas that traveled between various colonial sites of education and back to the mainland U.S.¹⁷ Key policymakers, politicians, administrators, and educators forged these links and are the focus of this project.

¹⁶ Julian Go, “The Chains of Empire: State Building and ‘Political Education’ in Puerto Rico and the Philippines,” in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, eds. Julian Go, Anne L. Foster, Gilbert M. Joseph and Emily Rosenberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 186-188 and David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 131. Tyack and Hansot also describe “private networks” in which educators in congruent positions and with similar values and interests worked collectively in different parts of the country under common leadership.”

¹⁷ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossing: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991). Daniel Rodgers explores some of these networks and the flow of ideas during the Progressive Era but focused on the Atlantic (Europe) rather than the Pacific or the Caribbean (imperial networks).

Chains also represent a form of constriction, particularly in the realm of school funding and control of school systems. Scholars emphasize that American empire was contingent on local context and far from a monolithic imposition of metropole power. However, American imperial control in Puerto Rico and the Philippines still resulted in top-down systems of education that were heavily shaped by U.S. political, educational, and economic interests rather than the needs of the colonial population.¹⁸ School officials in the colonies had pressures from many directions, including funding and legal constraints from American politicians and resistance to curricular and cultural impositions from local groups. Insufficient funding and imperial rule consolidated power in the hands of American administrators in the colonies who favored efficiency-oriented practices. They used statistics, reports, and expansive bureaucratic paperwork as links in the chains that bound American imperial schooling in the colonies.

This centralized control of schooling differed from most educational trends on the mainland.¹⁹ Other than American Indian boarding schools and schools in the territory of Alaska, most schools in the U.S. were locally-funded and administered.²⁰ As a result, colonies became experimental sites. Nationally-renowned educators such as Ellwood Cubberley argued that

Steven Hahn, *A Nation without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910* (New York: Viking, 2016), 3. Hahn argues that this “Atlantic framework greatly underestimates the importance of the Pacific as an increasingly powerful field of force.”

¹⁸ Go along with other scholars explore more of these contingencies, fractures, and contestations of empire. For example see Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) and Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers and Contested Colonization in the Philippines*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

¹⁹ Tyack, *One Best System*, 28. Tyack explains, “Most urban educational systems of the nineteenth century began as loosely-structured village schools. This legacy of village patterns of control and behavior frustrated those who wished to standardize the schools and to adapt them to the demographic, economic, and organizational transformations taking place in the cities.”

²⁰ For more information about the centralization of American Indian education see Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 61-70. For information about Alaskan schools see Sarah Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865-1905” (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 110.

reforms such as age graded classrooms, promotion policies, and improved supervision could best be developed in large systems of schooling, where ideas could be tested on a grand scale.²¹ Due to the federal mandates, schools in the territories were large, centrally-managed, and fruitful sites for investigating new ideas and programs. The highly centralized nature of imperial schools enabled administrators to push Progressive Era reform ideas beyond anything tried on the mainland.²² Americans learned about these educational initiatives in the overseas colonies through the imperial schooling networks and praised, borrowed, and reshaped the practices for mainland schools.²³

How and why ideas flowed back from the colonies to the mainland is the central concern of my dissertation. Historians of Progressive Era education have not fully explored the imperial roots of many of the ideas and practices that educators adopted on a large scale during the early twentieth century. Yet many influential school reformers including Leonard Ayres and John Franklin Bobbitt initiated their careers in overseas imperial contexts. Scholars have not explored

²¹ Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 73 and Tyack, *One Best System*, 129. Tyack also asserts that administrative progressives believed that “to change the schools, however, one first needed to concentrate power at the top so that the experts could take over.”

²² Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865-1905,” vii. This argument contrasts with Manekin’s claim that U.S. educators “created an ad hoc and largely decentralized educational apparatus for the new populations under their control.” My contradicting argument is a result of researching the imperial systems of education beyond 1905, including the sprawling system of the Philippines in my analysis which she only briefly discusses, and defining centralization as more akin to state level rather than federally controlled systems of education.

²³ Paul Kramer, “Reflex Actions: Colonialism, Corruption and the Politics of Technocracy in the Early Twentieth Century United States,” in *Challenging U.S. Foreign Policy: America and the World in the Long Twentieth Century* eds. Bevan Sewell and Scott Lucas (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 29. Kramer cautions scholars about making claims about “unmediated transmission.” When referring to ideas and practices that were explored more fully in the colonial settings and then returned to the mainland U.S., I am not arguing that these practices were “reflex actions” that were directly copied, transmitted, or produced in their exact form from periphery back to metropole. Instead, these reforms were shaped, adapted, and transformed in each new context between the colony and mainland.

how their experiences abroad helped catapult them to the top of their fields.²⁴ They and their contemporaries, however, were well aware that their experiences in empire building launched their careers.

Educators on the mainland learned about the imperial schooling projects through meetings, publications, and exhibits. The papers of educators who reached the top levels of the bureaus of education in Puerto Rico – Samuel McCune Lindsay and Leonard P. Ayres – and the Philippines – David P. Barrows, Frank L. Crone, and Walter W. Marquardt – provide rich sources to explore these networks.²⁵ They help document how practices evolved in each imperial site and how they compared to other locations. How to secure funding and the need to focus on efficiency were common struggles in both Puerto Rico and the Philippines even though each situation differed. These educators often became nationally and internationally famous, and their archives also illuminate the networks and how ideas and practices flowed back to the mainland. Other important primary sources for the history of empire and education include an array of newspaper articles, educational periodicals, conference papers, speeches, and publications. For example, the yearly meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians and Other Dependent Peoples provides particularly rich evidence about the flow of ideas and people between imperial sites and the mainland.

²⁴ For examples of this silence around the imperial career of Ayres, see: Paul Davis Chapman, *Schools as Sorters: Lewis M. Terman, Applied Psychology, and the Intelligence Testing Movement, 1890-1930* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 44; Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 40; and Ellen Condcliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 82. Lagemann notes how his time in Puerto Rico influenced Ayres's ideas but does not delve into what that experience was.

²⁵ Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*, 6 and Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education," 7. In *Managers of Virtue*, Tyack and Hansot refer to this generation of school reformers as "Managers of Virtue." Similarly, Manekin refers to educators such as these as the "University Men" who shared the formative experiences of university training, academic social science, and the professionalization of educational bureaucracies."

While these publicized sources demonstrate the connections between educational sites, it is important to note that they provide a limited perspective that reformers wanted to convey to the public. As a result, this dissertation focuses on the rhetoric and dissemination of school ideas and practices not necessarily the reality of what was happening on the ground, which is more difficult to identify in the written records.²⁶ Journals and diaries from educators provide a glimpse into administrators' private and less-filtered thoughts, but how these ideas trickled down into teachers' classrooms and affected students is largely absent from this research. As a result, the official documents, publications, exhibits, and proclamations are considered evidence of reformers' perspectives and rhetoric rather than uncontested reality of what was happening in schools.

The histories of people on the margins such as colonial subjects, students, families, women, teachers, and people of color are crucial to understanding the impact of and reactions to imperial education. Scholars connected to those communities are better positioned to tell those histories and have already produced myriad excellent studies.²⁷ Instead, I chose to examine what William Novak describes as "power on the periphery" in the early twentieth century American state.²⁸ Thus, the key figures in this study are mostly white male American administrators, whose influence was undeniable during an era of reform shaped by imperial influences. Rolando

²⁶ Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890-1980* (New York: Longman Inc., 1984). Cuban argues that reform ideas often had limited impact on teacher practice.

²⁷ A few examples include: Kimberly Alidio, "Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation: Racial Discourse, U.S. Colonial Education and Filipino Ethnicity, 1901-1946" (PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2001); Rolando Coloma, "Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling Under United States Rule, 1900-1910" (PhD Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2004); Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*; Derek Taira, "Imua, Me Ka Hopo Ole – 'Forward, Without Fear': Native Hawaiians and American Schooling in Territorial Hawai'i, 1900-1941" (Dissertation, UW-Madison, 2016).

²⁸ William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 3 (2008), 776.

Coloma aptly argues how making empire a “relevant analytical category in educational research” enables scholars to “see new vistas, dynamics, and connections that can dispute long-standing views or supplement them to produce more complete pictures.”²⁹ Tracing the chains of empire and how people and ideas flowed between overseas colonies back to the mainland to influence educational practice creates a more complete history of American schooling in the early twentieth century.

The historiography of the relationship between colonies and metropole in the American empire has not been entirely neglected. Scholars recognize the flow of education ideas between Hawaii and Hampton Institute in Virginia and have well documented the nineteenth-century story of the connection between a colonial outpost and the American mainland. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the son of a white missionary family in New England, started a school for newly freed slaves in 1868 based on ideas about manual training and vocational education from Hawaii. Hampton Institute became a precursor and inspiration to various other institutions such as Tuskegee and Carlisle Indian School in the late nineteenth century.³⁰ Educators such as Armstrong and Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of Carlisle, used this form of schooling to retain a social and economic racial hierarchy in their attempt to “Americanize” Native American students. From the earliest days of school-system building in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, imperial officials looked to these mainland models for similar purposes in the newly acquired

²⁹ Coloma, “Empire: An Analytical Category for Educational Research,” 640.

³⁰ Kliebard, *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876-1946*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 22-25. While scholars have sometimes differentiated between the terms vocational, industrial, and manual training, Kliebard argues that the lines between the terms and the intent behind the use of them were often “hazy” and ambiguous in how educators used them. I will use these terms interchangeably because they were often used in such ways by officials in the Philippines to refer to education involving anything from learning basketweaving to machine tools to culinary arts. I also use the broader phrase “practical education” which encompasses agricultural education and physical education in the Philippines.

islands.³¹ However, historians have largely failed to note how vocational education in the Philippines differed and expanded upon the Hampton model.³² Scholars have also paid less attention to how American imperial expansion after 1898 influenced U.S. mass schooling development in the early twentieth century.

The historiography of the field has largely engaged with questions of American imposition on the colonies. The scholarship largely explores efforts to use schools to change or erase cultural practices in the colonies. For example, historians have linked U.S. schooling practices and English instruction with attempts at Americanization and pacification.³³ Some scholars focus on how educators imported American racial ideologies to the colonies and how colonial subjects contested and reshaped those ideas about race through education.³⁴ A number

³¹ For examples of the influence of nineteenth century vocational education in Hawaii and the connection to Hampton, Tuskegee, Carlisle, and the Philippines see: Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 31; Coloma, "Empire and Education," ii-iii; Elisabeth Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and U.S. Imperial Education, 1879-1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019); Fallace, *Race and the Origins of Progressive Education*, 44-46; Benjamin Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun;" Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education;" Glenn May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-1930," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 151-152.; Anne Paulet, "To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2 (May, 2007); Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire*; and Stratton, *Education for Empire*, 91.

³² May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines," 151-152. May is one scholar who does note the difference between models from the mainland being trialed in the colonies. He writes that "these policy initiatives sometimes went well beyond their U.S. models."

³³ Aida De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900-1930* (Barcelona: University of Puerto Rico Press, 1975); Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 33-49; Paulet, "To Change the World" Coloma, "Empire and Education," ii-iii.

³⁴ Alidio, "Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation," 68-69; Coloma, "Empire and Education;" Fallace, *Race and the Origins of Progressive Education*; Pablo Navarro-Rivera, "The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009). Outside the field of the history of education, many other scholars focus on the mutual constitution of racial ideology between colony and metropole. For example see: Kramer, *Blood of Government*; Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*; Lanny Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010); Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

of studies reject a monolithic story of imposition and investigate the contingencies and fractures of colonial schooling. These scholars focus on the agency of colonial subjects like Filipino students and Puerto Rican teachers and examine how they negotiated, resisted, or transformed the goals of the imperial projects.³⁵

These studies of power, agency, and culture are crucial to understanding the influence and limits of American imperialism in the early twentieth century. However, most studies of the impact of imperial schooling remain isolated within the borders of one colonial territory or focus on the identities of subjects who travel between colony and metropole. Understanding the full effects of imperialism on education requires broadening the scope to include multiple colonial sites and the U.S. mainland. A few scholars have investigated empire and education as a two-way street with reverberations back to the metropole. In *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, editors Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano question how colonial experimentation shaped American government and society by studying if and how “the U.S. state was formed or even transformed from these experiences gained at its colonial periphery.”³⁶ In their edited volume divided by topics such as police, military, law, and public health, various scholars explore the “invisible ‘capillaries of empire’” where ideas that officials experimented with in the colonies returned and shaped the aspects of the American state in “subtle yet profound ways.”³⁷ These claims are central to my dissertation, yet the editors of

³⁵ Alidio, “Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation;” Coloma, “Empire and Education;” Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*; Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire*.

³⁶ McCoy and Scarano, eds. *Colonial Crucible*, xiv. and Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Macmillan, 2009), 124. Immerwahr makes a similar argument that the colonies were used as experimental spaces or “as laboratories, spaces for bold experimentation where ideas could be tried with practically no resistance, oversight, or consequences” in the fields of medicine and architecture specifically.

³⁷ McCoy and Scarano, eds., *Colonial Crucible*, 3-4, 7.

Colonial Crucible argue that “softer aspects of colonial governance, such as education and prison reform, did not seem to make the same homeward migration.”³⁸

The contributions in the “Education” section of the volume support this view on the limited reciprocity in the field of schooling. In the introduction to the section about education in the colonies, historian Adam Nelson describes how a few scholars explore the way “education, broadly construed, became a two-way process of both teaching and learning in the American imperial state.”³⁹ Most scholarship in the section points to limited tangible connections between periphery and metropole.⁴⁰ However, Courtney Johnson’s article examines direct links between colony and mainland.⁴¹ By tracing the networks from Puerto Rico to the U.S., he explains how the discipline of social science benefited from U.S. imperialism in the early twentieth century. In short, social science and empire were mutually constitutive, reinforcing each other and furthering the expansion of both. Johnson’s work is one example of the multi-directionality of empire. This dissertation follows Johnson’s suggestion to trace transnational imperial networks flowing back and forth and explores the direct connections between colonial schooling in Puerto Rico and the Philippines and reform movements in the continental U.S.⁴² It documents the impact of

³⁸ McCoy and Scarano, eds., *Colonial Crucible*, 14.

³⁹ Adam Nelson, “Introduction,” to “Education” Section in *Colonial Crucible*, 131.

⁴⁰ See: Almicar Barreto, “Enlightened Tolerance or Cultural Capitulation? Contesting Notions of American Identity,” in *Colonial Crucible*; Del Moral, Negotiating Colonialism: “Race,” Class, and Education in Early-Twentieth-Century Puerto Rico, in *Colonial Crucible*; May, “The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-1930,” in *Colonial Crucible*; and Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico,” in *Colonial Crucible*.

⁴¹ Courtney Johnson, “Understanding the American Empire: Colonialism, Latin Americanism, and Professional Social Science, 1898-1920,” in *Colonial Crucible*, 181.

⁴² Johnson, “Understanding the American Empire,” 189. Other works that have examined these networks of American empire include: Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*; Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire*; and Meg Wesling, *Empire’s Proxy: American Literature and U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines* (New York: NYU Press, 2011).

American imperial experiments in the field of education and sustains some of the key arguments in *Colonial Crucible*. But it also revises the editors' conclusion that imperial educational experiments lacked influence in shaping U.S. society in the early twentieth century.

This dissertation is divided into three parts. The first section, "Funding Chains," focuses on the limited funding for school expansion in both Puerto Rico (Chapter 1) and the Philippines (Chapter 2). Despite repeated requests by administrators and pleas from Puerto Ricans and Filipinos for more financial assistance either from the U.S. federal government or American imperial officials, both systems faced significant financial constraints in their first two decades while the U.S. held the purse strings. This "material fragility" of empire, as historian Elisabeth Eittreim describes it, hampered the growth of education in the islands and stymied the stated goals of universal education.⁴³ Due to these financial constraints, school leaders emphasized bureaucratic and efficiency-oriented reforms to stretch their limited funds.

Part 2, "Chains of Ideas," explores how the school systems developed along these lines in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Statistics became the central tool of education assessment in Puerto Rico in the first decade (Chapter 3) while centralized bureaucracy and practical education were the primary schooling features in the Philippines (Chapters 4 and 5). The colonies provided a laboratory space for educators to test Progressive Era education ideas on a scale that was not possible in the mainland U.S. due to its decentralized public schools. These ideas then traveled back to the U.S. and shaped the development and adoption of key educational reform ideas that came to dominate public schooling by the end of the 1910s and beyond.

The final section, "Global Chains," (Chapter 6 and Conclusion) explores the impact of American imperial educational experiments around the world. These colonial networks extended

⁴³ Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 147.

beyond the U.S. Ideas, people, and practices flowed across the globe in the early twentieth century. Through the 1920s, many countries in Asia and South America looked to the systems in Puerto Rico and the Philippines for models. American administrators who began their careers in the colonies also traveled to countries such as Peru to help establish their education programs. The influence of American imperial education had a global reach and also contributed to the development of various organizations and institutions that later reformed educational structures around the world. This history still affects schooling in the U.S. and the world today.

Tracing these chains between colonial sites and mainland American education demonstrates that imperial expansion in the early twentieth century had a much more significant impact on the development of mass education in the United States than previously recognized. Far from being isolated and distant, each island territory was strongly linked and shaped educational ideas and practices on the mainland. Each colony also had unique contexts within the American empire that created the environment where particular educational ideas and practices could be tested and remodeled in their centralized systems of education.⁴⁴ Despite the control inherent in imperialism, the debates surrounding education in the territories demonstrate the “fragmented” and “hybrid” nature of empire. Imperialists did not always agree on purposes or policies and locals actively contested American rule and advocated education systems to meet their needs.⁴⁵ In Puerto Rico and the Philippines colonial school administrators felt pressures

⁴⁴ Despite the similarities in how Puerto Rico and the Philippines were used as experimental sites of education, it is also critical to recognize that each space and group of people interacting with American empire had different contexts and histories with U.S. empire. See: Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 36; Go, *The Provinciality of American Empire: ‘Liberal Exceptionalism’ and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898-1912*,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 1 (2007), 76-77; and Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago*.

⁴⁵ Paul Kramer, “Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905” *Radical History Review* (Winter 1999): 76-77. As historian Paul Kramer describes, rather than a monolithic imposition from above, colonial policies emerged from a plurality of voices including locals and imperialists with various and often contradictory agendas.

from American officials, specifically a lack of funding to expand schools, which channeled their efforts toward efficiency-based reforms. While few of these initiatives were brand-new or originated in the colonies, the federal control of large educational systems in Puerto Rico and the Philippines provided educators the space, populations, and bureaucratic tools to experiment with schooling practices without a firm foothold in the U.S. After these reforms returned, they circulated to other colonies and countries and thus helped transform public education both on the mainland and throughout the globe.

Part 1: Funding Chains

In 1904, attention from across the globe turned to St. Louis, Missouri as the United States hosted a World's Fair celebrating the centennial anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition. This months-long exhibition followed the grandeur and protocols of previous world's fairs by highlighting the scientific and cultural advances of the host country. That year, the United States had a new status on the world stage to display. The U.S. had recently joined its European counterparts as an overseas imperial power with the acquisition of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii in 1898. The St. Louis World's Fair provided Americans the chance to spotlight their overseas territorial rule and the "progress" they had made in the newly acquired territories. The Philippine Village – a sprawling landscape meant to mimic and display the work being accomplished in the jewel of the American imperial crown – caught the nation's and world's attention at the fair.¹ While the anthropological exhibits of the "wild tribes" of the Philippines were the most popular sites at the fair, educators tried to highlight the new school systems in the Philippines and Puerto Rico to demonstrate the benevolent policies of American imperial rule.²

However, U.S. schooling in the overseas territories also had a more complicated narrative than that of "progress." On June 30th at the Forty-Third Annual National Education Association (NEA) convention held in St. Louis during the fair, educators from across the country heard a different side to the story. Samuel McCune Lindsay, a professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and former Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico, warned that its school system was in crisis. Lindsay, who later became President of the American Academy of Political

¹ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

² For more information about the fair exhibit and its contested and often contradictory effects see Paul Kramer, "Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905," *Radical History Review* (Winter 1999): 75-114.

and Social Science and spent more than thirty years as a renowned Professor of Social Legislation at Columbia University, began his talk with high praise about the accomplishments in Puerto Rico.³ “Seven years is a short period,” he recognized, “but in that time we have established nearly twelve hundred schools, most of which are equipped with the best modern appliances for work, over fifty new buildings, some of them fine, large modern structures have been erected.” But as he expounded on the positive aspects, including the “Democratic ideal” of American schooling in Puerto Rico, he transitioned to the financial support of education on the island and painted a far gloomier picture. Lindsay explained that the insular and municipal treasuries were exhausted from spending over \$750,000 collectively in the past year. That amount represented “twenty-eight percent of all revenue raised for taxes,” he continued, yet “this sum is wholly inadequate to the needs of the situation.”⁴

Taxes only provided enough infrastructure and personnel to educate less than 20% of school age children in Puerto Rico. Lindsay lamented that “three hundred thousand children must go every year without any school training so long as these conditions prevail.” The former Commissioner did not believe the Puerto Rican people could be taxed further to expand schools on the island. Instead, he called on Americans to foot the bill for an educational system promoted as the cornerstone of their benevolent imperial policies. “If the people of the United States really desire to build up a new civilization in Porto Rico, to establish a new Democracy, they must stand ready to extend the necessary aid,” Lindsay extolled. The appropriations should come from Congress. It was the federal government’s duty to “vote millions of dollars and to respond to

³ Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 54.

⁴ Samuel McCune Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” Speech given at the National Education Association Forty-Third Annual Convention, St. Louis, Mo., June 27 - July 1, Box 190, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico – Manuscripts, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

every call for the proper support of enough public schools to give a seat to every Porto Rican child who is knocking for admission.”⁵

Lindsay regularly made this type of impassioned plea in his spoken and written communication to American audiences interested in the educational endeavors in Puerto Rico. Educators in the Philippines also lobbied for more financial stability to bring education to as many children as possible. However, the lack of resources to fully expand education both in Puerto Rico and the Philippines remained a serious problem beyond the early days of American imperial schooling on the islands. School officials in both sites faced American apathy along with political and economic conflicts that resulted in both systems being severely underfunded for decades. The calls for help were not always as forceful as Lindsay’s indictment of the U.S. Congress, and the proposed remedies for relief varied. Yet American, Puerto Rican, and Filipino educators regularly called upon the U.S. to live up to its financial obligations in its overseas empire. However, these school leaders met resistance from other American colonial officials and politicians to help realize their goal of reaching all Puerto Rican and Filipino students. This stifling political landscape in both territories not only shaped the reach but also the nature of American imperial schooling in Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

⁵ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 2.

Chapter 1: Financial Neglect – Puerto Rico, 1900-1920

Establishment of Schools in Puerto Rico

During the Spanish-American War in 1898, the U.S. invaded Puerto Rico and acquired the small island territory along with the Philippines and Guam at the end of the conflict. The U.S. military first governed Puerto Rico, but by virtue of the Foraker Act in 1900, the U.S. established civilian colonial structures. However, Puerto Ricans lacked control over their government and finances. While the bicameral legislature included an elected House of Representatives, the U.S. appointed the upper house and the governor of the island and had veto power over Puerto Rican's legislation. This government structure allowed American officials to shape the direction of schooling on the island through the appointed Commissioner of Education, the establishment of school laws, and power over the purse strings for the first decade and a half of American imperialism in Puerto Rico.

General John Eaton, a former U.S. Commissioner of Education, initiated the earliest form of an American school system on the island at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898.¹ The vast majority of the total and school-aged population of the island resided in rural areas.² The first American educators surveyed the Spanish organization of schools already established during centuries of imperial rule. One recurring theme from school leaders in both Puerto Rico and the Philippines was their belief that the Spanish schools were far too limited in reach and quality to lay a strong foundation for the burgeoning American system of education. At the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Indian in 1900, Ruth Shaffner Etnier, a teacher in Puerto

¹ Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 52.

² *Report of the Census on Porto Rico, 1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 44-45.

Rico, spoke about the challenges of establishing a more expansive structure of education in Puerto Rico. The goal of American schooling, she explained, differed from the Spanish since it aspired to reach as many children as possible. Etnier explained the challenge: “Our Government has undertaken to provide a school for every fifty children, but as yet they are far from doing that. There are enrolled 31,000 pupils; there are 360,000 of school age.” The issue was not just infrastructure and personnel shortages but also basic supplies such as textbooks. While Etnier had hope for the future with the possibility of an increase in appropriations, larger problems remained. She argued that “the schools now organized would have to be multiplied by ten in order to include the whole school population.” At this early point in American imperial schooling in Puerto Rico, the U.S. government was not focused on building new schools but relied on the “cities and townships to provide the schoolhouses.” Etnier referred to them as “common dwellings of the plainest sort” that were rented by the local governments rather than owned by the federal government for school purposes.³

These early challenges to school expansion continued as control in Puerto Rico shifted from military to civilian leadership. Martin G. Brumbaugh, president of Juniata College, was the first civil Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico tapped by President William McKinley in 1900. Brumbaugh later became Superintendent of Philadelphia Public Schools and eventually Governor of Pennsylvania in 1915.⁴ Initially, Brumbaugh brought his former experience as a county superintendent of schools to the colony. He attempted to balance the administration of the schools between local and federal control. The result was a centralized system of education that concentrated power in the office of the Commissioner of Education with some small decision-

³ Ruth Shaffner Etnier, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, 1900* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1901), 44-48.

⁴ Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 53-54.

making left to local boards of education.⁵ This attempt to navigate between decentralized local and imperial federal control created governing and financial issues for the first Commissioner.

During his fourteen-month tenure on the island, Brumbaugh's reports focused on expanding the system of education. He also consistently highlighted the precarious issue of funding in the territory. Drawing contrasts with the Spanish schools that largely educated the children of elites, Brumbaugh believed schooling should be more widespread and open to all children. He called for an increase in co-educational and mixed-race schooling in 1901.⁶ He also wrote about the challenges that came with creating schools for all children regardless of economic class. Brumbaugh explained that the growth of rural schools was due to the fact that a 'large new group is for the first time given an education. This group represents the poor people – the laborers – of Porto Rico.' While these students were the "most promising pupils," according to the Commissioner, they brought new issues into the schools because of their economic situation. "The children, coming from these homes of the poor, are not well clad and not well nourished," making the American colonial project of mass education more difficult.⁷

After a short time at his position, Brumbaugh believed that the expansion of schooling in Puerto Rico required more financial aid from the federal government. Most funding for education on the islands came from the insular government which received Puerto Rican custom duties "refunded" from the U.S. and property taxes gathered by local municipalities. American officials saw this as a way to make the colony "self-supporting."⁸ Brumbaugh came to believe

⁵ Sarah Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865-1905" (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 299-300.

⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 37-38.

⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901*, 65.

⁸ Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education," 305-306.

that this appropriation structure hampered the educational efforts on the island. “The [Puerto Rican] central government cannot continue to provide the necessary funds to meet the present phenomenal growth of education in Porto Rico,” he insisted. Instead, the U.S. needed to take its colonial responsibilities more seriously. “The United States will best serve people of Porto Rico and will most rapidly achieve the realization of its highest hopes for Porto Rico by making annual appropriation from the National Treasury of a sum of not less than \$300,000 per annum for ten years,” Brumbaugh explained.⁹ These funding necessities seemingly changed the Commissioner’s mind about federal control over schooling. Along with federal money, he advocated for the creation of an insular bureau of education that would oversee schooling in Puerto Rico and other territories.¹⁰ Brumbaugh believed “national supervision of insular education” would improve coordination and oversee funding from the federal coffers. His call for increased federalization of imperial education was a matter of “equity, justice, and humanity” and would allow Puerto Rico to have a “uniform, economic, and democratic school system.”¹¹

The press in the United States echoed the educators’ pleas for more funding. The *New York Evening Post* ran a story in 1902 highlighting Professor James Earl Russell’s visit to the islands. Russell, the Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, visited schools and spoke to teachers and community members during his tour. Russell praised Brumbaugh for expanding the system despite such challenges as a devastating hurricane and a financial depression that set back “educational interests” on the island. The dean highlighted the desire of Puerto Ricans for

⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901*, 12.

¹⁰ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 314-315. Manekin describes this as a change from Brumbaugh’s earlier position but argues that this idea of an insular bureau of education “faded rapidly and was never mentioned again by either Brumbaugh or Lindsay.” Yet, both educators continued to call for more federal funding if not control over schooling in Puerto Rico.

¹¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901*, 66.

education, while eighty percent of the population was still illiterate. Only 55,000 students regularly attended schools. Yet Russell was hopeful for the future of schooling in Puerto Rico. “A healthy sign of the times lies in the fact that every school is packed beyond capacity, each with a long waiting list.” The *Post* editorialized that “it may readily be seen from this statement how much rosier the situation would be were the Government able to make necessary appropriations for education.” According to Russell, however, the government of Puerto Rico already expended one-fourth of the total income to schooling and could not meet the demand of the islanders for education. He noted that “Dr. Brumbaugh appealed to Washington for assistance,” and Russell backed the call for federal support. “In my opinion an annual appropriation of \$300,000 during the next ten years would work a wonderful transformation,” he declared.¹²

As Brumbaugh finished his term as Commissioner and continued advocating for more federal support for schooling, the insular legislature was able to significantly increase appropriations. The education budget rose from \$330,050 in 1901 to \$565,147 in the 1902-03 school year when Samuel McCune Lindsay became the second Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico.¹³ Unfortunately, these increases, which represented nearly 25% of the entire insular budget, were not enough to adequately expand the schools. Even before Lindsay arrived in Puerto Rico, increasing funding topped his agenda. One news article quoted Lindsay, “The reason I am going to the new field immediately is because I have learned that there is an element in the insular Legislature which proposes to cut down the \$600,000 appropriation for 1200 new

¹² “Porto Rican Education. Progress Observed by Dean of Teachers College,” *New York Evening Post*, April 4, 1902, Box 192, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Newspaper Clippings, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

¹³ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education,” 307; Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 54.

schools in the various towns on the island. I shall endeavor to persuade the opponents of the bill to change their plans by trying to show them that the money is greatly needed.”¹⁴ This fight for funding framed his tenure in Puerto Rico and beyond.

Lindsay’s first report compared the educational gap in Puerto Rico to the established system in the United States. Only 19.2% of the school population and only 6.5% of the total population was enrolled in schools in Puerto Rico, in contrast to about 21% of the total population in the United States attending publicly supported schools.¹⁵ Lindsay explained how much of the responsibility for the expansion of schooling fell to local governments on the island. Municipalities were responsible to collect taxes for school purposes and set aside at least 15% for schools. The local governments could receive some grant money from the U.S. for building schools but first had to agree to furnish the grounds and pay half of the cost of construction.¹⁶ This program did allow poorer rural districts to pay their half of the cost in installments.¹⁷ Despite these programs and this small amount of federal support, most of the burden of school expansion fell on local governments in Puerto Rico. In addition to money needed for buildings, Lindsay noted that a financial shortfall limited the ability to purchase desks. “We could use

¹⁴ “Will Fight for Porto Rico Schools: Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, the New Commissioner of Education, to Hurry to the Island and Oppose Threatened Cut in the Appropriation,” Box 192 Folder: News Clippings, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

¹⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 11-12.

¹⁶ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education,” 309-310. According to Manekin, “This trust fund, while celebrated by some Americans as a generous gift, was actually the refund of general customs revenue collected prior to the establishment of free trade between Puerto Rico and the U.S. The trust fund was augmented in November 1900 by a \$200,000 infusion, authorized directly by President McKinley, to facilitate the planning and construction of new schools across the island.”

¹⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1902*, 14.

25,000 desks to good advantage next year. Unfortunately,” he lamented, “we shall be able to purchase, with the appropriation for that purpose, not over 6,000.”¹⁸

While Lindsay worked to expand the municipal taxbase for schooling, he also advocated specific ways the U.S. could increase its monetary contributions to education on the island. First, although Puerto Rico was not an incorporated state or territory in the U.S., he believed that Congress should extend the spirit of the Morrill Act to help fund and maintain mechanical and agricultural education there. Lindsay also believed that the U.S. had a moral and political responsibility to increase territorial funding. It should provide additional funds “to prevent the people of the United States from being chagrined and the people of Porto Rico being humiliated by finding that we have as a part of the population of the United States a section that has a million people where the percentage of illiteracy is three or four times as high as it should be.” In Lindsay’s opinion this embarrassment could be avoided by the “expenditure of a comparatively small sum of money.”¹⁹

Lindsay concluded his first report with a plea for more help from the federal government for education in Puerto Rico, a rallying cry he employed repeatedly for the next few years, even after his time as Commissioner ended. He tied the educational mission to the larger imperial project on the island. “The building of schoolhouses has been to them the most tangible and forceful guaranty of the good faith of our Government,” Lindsay reported. Puerto Ricans’ efforts to heavily tax themselves to build the schools demonstrated their desire for education. However, Lindsay warned, “if the United States does not encourage this spirit by cooperating with the people of Porto Rico in removing the curse of illiteracy the United States will eventually look

¹⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1902*, 16.

¹⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 18.

upon one of the greatest lost opportunities.” Federal funding for schools would turn this potential “lost opportunity” to “glory” for the United States.²⁰

In addition to the yearly reports from the Commissioners of Education, the Lake Mohonk conferences remained a forum for educators from Puerto Rico such as Ruth Etnier as well as outside observers to pressure the federal government for more financial aid. Clergy and missionaries who visited Puerto Rico often commented on the situation there. In 1902, C.J. Ryder complimented the work Lindsay had already accomplished in Puerto Rico but also reminded the audience that much more needed to be done. “We cannot forget, however, that there are about two hundred thousand children of school age and that the public schools provide for only about fifty thousand of them.”²¹ W.H. Lincoln echoed that sentiment saying, “At present, educational opportunities are entirely inadequate for their needs. Only a small number of the children, comparatively, are provided with educational facilities.”²² In 1903, Dr. Azel Ames expanded on this refrain. He praised the efforts underway but noted that local tax revenues were drastically reduced due to a recent hurricane and “changes in markets for their staples.” He agreed that Puerto Rico did “need the help of the United States Government in the matter of education.” Ames’ motivation was religious as well as educational: “For although great effort has given 50,000 children proper school facilities, when you have 310,000 left unprovided for,

²⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1903*, 38.

²¹ C.J. Ryder, D.D., “Porto Rico” *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian 1902* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1903), 155-156.

²² W.H. Lincoln, untitled speech, *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian 1902* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1903), 159-160.

time is too short to bring them all under the influences of education and the moral and religious influences by purely insular resources and efforts.”²³

While outsiders advocated for federal financial help, Lindsay also continued his crusade. He turned to his personal networks of acquaintances for various types of federal assistance for particular projects in Puerto Rico. In September of 1902, Lindsay corresponded with Governor William Hunt, who was then visiting Washington, D.C. “I have no doubt you are enjoying many splendid opportunities for discussing our Porto Rican problems with those in Washington who are in a position to help us,” Lindsay wrote. These “problems” that Lindsay referred to ranged from allowing more Puerto Rican students to attend Carlisle Indian school, to obtaining more military instructors to teach physical exercise at the Normal School in Puerto Rico, and to securing funding for a Carnegie library on the island. Lindsay also asked Governor Hunt to lobby Congress for legislation to expand federal support of agricultural schools in Puerto Rico through an extension of the Morrill Act, which provided \$25,000 a year to states and territories for agricultural education.²⁴ To sell this idea, Lindsay highlighted the utility of spending federal money for agricultural education. “We could not only train teachers for our agricultural schools, but it would also be of considerable service to the agricultural interests of this Island.” Because of this possibility, he suggested that “the Secretary of Agriculture would take a personal interest in the matter if the great need for some federal aid to education in Porto Rico were presented to him.”²⁵ In December 1903, Lindsay reached out to Senator Foraker for continued support for

²³ Azel Ames, “Conditions in Porto Rico” *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian 1903* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1904), 81.

²⁴ Samuel McCune Lindsay, Letter to Governor Hunt, September 20, 1902, Box 189, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Correspondence (1/02-9/04), Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

²⁵ Samuel McCune Lindsay, Letter to Governor Hunt, September 20, 1902, Box 189, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Correspondence (1/02-9/04), Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

legislation under the Morrill and Hatch Acts to expand agricultural and mechanical arts schools.²⁶ By 1908, the benefits of this funding for agricultural schools were finally extended to Puerto Rico.²⁷

This avenue of federal funding for higher education institutions was just a small part of the financial needs that Lindsay promoted for Puerto Rico. The Commissioner's 1903 report detailed the various sources of revenue streams that comprised the Puerto Rican insular treasury. The U.S. federal government allowed Puerto Rico to keep customs duties in its own treasury rather than turn them over to the federal government like other states and territories. In addition, excise taxes, property taxes, and franchise royalties added to the overall budget of the colony. These sources brought in over two and a half million dollars for Puerto Rico with the Bureau of Education receiving what Lindsay described as a "liberal" appropriation of \$577,585.47. Yet, according to Lindsay, that amount "by no means met the demand on the part of the people for school privileges."²⁸

Lindsay painted a dim picture in his report. In that year, educators requested about \$850,000 from the legislature to expand schools on the island to work toward the goal of schools for every child in the territory. They were only given just enough to maintain the current level of schools, however. Due to budget issues, some schools that had been opened at the beginning of the year had to be closed.²⁹ The Commissioner even sent circular letters to the legislature

²⁶ Samuel McCune Lindsay, Letter to Senator Joseph Foraker, December 2, 1903, Box 189, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Correspondence (1/02-9/04), Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

²⁷ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1909* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 274.

²⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 15.

²⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1903*, 15-16.

begging for money to keep existing schools open. He commended the Puerto Rican government explaining that the “insular legislature and the insular authorities respond to every demand the department makes for legislation or aid of any other kind in building up or strengthening the school system.”³⁰ But the emergency funding to keep schools open was not nearly enough to keep up with demand. The Commissioner continued to call on the U.S. federal government to intervene. “The problem of illiteracy and the educational needs of the island is one, however, with which the island itself may not hope to cope successfully if left unaided.” Lindsay praised Congress for allowing Puerto Rico to keep customs revenue for its treasury but argued that “further substantial aid should be extended.”³¹ According to the Commissioner, the U.S. was missing out on one of the best ways to win over the people of Puerto Rico by contributing to the building of schools on the island.³²

Lindsay’s report in 1904 increased the urgency of calls for more federal funding for Puerto Rico. The Commissioner argued that “the educational problems with which the government of Porto Rico must necessarily cope require the expenditure of money far beyond the resources of this country.” And, he added, “in my humble judgment the Government of the United States, from a sense of justice as well as from selfish regard for its own welfare in its future relations with the people of Porto Rico, should find a way consistently to aid and promote public education, at least until the time when there shall be a place in a common public school for every Porto Rican boy or girl of school age who is able to improve the opportunity to get an

³⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1903, 17.*

³¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1903, 17-18.*

³² *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1903, 20.*

elementary education.”³³ Lindsay did not hedge on who he believed should be responsible for the expansion of education on the island, insisting that “there is only one solution, and that is national aid from the Federal Treasury for the public schools of Porto Rico.” He continued: “Precedents or no precedents, traditions to the contrary notwithstanding, the Congress of the United States, and the people of the United States through their representatives in Congress, must find a way of supporting and maintaining an adequate public school system where local resources are so inadequate, but where they are being taxed more severely than we are accustomed to doing at home.”³⁴ Through these official reports, Lindsay consistently stressed the precarious financial position that the American education system faced in Puerto Rico. With conviction, he squarely placed the responsibility on the federal government to more adequately fund the element of American control they were trumpeting as a key to the imperial project in Puerto Rico.

In 1904, Lindsay gave his speech at the NEA conference during the World’s Fair in St. Louis and also spoke at the Mohonk conference. Lindsay’s speech at Mohonk criticized the severe underfunding of the American schools in Puerto Rico. The Commissioner highlighted some success in expanding schools from 500 to 1,200 and increasing the budget to \$700,000. He explained that Puerto Ricans were putting an extremely large percentage of their insular revenues toward education, a quarter of their insular and local taxes. “All that money comes from the people themselves, and they would vote twice that amount if the American majority in the upper house would allow them to do it,” Lindsay reported. He blamed U.S. officials rather than Puerto Ricans for the lack of educational expansion. However, Lindsay did not accuse the American

³³ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 5-6.

³⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1904*, 34.

colonial politicians in the legislature for being stingy. Instead, it was an issue of not enough money being available from the overall revenues.

Lindsay recounted a story that demonstrated the monetary struggle. “I had not been in the island more than a month when a bill was brought forward to increase the appropriation for educational purposes. The Governor and the heads of departments showed me that the finances would not stand it, and so I sent the bill back to the house.” The Puerto Rican politicians asked, “What kind of Commissioner of Education are you anyway, not to want more money for your department?” Lindsay replied that they could not vote to receive money that did not exist. The Puerto Rican legislators responded that “the Governor will find it if we just vote it. He has got a secret chest somewhere up there in the palace, and he will get the money.”³⁵

This account made a good story about the Puerto Rican’s desire for education and probably provided a laugh for Lindsay’s Mohonk audience about the idea of the Governor’s secret chest of money. Yet, Lindsay also used it as a segue to challenge his audience to consider how the federal government should respond to this budgetary crisis in its territory. He told the Mohonk crowd that only 70,000 of 370,000 school aged children had access to schools. “Now how long are we going to stand for a system of colonial government that will not give the opportunity of a common, elementary, primary school education to 300,000 children that are growing up to form the next generation of citizens?”³⁶ Lindsay used this question to directly plead for the federal government to step up to its responsibilities. Appealing to the religious sensibilities of his audience Lindsay exhorted, “The question is not how much these islands are going to be worth to us commercially, but the question is, how much we are willing to pay out of

³⁵ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 92.

³⁶ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 93.

our pockets for a missionary experiment that is worth-while doing.” Nearing the end of his time at the podium, Lindsay cut to the chase. “Now I know that means one thing, and I haven’t time to lead up to it in any graceful fashion, I have got to throw out the hint and sit down. That means one thing; it means Federal aid to education.”³⁷

As Lindsay concluded his speech, he provided a detailed plan for what congress should do to fulfill its promise. They should “vote a substantial sum, a sum that we could well afford, - ten or twenty millions of dollars, - as a loan to the island of Porto Rico, to be vested in a board of trustees, and the income of that loan to be used for the support of public schools.” He continued, “In that way you will furnish the capital necessary for the upbuilding of industry in that island, and you furnish the income to be used for the permanent educational prosperity of the people of that island.”³⁸ Lindsay admitted that his proposal was not going to be popular with Congress or the American people. He joked, “You try to talk to a Congressional Committee about it, and you find the ice getting pretty thick around the room no matter what the outside temperature.”

However, the Commissioner relentlessly connected the justifications of American imperial control in Puerto Rico to the full funding of the schools. He explained that “whether or not the American people are going to justify their experiment in colonial government in Porto Rico, depends upon their finding a way to give some Federal aid to education by bringing public opinion to bear upon the representatives of the people in Congress.”³⁹ The reception of the audience at Mohonk in 1904 was not recorded, but the Chairman responded, “Whatever we may think of the suggestion with which our friend has just closed his very interesting remarks, one

³⁷ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 94.

³⁸ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 94.

³⁹ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 94.

thing seems to be clear, that in Porto Rico, as well as elsewhere, everything comes down in the last resort to a financial problem.”⁴⁰ Lindsay had at minimum persuaded his audience of the dire budgetary issues hindering the full development of education in Puerto Rico.

Both Brumbaugh and Lindsay decried the funding chains that the U.S. imposed on Puerto Rico through lack of federal support for school expansion. According to historian Sarah Manekin, the two administrators were caught between the “fundamental” American ideal of decentralized locally-supported education and federally-controlled imperial schooling system. Brumbaugh and Lindsay both recognized the funding and taxation models created in the territory were insufficient to support the goal of universal education spread throughout the island, a major rhetorical justification for colonial control. Therefore, both Commissioners supported more federal expenditures. Yet, after the initial \$200,000 grant from McKinley for school construction, “the federal government provided no further assistance for Puerto Rican public schools and left the colony to struggle under a high tax burden that was ultimately inadequate for the enormity of the island's educational challenge,” Manekin argues.⁴¹ These financial constraints did not change after Lindsay’s tenure, but the response of American officials and the focus of the Department of Education did.

In 1905, the leadership changed at the Bureau of Education in Puerto Rico. Roland P. Falkner, another professor from the University of Pennsylvania, took over the post of Commissioner of Education. With Falkner, a statistician and economist, the calls for federal funding grew quieter. The contrast between Lindsay and Falkner was on full display at the 1905

⁴⁰ Lindsay, “Education in Porto Rico,” 94

⁴¹ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education,” 25, 317, 334.

Lake Mohonk Conference as both men spoke about the educational issues in Puerto Rico.⁴²

Lindsay was the first to deliver his speech titled “The Necessary Place of Education in our Porto Rican Policy.” He outlined financial concerns immediately. Though Lindsay believed the U.S. had been “generous” in terms of trade and in allowing Puerto Rico to keep their internal revenue for the islands’ needs, the island needed direct monetary support from the federal government.⁴³ The former Commissioner appealed to the interests of the United States and the goals of imperial control. First, the school system on the island was expected to train the future leaders in Puerto Rico. He questioned his audience, “If, then, the school has so large a task to perform antedating if not indeed conditioning the possibility of great progress in other departments of administration, is it not pertinent to ask ourselves continuously whether we are doing all we can to further public education of the sort most needed?” Also, the type of education the U.S. was promoting on the island such as vocational education, trade schools, and agricultural schooling was very costly and required more money to sustain.⁴⁴ Finally, the success of English instruction in schools was “alone of sufficient value economically to the people of Porto Rico in their present relations to the United States to justify the entire expenditure for public education.”⁴⁵

Lindsay concluded his speech with a final discussion of the specifics of the dollars and cents of his proposal. He proposed the U.S. Congress could easily match the Puerto Rican legislature dollar for dollar for education expenses. He explained, “The annual budget for education is now about \$700,000, and with the natural increase in taxable property this should

⁴² Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 54.

⁴³ Lindsay, “The Necessary Place of Education in our Porto Rican Policy,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 154.

⁴⁴ Lindsay, “The Necessary Place of Education in our Porto Rican Policy,” 156.

⁴⁵ Lindsay, “The Necessary Place of Education in our Porto Rican Policy,” 157.

become one million dollars at the same rate within ten years. A like sum voted by the Congress of the United States would not be a heavy burden on this country.” Lindsay appealed to the pride of the American people in making their new overseas imperial efforts a success. With these expenditures from the Federal Government the “needs of the school population of a million people can be met in a way that will not bring the blush of shame to any American who twenty-five or fifty years hence reviews the days of small beginnings in our Porto Rican policy.”⁴⁶

Lindsay’s speech had a positive reception from the President of the Mohonk Conference, Rev. Lyman Abbott. While he felt “great hesitancy about expressing any opinion on the questions here,” he put his “private conviction” on record. The “United States Government ought to see to it that the people of every territory unorganized as a state under the Federal Government, are provided with an adequate school system.” He also agreed that the idea of a dollar-for-dollar match for places such as Puerto Rico made sense “until their school system is thoroughly established.” Based on the applause recorded in the Lake Mohonk Conference minutes, the audience also supported his ideas.⁴⁷

The President of the Conference next introduced Roland P. Falkner, the current Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico. Falkner’s speech dove into the economics of education on the island but without Lindsay’s push for U.S. Federal government funding. He praised the insular legislature made up of Puerto Ricans and American officials which had “spared no sacrifice in behalf of education.” Falkner assured the audience that over time money for schools would increase as the economy developed. Economically efficient, the school system

⁴⁶ Lindsay, “The Necessary Place of Education in our Porto Rican Policy,” 157.

⁴⁷ Lyman Abbott, Untitled speech, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 158-159.

was spending “less than \$1.00 per capita of the total population of the island.”⁴⁸ This shift in focus on economic efficiency rather than expansion would shape the types of school practices pursued in the island in the coming years.

Working through some statistical gymnastics, Falkner adjusted the picture that Etnier and Lindsay had painted regarding the number of students excluded from schools due to inadequate funding. Because most children in Puerto Rico lived in rural areas, one room schoolhouses led by a single teacher in these areas could not be expected to provide extensive schooling. “Two or three years exhaust the possibilities of advance in such a school,” he explained. As a result, to say that 300,000 children were not in schools, as Etnier and Lindsay had done, was incorrect. According to Falkner, the total children of school age from 5 to 18 years of age should not be the basis of comparison. “It seems to me much better to compare school attendance with the effective school population, those who ought to be in school - here in the rural regions under discussion a period of three years in the child’s life instead of 13,” he claimed. Rural areas thus had about half of the needed schools.⁴⁹ As will be discussed in the next chapter, educators in the Philippines also used similar logic to adjust expectations for the expansion of education downward when necessary funds were not forthcoming.

Despite Falkner’s rosier numbers of school attendance in Puerto Rico, he admitted that the schools had not been sufficiently established everywhere on the island. “But unfortunately in the country there are many other districts where there is no school, where all the children are growing up in ignorance.” He regretted that “these districts represent 22 percent of the

⁴⁸ Roland P. Falkner, Untitled speech, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples*, 1905 (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 162.

⁴⁹ Falkner, Untitled speech, 162.

population of the island.” The town schools were in a better position, often offering a full eight years of school leading up to high school. However, basing his numbers on an average of only four years attendance, Falkner estimated that the U.S. was reaching 80 percent of students in the towns. “Everywhere the call is for more schools, and no more painful duty comes to the Commissioner of Education than the denial of these earnest appeals for more schools from all parts of the island.”⁵⁰ Yet Falkner fell short of calling on the federal government for more assistance as Lindsay had just done a few minutes before.

This tension between Falkner and Lindsay’s visions for the financial support of education in Puerto Rico manifested in different ways at the conference. Dr. Merrill Gates, a member of the business committee, believed that Falkner’s speech and influence had swayed the members tasked with writing the platform to tone down the rhetoric about federal funding for Puerto Rico. According to Gates, Falkner had “deemed it very much wiser, as did every other member of the committee, that, instead of singling out Porto Rico, we emphasize the duty of the Government to provide primary education for children in all its territories.” Gates continued, “When I say Dr. Falkner did not deem it wise to make such an utterance, you will understand our committee was very unanimous in the feeling that it was not wise to incorporate it in the report.”⁵¹ As a result of this influence, the platform was drastically altered between 1904 and 1905. The previous year’s platform contained a statement in support of federal appropriations for Puerto Rico: “we strongly urge the expenditure by our Government of whatever sums may be necessary to secure the

⁵⁰ Falkner, Untitled speech, 162.

⁵¹ Merrill E. Gates, Untitled speech, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 214.

advantages of education to all the children of the island.”⁵² The 1905 platform underscored the legislature’s responsibility to provide schools in all of its territories. It stated that “temporary assistance if needed should be given from the Federal treasury for this purpose in proportion to the efforts made to provide schools by the inhabitants of the territories, and by a method which shall stimulate and not discourage self-help.”⁵³ The implication of this broader statement about universal education in the territories was that the appeal for appropriations for the colonies became tied to hot-button issues of expanded federal power in education in the United States and watered-down direct appeals for funding to the specific territories like Puerto Rico.

However, Dr. Azel Ames, while speaking about schooling in the territory for years, still fully supported more federal money for the island. He petitioned the conference to do more than just discuss the issues. He insisted that, “I cannot refrain from the expression of my conviction that we weaken ourselves when we simply meet and consider, initiate, resolve and affirm and yet take none of that crystallizing action, which is known the world over, can only make those things vital and effective.”⁵⁴ He called for the conference to create a committee of educators to “specially memorialize Congress in favor of action in this behalf.” It established the committee and appointed members who had strongly supported federal funding for years: Lyman Abbott, M.G. Brumbaugh, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Merrill E. Gates, and Azel Ames. The members brought up the issues of the limited school systems in Puerto Rico and other territories but left the method for supplying more funds up to the Congress. Employing rhetoric that would become

⁵² *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, 1904* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1904), 6.

⁵³ *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 7.

⁵⁴ Azel Ames, Untitled speech “*Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 213-214.

more important in the next decade, the authors of the memorial made a plea for funding based on the potential future citizenship status of Puerto Ricans. At this point, the status of Puerto Rico in the American imperial scheme was ambiguous, reflected in the statement that “these people are, if not citizens of the United States, subjects of the United States.” According to the committee, either citizen or subject of the United States created obligations for the federal government “to equip them for self-government at the earliest practicable moment.” Moreover, “Popular education is the basis of popular government, and the United States ought to frame and carry out some systematic plan for laying the foundation of popular government, by popular education, in Porto Rico.”⁵⁵ Abbott reported that the committee had not had much success with their ramped-up efforts. Neither house in Congress took any action on providing federal support to education in the territories, and Abbott predicted that “probably no action could have been anticipated” due to undefined “pressure of other matters of immediate importance” on the Congress.⁵⁶

Falkner had quieted the demands for more federal funding coming from the office of the Commissioner of Education and began to focus on the efficiency of the system. But Lindsay was undeterred. Imperial control of territories required the U.S. government to provide full financial and not just rhetorical support of education. Lindsay believed it was a matter of pride for the United States. In a speech given at the University of Pennsylvania, Lindsay argued that, “The United States must find a way to aid by national appropriations the people of Porto Rico in their struggle to overthrow illiteracy or we shall be ashamed in time of our experiment at government

⁵⁵ “Report of Committee to Memorialize Congress in Favor of National Aid to Education in the Territories,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1906), 80-81.

⁵⁶ “Report of Committee to Memorialize Congress in Favor of National Aid to Education in the Territories,” 80-81.

in the West Indies.”⁵⁷ As Lindsay continued the fight in the United States, Falkner dealt with the tensions of politics and taxes that created dire education funding issues on the ground in Puerto Rico.

Funding on the Ground: Politics and Taxes

As Falkner took over the role of Commissioner, he focused on the finances in Puerto Rico rather than federal funding to increase appropriations for schools. In 1905, he pushed a bill to increase tax revenues for schools, although many education officials including Lindsay had praised the percentage of taxes that the Puerto Rican legislature had already designated for schools. Falkner’s bill, C.B. 9, introduced in the Executive Council of Puerto Rico in January 1905, proposed that the “municipalities may levy a property tax to be known as ‘school tax’ and not to exceed one-tenth of one percentum of the assessed value of all real and personal property within the respective municipalities,”⁵⁸ Friction between the American-led Executive Council and the Puerto Rican elected House of delegates came to the forefront with a bill introduced on the same day as Falkner’s. Representative Matias Gonzalez Garcia introduced H.B. 30 in the House of Delegates, a sweeping reform of the American schooling initiatives founded in the first few years of control. In this bill, Garcia proposed extending the school year to a uniform ten months, paying teachers’ salaries for twelve months, equalizing teachers’ salaries with the same

⁵⁷ “Americanization of Porto Rico. Dr. Lindsay of the Wharton School Delivers Interesting Lecture on Economic Conditions of our New Colony. More Schools Needed.” [unnamed and undated publication]. Box 193, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Newspaper Clippings, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

⁵⁸ “C.B. 9. In the Executive Council of Porto Rico, January 18, 1905, Box 190, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Legislative action related to education, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

qualifications, reducing the number of superintendents, and discontinuing schools of agriculture, among a host of things.⁵⁹

Falkner wrote a memorandum addressing each part of Garcia's bill. His main concern was money. He worried that "the effect of this bill is to considerably increase the cost of the school system in Porto Rico." Falkner gave two options for how to deal with the shortfall associated with the proposed Bill. "If the cost of the schools is considerably increased," he argued, "it is obvious that if the present school system is to be maintained, the appropriations by the Legislature must be larger." To Falkner, U.S. federal aid did not seem to be an option. If revenue could not be increased then the expansion of schooling would have to stop and "number of schools maintained must be decreased."⁶⁰ Falkner specified how those cuts would be made. "If this more costly system of schools were to be approved, we should be obliged with present appropriations to throw about 300 teachers or a little more than a quarter of those now teaching, out of employment, and close the doors of the schools of Porto Rico upon more than a quarter of the children who are now attending them."⁶¹

These dueling bills illustrated the political tensions inherent in the organization of the colony's legislature. While the lower House of Delegates was an elected body of Puerto Rican politicians, the upper house comprised an American majority of senators appointed by the President of the United States, many of whom also served as administrators under the Governor.

⁵⁹ H.B. 30 "In the House of Delegates of Porto Rico, January 18, 1905. Mr. Matias Gonzalez Garcia introduced the following bill: A Bill To amend the Codified School Law," Box 190, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Legislative action related to education, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

⁶⁰ "Memorandum on House Bill No. 30, Box 190, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Legislative action related to education, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

⁶¹ "Memorandum on House Bill No. 30, Box 190, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico - Legislative action related to education, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

Ultimately, any bill had to be passed by a majority in each house and signed by the Governor, which gave Americans strong veto power over any legislation proposed by the House of Delegates. This lack of Puerto Rican control and conflicts with American colonial officials regularly boiled over in the insular government until the Jones Act in 1917 allowed the direct election of both houses of the legislature.⁶²

Battles between the legislature and the Bureau of Education and between the elected House of Delegates and the Executive Council simmered during each legislative session. In 1907, Leonard P. Ayres - a young and ambitious American administrator who had climbed the colonial administrator ladder in Puerto Rico going from teacher to superintendent to chief of statistics in the Bureau of Education - wrote to his father about the conflicts. "During the last few days it looked very much as though we were going to lose heavily all along the line and I spent most of my time looking after details of legislation." Ayres also mentioned that he had learned how "these things are talked up" and had even restored his own salary to its previous level. After everything was finished with the legislative session, Ayres told his father that the "Department fared very well" but "no one can explain why, because it is the most unpopular department in the whole government."⁶³ The split nature of the legislature was on full display. Ayres added that "I should like to be able to send you a list of the laws unanimously passed by the house and killed by the American majority of the Council."⁶⁴

⁶² Truman R. Clark, "President Taft and the Puerto Rican Appropriation Crisis of 1909," *The Americas*, vol. 26, no. 2 (Oct. 1969): 152-170, 153-154.

⁶³ Leonard P. Ayres, Letter to his father, March 20, 1907 Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶⁴ Ayres, Letter to his father, March 20, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

These political divisions in the legislature contributed to limitations in the expansion of education in Puerto Rico. By 1907, the school system had not expanded in any substantial way. Speaking at the Lake Mohonk Conference that year, Ayres reported that only 70,000 children were enrolled in the public schools, which covered only half of the “immediate educational needs.” Without a specific plea, he noted that, “If we had money and teachers, we could at once enroll in our schools twice as many children as we have. If we had unlimited money and unlimited teachers, we could do more.”⁶⁵ Though the new Commissioner of Education, Edwin Grant Dexter, diplomatically described the appropriations from the legislature as “generous” in 1908, he advocated for more money in his report.⁶⁶ Improved funding for education was not in the cards, however. The next year, Dexter reported, “During the year difficult problems have arisen, due in no small part to the failure of the legislative assembly at its regular and special sessions to provide revenues for the support of the government during the coming fiscal year.”⁶⁷

During Dexter’s time as Commissioner, the school consistently lacked enough resources to enable all children to attend school. In response, educators relieved some of this burden by a practice known as double enrollment. Starting in the Puerto Rican rural schools, teachers had different groups of students in the morning and afternoon. This allowed greater efficiency in the system by using the same amount of staff and buildings for more students.⁶⁸ Mainly through the

⁶⁵ Ayres, “The School System in Porto Rico,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, 1907* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 172.

⁶⁶ *Annual Report of the Governor of Porto Rico for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1908* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 280.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1909* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 230.

⁶⁸ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1909*, 245.

use of this method, school enrollment had nearly doubled between 1907 and 1910, from 54,985 to 100,768 students.⁶⁹ Dexter described the necessity of double enrollment in his report from 1910. “But with less than one-half the pupils of school age in school, simply because there is no room for them, and no rapid change in this condition possible for some years from lack of funds, the problem before us is how to make each dollar go to furthest in giving a beginning of an education to as many children as possible,” he wrote.⁷⁰ Working with a static budget during his four years as Commissioner, Dexter credited double enrollment with increasing the amount of common “schools” (the morning session and afternoon session would count as 2 schools) by 233 with only a slight increase in teachers.⁷¹ Efficiency had become the primary focus in Puerto Rico due to the serious financial constraints on expanding education in the island. Future Commissioners of Education in Puerto Rico decried the use of double enrollment but it remained a feature of the school system in the territory through the early 1920s.⁷²

In his final report, Dexter touted the successes of his time as commissioner but still admitted they had “fallen far short of realizing” the goal of providing common school education for all children in Puerto Rico.⁷³ He spelled out what it would take to fulfill the vision set out at the beginning of American occupation in the territory. Dexter explained that “provision must be made for at least double the number of common-school teachers now on the pay roll; roughly,

⁶⁹ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 164.

⁷⁰ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1910*, 167.

⁷¹ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 202-203, 224.

⁷² *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 417.

⁷³ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1912* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 201.

800 to eliminate the half-time pupils, and 1,000 more to carry the schools to the remotest corners of the island.” Despite the acknowledgment that the U.S. had failed to translate its own rhetoric about universal education into practice, the Commissioner remained committed to the ideal. It remained, he said, “my belief that nothing short of opportunities for universal elementary education should be provided.”⁷⁴ However, the only relief coming from the United States federal government was for teacher training in agricultural subjects rather than monetary support for school expansion.⁷⁵

Edward M. Bainter, Dexter’s successor, described the dire situation he had inherited in his first report in 1913. Teachers taught an average of sixty four students and the per capita expenditure was only \$1.45 in Puerto Rico as compared with \$4.64 in the United States. The island made less money go further and “as a result of the demand on the part of parents to have their children educated and a lack of funds to extend the system to meet the demands made upon it, our schools are greatly overcrowded and our teachers overburdened.”⁷⁶ In order to accommodate all children of school age and have only forty pupils per teacher, the territory would need 9,766 teachers compared with their average of 1,972. According to Bainter, these statistics demonstrated the “enormity of the problem.”⁷⁷ Unlike his predecessors, however, the new Commissioner of Education received a major financial boost in the 1913-1914 budget. In order to increase the funding for school expansion, the Legislative Assembly passed new revenue laws, relieved local school boards of having to pay house rent for teachers, and made

⁷⁴ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1912*, 204.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1912*, 203.

⁷⁶ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1913* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 320.

⁷⁷ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1913*, 320.

“\$1,500,000 available to school boards under bond issues for the construction of buildings.” The budget for 1913-1914 increased more than a million dollars from the previous year. These major changes resulted in significant financial and building expansion across the island.⁷⁸

The next year’s report highlighted the results of this substantial increase. Nearly 2.5 million dollars had been expended by the insular and local governments in Puerto Rico in 1913-1914. As a result, the total enrollment had increased by 28 percent to 207,010 students. Yet, this was still only 50% of the total school population.⁷⁹ The Governor of Puerto Rico, Arthur Yager, lauded these gains but clarified that they were fleeting. Yager described it as “a cause of intense regret that the necessity for economy forces a considerable reduction in these expenditures for next year.”⁸⁰ The governor called the current year “one of financial difficulty and economic readjustment.” In addition to a general recession that had hit much of the globe, a new tariff law in the United States had lowered Puerto Rico’s revenues from customs duties on imports. Furthermore, the sugar industry had significantly declined on the island, causing further financial retrenchment.⁸¹ The next year brought even more difficulties for Puerto Rico as World War I broke out in Europe. Governor Yager explained that Puerto Rico had experienced both gains and losses in business as a result of the conflict, “but in the matter of the revenues of the government there have come heavy losses without any gain whatever.”⁸²

⁷⁸ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1913*, 55-56.

⁷⁹ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1914* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 42-43.

⁸⁰ *The Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1914*, 43.

⁸¹ *The Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1914*, 3.

⁸² *The Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1915* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 1.

This financial crisis seriously weakened the Bureau of Education. The massive infusion of money into the department from 1914 had to be significantly reduced. The Acting Commissioner of Education W.A. Barlow reported that “the legislature treated the department of education with all the liberality possible under the distressing circumstances, but in view of the fact that the appropriations for this department had been doubled at one stroke the year before, considerable reduction was absolutely necessary.” The legislature attempted to soften the blow to the school budget. After the cuts were made, the “appropriations for education for 1914-15 were still some three or four hundred thousand dollars more than they had been for any previous year, except the year 1913-14.”⁸³ As a result of the cutback and a new rule fixing the maximum number of pupils per teacher to eighty students, the enrollment dropped from 207,010 to 168,319. Educational officials doubled down by emphasizing the quality but not quantity of education, since expansion was out of the question. Despite the rhetoric of doing “real educational work” instead of making a “show of numbers,” educators continued to stress the large gap between the number of students in school and the total school age population.⁸⁴

In 1915, rural schools became a particular cause for concern. 331,233 children of school age lived in rural communities (79% of the total school-aged population), yet only 91,966 attended school. According to the Governor, “These figures give an idea of the magnitude of the task and of how little apparent progress has been made toward its accomplishment in spite of all our efforts, and yet the future of the island assuredly is in the keeping of the people who live in these rural districts.” “Heroic measures” had to be made to deal with this problem.⁸⁵ Governor

⁸³ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1915*, 4-5.

⁸⁴ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1915*, 4-5.

⁸⁵ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1915*, 5.

Yager bluntly stated this colonial dilemma: “It does not seem possible that the island can possibly achieve the education of its masses without outside help. The enormous population relative to area and wealth is too great.”⁸⁶ Meeting the desires of the people for universal education and living up to the rhetoric about the benevolent purposes of American imperial control required U.S. financial intervention.

The new Commissioner of Education, Paul G. Miller, stepped into this turmoil, which plagued the Department of Education into the 1920s. School appropriations fluctuated year to year but provided few opportunities for substantial school expansion. In his first report in 1916, Miller conceded that “instead of creating more schools the efforts of the department have been directed toward making better schools of those already in existence.”⁸⁷ The next year brought additional changes. The Jones Act replaced the former organic act that governed Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship and the American-led executive council was replaced with a fully elected legislature allowing them more control over their affairs.⁸⁸ The Puerto Rican legislature increased appropriations to education when possible since it now had full control over the budget. The budget for the Department of Education grew from \$2,106,389 in 1917 to almost \$3,000,000 by the 1919-1920 school year.⁸⁹ Yet these increases failed to produce the desired result of universal education. When increases were made to teachers and

⁸⁶ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1915*, 5.

⁸⁷ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1916* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 353.

⁸⁸ Juan Jose Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico* (Rio Piedra: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1949), 126.

⁸⁹ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1917* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), 6. *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 37.

school buildings, school officials concentrated on reducing the “evil of double enrollment,” which meant that students attained better schooling but without significantly increasing enrollment overall.⁹⁰

A series of conflicts and disasters also plagued the school system in the last part of the decade. In 1918, the U.S. involvement in WWI hampered the work of the Department of Education because of the “drain upon its personnel caused by the military service.”⁹¹ 1919 brought peace from the war but also a devastating earthquake, tidal wave, and the flu epidemic. The local and insular governments spent more than \$1,000,000 to deal with the damage from the earthquake and epidemic without federal aid.⁹² In addition to the financial difficulties, schools experienced several disruptions. The Governor described that the “anxiety of parents for the safety of their children caused many thousands of children to be kept out of the schools during the whole period of earthquakes and during the epidemic hundreds of schools were closed not only on account of the sickness of the children and their teachers but also because many school buildings were requisitioned for hospitals and kept out of service for several weeks.”⁹³ School officials labored to expand education in Puerto Rico despite these crises and resumed calls on the federal government to better support the local efforts.

In 1918, the Governor commended the Department of Education for “bravely struggling with its enormous task” of expanding education when possible during the war. However, Governor Yager explained that it had become “increasingly evident” that the people of Puerto

⁹⁰ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1917*, 5.

⁹¹ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1918* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 7-8.

⁹² *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1919*, 7.

⁹³ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1919*, 7.

Rico lacked sufficient resources to “cope with this immense problem of providing educational opportunities” for all children.⁹⁴ “Outside aid from some source will have to be secured before the school work can be organized upon such a scale as will be necessary to overcome within a reasonable period the enormous mass of illiteracy that has accumulated from the long past,”⁹⁵ Commissioner of Education Miller echoed Yager’s call stating that Puerto Rico “demands outside help either from Federal or private resources, or from both, to extend and support her school system.”⁹⁶

The next year, the Governor praised the new fully elected legislature’s increase of educational appropriations to nearly \$3,000,000 but used that initiative to plead with the U.S. federal government to enhance its financial support. “If Congress would supplement the local effort by a generous appropriation of Federal funds,” he believed, “rapid progress could be made.”⁹⁷ Miller zeroed in on a promising type of federal funding to benefit Puerto Rico the most. To extend the system beyond its current capacity, “Porto Rico’s only hope is to secure Federal Aid for the extension and support of public education.” Miller referenced the Smith Hughes Act of 1917 that provided federal money for vocational education in the United States. “Now that the subject of Federal aid to the States is receiving attention of Congress it is vitally important that the American citizens of Porto Rico should not be overlooked.”⁹⁸ Though money was needed for general expansion, Miller like his predecessors had advocated for more vocational and

⁹⁴ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1918*, 7-8.

⁹⁵ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1918*, 7-8.

⁹⁶ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1918*, 527.

⁹⁷ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1919*, 37.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1919*, 582.

agricultural education in Puerto Rico. He used this opportunity to lobby for a piece of federal funding for the newly-minted American citizens in Puerto Rico.

Expenditures for educational purposes and per capita cost, years ending June, 1899 to 1919.

Year.	Population of Porto Rico.	School population.	Enrollment.	Insular revenues.	Expenditures for education.	Expenditures for education by insular government.
1899.....	953,243	322,393	29,172	.....	\$288,098.00	\$288,098.00
1900.....	964,746	325,002	24,392	\$1,831,094	377,111.00	294,048.00
1901.....	976,841	328,194	38,000	2,074,894	530,662.00	418,125.00
1902.....	988,007	332,497	61,869	2,282,152	753,545.00	635,335.00
1903.....	1,000,907	336,228	70,216	2,305,935	803,879.00	643,906.00
1904.....	1,012,202	340,926	61,270	2,263,216	873,603.00	691,020.00
1905.....	1,023,717	345,805	63,413	2,520,272	878,868.00	674,510.00
1906.....	1,035,429	350,111	68,828	2,554,554	905,929.00	659,658.00
1907.....	1,047,699	354,721	72,052	3,538,241	918,516.00	660,657.00
1908.....	1,060,477	360,551	80,167	3,371,541	1,093,311.00	750,537.00
1909.....	.....	.....	105,125	3,180,111	1,427,451.00	989,965.00
1910.....	1,118,012	390,640	121,453	3,451,267	1,371,490.00	952,329.00
1911.....	.....	.....	145,525	3,986,746	1,394,380.00	990,689.00
1912.....	.....	.....	160,657	4,369,164	1,518,779.00	1,132,344.00
1913.....	.....	.....	161,785	4,382,544	1,814,829.00	1,235,485.00
1914.....	.....	.....	207,010	4,753,903	2,698,263.00	1,970,098.00
1915.....	1,200,000	419,282	168,319	3,727,910	2,070,496.00	1,477,816.00
1916.....	.....	.....	151,562	4,133,158	1,840,016.00	1,348,308.00
1917.....	1,223,981	427,666	152,063	4,957,684	2,106,389.00	1,518,322.00
1918.....	1,223,981	427,668	141,589	4,741,716	2,325,802.00	1,594,855.00
1919.....	1,263,474	434,381	160,794	5,456,409	2,467,703.29	1,788,271.79

Chart from *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War, 1919*, 540.

Conclusion

In two decades of American colonial rule in Puerto Rico, appropriations for education had steadily climbed largely due to Puerto Rican legislators' insistence. However, Miller found himself in the same position as Brumbaugh and Lindsay in the early years of American rule in the island: calling for federal financial assistance for schooling in the territory. The American system of education still did not live up to the promises from 1898. These educators recognized the contradiction between the rhetoric of benevolent assimilation that promised "uplift," "civilization," and "self-rule" for colonial subjects and a severely underfunded system of

education that barely met half of the needs demanded by students and parents.⁹⁹ Though the federal government had provided some funding for schools for American Indians and Native Alaskans, the colonial subjects of Puerto Rico received no financial support. Puerto Ricans fell into the “dependent peoples” category, lacking the ability to control their own schools or funding. Yet, as Manekin argues, the federal government considered them “‘domestic’ enough to be expected to pay for their own schools.”¹⁰⁰

This financial neglect had consequences beyond what was revealed in the statistics of teachers, buildings, and enrollment figures. The underfunded and overburdened system affected the quality and direction of education initiatives in Puerto Rico that American officials pursued in the early 20th century – a story that will be explored in Chapter 3. Meanwhile, these were not issues unique to the small island of Puerto Rico. Thousands of miles across the ocean, the American imperial chains and the financial neglect of schooling extended across a much larger archipelago of islands. American education in the Philippines also suffered early budget crises, as the history of imperial rule reveals.

⁹⁹ Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 97. Speaking about critiques from Puerto Rican newspapers and parents del Moral writes, “Attaining literacy and access to education was not an imperial imposition. Instead, it was demanded by parents and students. Sadly, the U.S. colonial Department of Education, many complained, nineteen years after the United States invaded and occupied the island, had failed to meet that demand. This was a critique of the capacity of the colonial government to fulfill the declared promises of ‘benevolent imperialism.’”

¹⁰⁰ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education,” 335.

Chapter 2: Funding and Freedom in the Philippines

As educators, officials, and politicians dealt with decades of underfunding in Puerto Rico during the first two decades of American imperial rule, a similar story unfolded in the Philippines. While the U.S. acquired the archipelago in the Pacific Ocean at the same time as Puerto Rico, Filipinos contested the direct transfer of power from Spain to the U.S. The Filipino fight for independence extended the Spanish-American War beyond 1898 with direct conflict occurring in its heaviest form until 1902. However, remnants of fighting, both military and political, lasted decades into American control of the islands. Filipinos' critiques of insufficient funding and practical curriculum in the school system also demonstrated this resistance. In addition to this contestation of U.S. imperialism, American educators dealt with other officials at cross-purposes and with differing visions of the purpose of schooling in the archipelago. While still holding hierarchical beliefs and attitudes regarding their role in the colonies, school administrators often sided with Filipinos rather than other imperialists to work toward their goal of universal education.

Development of the System

U.S. officials described education as an important aspect of imperial rule from the earliest stages of occupation in the Philippines. Following the brief Spanish-American War, President William McKinley placed education as a key priority for the new colonial power. McKinley related the mission in nearly religious terms after a providential late-night vision impelled him to “educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them.”¹ He also instructed

¹ General James Rusling, “Interview with President William McKinley,” *The Christian Advocate*, January 22, 1903.

Governor William Howard Taft, head of the commission examining the Philippines in 1900, to “promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities.” Taft’s commission noted that it was of “fundamental importance” that the “number of primary schools be greatly increased at the earliest possible moment.”² It called for secular education separated from the Spanish Catholic schools, increased salaries for teachers, more school buildings, agricultural and manual education, and a sufficient structure of supervision with a Commissioner of Education at the head of the organization.³ This first Philippine Commission report initiated many of the goals that educators emphasized throughout the first decades of American rule.

The geographic size and population of the Philippines provided a daunting task for creating a school system in the new colony in 1898. The Philippines is an archipelago with over 7,000 islands spread across nearly 116,000 square miles with over 7.5 million people in 1902. Three quarters of the population lived in villages of 1,000 inhabitants or less.⁴ The U.S. military set up the first schools on the islands. The War Department organized schools for soldiers to teach and reach out to the native population. Soldiers were the first teachers in the Philippines and education was a tool for pacification while the war raged on.⁵ In 1900, McKinley appointed the civilian Philippine Commission to legislate in the Philippines. Dominated by American

² *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 31.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 41.

⁴ Henry Gannett, “The Philippine Census,” *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* vol. 37, no. 5 (1905), 257-261.

⁵ For more information on the non-military activities of soldiers see John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973).

administrators appointed by Governor Taft, the Philippine Commission held complete executive and legislative power. The first Secretary of Public Instruction, Bernard Moses, oversaw the Bureau of Education along with other departments. Fred W. Atkinson, a Massachusetts high school principal who later had a two-decade career as the President of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, became the first civilian General Superintendent of the Bureau of Education in the Philippines in 1900.⁶ As one of his first acts, Atkinson called for a corps of 1,000 teachers from the U.S. to teach in the Philippines.⁷ While the actual number fell shy of the goal, a group known as the Thomasites (named after the boat on which they traveled to the islands) received wide acclaim and attention from journalists at the time. These men and women came from varied backgrounds and formed the original adventurous teaching corps in the Philippines.⁸ Atkinson's more mundane but important administrative tasks did not garner the same notice as the arrival of the Thomasites. In the first few years, however, he created ten school divisions on the islands each headed by superintendents. This administrative team soon increased to eighteen divisions, and he appointed deputy division superintendents to help with the supervisory duties.⁹

In a report prepared in 1901, Atkinson emphasized many of the same themes as the Taft Commission. He recommended building a modified American public school system that would “bring the means of instruction within the reach of the entire child population” to prepare

⁶ The title of General Superintendent was used at first but shortly changed to Director of Education.

⁷ A.J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 23.

⁸ For more information about the Thomasites see Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006) and Elisabeth Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and U.S. Imperial Education, 1879-1918* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2019).

⁹ Bernard Moses, *First Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction to the Philippine Commission for the Year Ending October 15, 1902* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1902), 5-6.

Filipinos for self-government.¹⁰ Atkinson proposed tiered support for the schools. Using the American model, he believed local taxation should support education before the general treasury with as much as 25% of local taxes going to schools. This high burden on municipalities would “maintain a proper public sentiment in schools.”¹¹ He concluded his report with a final appeal to extend education universally. “We should not be content until the entire archipelago is provided with an efficient system of public schools, organized as far as possible on the American plan and conducted in accordance with American methods.”¹²

At the same time that Atkinson laid this foundation for universal schooling in the Philippines in 1901, the City Superintendent of Schools in Manila, David P. Barrows noted the importance of funding to expand education in his region of the islands. Barrows, an anthropologist by training, later led the Bureau of Education in the Philippines and then had a lengthy career at the University of California-Berkeley, first as a professor of education and then as President of the university. “I believe,” he wrote, “that by such steps a truly economical expenditure of school funds, within the space of two months approximately 4500 children could be receiving enlightened American instruction.” Barrows further explained “that the foundations for a comprehensive public school system could be laid in Bataan [a province in the Philippines]” with more U.S. government funding.¹³ After serving as Chief of the Bureau of

¹⁰ Fred W. Atkinson, “The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1900-1901*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 1325.

¹¹ Fred W. Atkinson, “The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1900-1901*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 1326.

¹² Fred W. Atkinson, “The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1900-1901*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 1328.

¹³ David. P. Barrows, “Report of a Visit to the Provinces of Bataan and Pampanga by David P. Barrows, City Superintendent of Schools, Manila, PI, January 31, 1901,” Carton 6, Folder: Philippines Islands, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

Non-Christian Tribes, he was appointed Director of Education in 1903. Barrows consistently called for more financial support through his tenure in the Philippines.

Barrows and Universal Education

In his early years as leader of the Bureau of Education, Barrows wrapped discussion about the expansion of schooling in the Philippines in democratic rhetoric.¹⁴ After only one month in his new role, he argued that “[t]he 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.” According to Barrows, “primary education for all classes” in the Philippines was particularly important to distinguish American rule from Spanish imperialism, which had only helped develop elite Filipinos.¹⁵ This differentiation between limited Spanish elite schooling and American democratic universal education became a major rhetorical tool to justify American control of the islands in the first decade of rule.

Despite the stated desire to educate all children in the Philippines, Barrows admitted that they currently fell far short of that goal in his first report. “We have only begun to reach the population of the barrios [rural villages],” he noted. Americans had “succeeded in reestablishing schools...in the town centers where the Spaniards conducted them” but they had not “sufficiently

¹⁴ Glenn May, *Social Engineering*, 98. May refers to Barrows as “fundamentally a Jeffersonian” who believed in universal education to prepare for self-government and “break down class barriers.” While I agree with this assessment about Barrows’ support for universal education, his views about Filipinos’ capability of self-government and social mobility were more complex and tinged by the hierarchical and anthropological viewpoints prevalent in this time period.

¹⁵ David P. Barrows, “Report of the General Superintendent of Education,” in *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippines Commission, 1903. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 698.

extended this instruction to the hamlets and little settlements which lie back in the woods.” A shortage of Filipino teachers hampered the progress of expanding the system. “The greatest need of our schools at the present time,” Barrows believed, “is Filipino teachers with enough knowledge of English and school methods and enough missionary spirit to go out and labor in these barrios under the supervision of an American teacher.”¹⁶

In the next year’s report, James F. Smith, the second Secretary of Public Instruction, noted the dire funding situation that relied on municipalities and the insular government to foot the bill. He estimated that there were 1,200,000 school aged children on the islands. “The finances of the government will be strained to the breaking point to furnish at any one time supplies, school accommodations, and teachers for one-third that number,” he explained. Because of this, in order to accommodate as many students as possible, the primary course was reduced from 4 to 3 years of instruction.¹⁷ According to Smith, this shortened curriculum would equip Filipinos for the “modest demands of a modest life.”¹⁸ Barrows echoed the same need to reduce total years of schooling to meet budgetary constraints but again invoked democratic language about educating as many students as possible.¹⁹ Like officials in Puerto Rico had argued, not all students needed to attend school at the same time to achieve universal education. Barrows calculated that if 400,000 students attended primary schools, one-third of the estimated

¹⁶ David P. Barrows, “Report of the General Superintendent of Education,” in *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippines Commission, 1903. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 698.

¹⁷ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 821.

¹⁸ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 822.

¹⁹ David P. Barrows, “Report of the General Superintendent,” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 851.

total amount of school-aged children, schools would eliminate illiteracy and provide basic business arithmetic and geography for all Filipino youth within ten years.²⁰ Even with the bar lowered for his definition of “universal” education, only 263,974 students were currently enrolled in schools and 31 out of 660 municipalities still had no schools at all.²¹

In an address to the superintendents in the Philippines in 1904, Barrows highlighted the dire fiscal realities. To reach the lowered goal of 400,000 students in the schools, the Filipino teacher force would have to expand from 4,000 to 6,500 teachers. “Considering the condition of municipal school finances,” he asked, “where are the salaries to pay these teachers to come from?” An Internal Revenue Bill had recently passed that required five percent of insular treasury money be devoted to municipal school funds. This would increase the education budget by 350,000 pesos and allow the employment of 1,500 additional Filipino teachers. To fill the rest of the gap a “large class of ‘aspirantes,’ to be regarded as serving an apprenticeship leading up to appointment as municipal teacher” would work for little to no pay.²² Barrows and other school officials also relied heavily on the idea of “self-help” by the Filipino people to build more schools.²³ He told the superintendents it was “gratifying” to see “the readiness with which the barrios have put up schoolhouses by voluntary effort” and exhorted his fellow educators to

²⁰ David P. Barrows, “Report of the General Superintendent,” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 851-852.

²¹ David P. Barrows, “Report of the General Superintendent,” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 852-853.

²² David P. Barrows, “The Prospects for Education in the Philippines: An Address delivered at the opening of the Second Convention of School Superintendents for the Philippine Islands, Manila, December 12, 1904,” Carton 6, Folder: Philippines Islands – Education, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²³ This rhetoric about “self help” was also used widely regarding African American education in the South after Reconstruction. See James Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

encourage these efforts in their districts.²⁴ With the hope of more funds from the Internal Revenue Bill and the time, resources, and enthusiasm of Filipinos to build more schoolhouses and volunteer as teachers, Barrows believed that the system was well on its way to educating close to 400,000 students in American schools.²⁵ Barrows' faith that the existing appropriation structure could expand the system enough would not last long.

In his 1905 annual report, Secretary of Public Instruction Smith exposed the difficulties of increasing enrollment without sufficient funds. Between July 1904 and March 1905, enrollment increased from 251,475 to 514,631 students. The "enormous increase in enrollment taxed the bureau of education beyond its powers." Since it was impossible to meet that demand, "division superintendents were instructed to limit the enrollment, as far as possible, to one-third of the school population of their respective division."²⁶ Smith pleaded with the Philippine Commission to increase the Department of Education's appropriation. He requested at least \$1,750,000 (3,500,000 pesos) to increase the number of school divisions and create more schools in the rural areas where few schools were established to meet the demand of Filipinos.²⁷ In his report of that same year, Barrows proposed a new idea to decrease the strain on schools that

²⁴ David P. Barrows, "The Prospects for Education in the Philippines: An Address delivered at the opening of the Second Convention of School Superintendents for the Philippine Islands, Manila, December 12, 1904," Carton 6, Folder: Philippines Islands – Education, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²⁵ David P. Barrows, "The Prospects for Education in the Philippines: An Address delivered at the opening of the Second Convention of School Superintendents for the Philippine Islands, Manila, December 12, 1904," Carton 6, Folder: Philippines Islands – Education, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²⁶ James F. Smith, "Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction," in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905. Part 4* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 374.

²⁷ James F. Smith, "Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction," in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905. Part 4* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 374.

could not meet the current needs of students in the territory. Instead of having children begin school at the age of 6 or 7, Barrows proposed that they should start around 9 or 10.²⁸ Both Smith and Barrows proposed solutions that decreased schooling opportunities and accepted a more limited system of education.

In 1905, the administrators' calls for more funding to expand education in the Philippines received some welcome support in the U.S. At the Lake Mohonk conference, for example, James A. Leroy reiterated the goal of having 400,000 students attend three years of primary schooling. To accomplish this, educators still needed "more schools, more teachers, more material, and more money."²⁹ William A. Sutherland, who had left his post in the department of education in the Philippines to oversee Filipino students in the U.S., reiterated the potential and the limitations of the current system. There was enough demand to educate at least 800,000 students but not enough "teachers, school-houses, and supplies."³⁰ To increase the funding for school in the islands, Sutherland focused on American philanthropy rather than U.S. government or Philippine insular treasury appropriations. He appealed to the members of the Mohonk conference to form a committee raise \$5,000,000 for industrial education in the Philippines.³¹ Though there is no evidence this fund was created, the desire to teach Filipinos (and Puerto Ricans) to "learn to work with his hands" rather than teaching them to "work with his head" became a strident refrain

²⁸ David P. Barrows, "Report of the Superintendent of Education," in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905. Part 4* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 406.

²⁹ *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 99.

³⁰ William A. Sutherland, "The Filipino Students," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 111.

³¹ William A. Sutherland, "The Filipino Students," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 113.

in American imperial schooling in the overseas territories.³² In 1906, Barrows also discussed making schools more “practical.”³³ This marked a turn toward vocational education that had not been as prevalent in his previous reports but became a major focus in the Philippines.

Taxes and Politics

In 1905 and 1906, Barrows and others continued to push for the goal of “universal education” in the Philippines even as its definition had shifted. The initial funding issues that slowed the growth of the system ran up against American imperial political concerns that further hampered the development of education in the islands.

The division between municipal, provincial, and insular funding weakened the financial health of the Philippine system of education. When the structure was first set up, the insular treasury footed the bill for the central administrative office run by American educators such as Barrows. It paid the salaries for American supervisors and bought school supplies like textbooks for the schools. Municipal funds generated by local taxes paid for school buildings, furniture, materials, and Filipino teachers’ salaries.³⁴ All revenue sources came from the islands themselves and none came from the U.S. federal government. Though the central office and its budget to

³² William A. Sutherland, “The Filipino Students,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1905* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 113.

³³ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education” in *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 345.

³⁴ Coloma, “Education and Empire,” 33-34. For a comprehensive breakdown of the funding scheme in the Philippines see David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 846-850.

supervise the schools expanded throughout this time period, the local municipalities did not fare as well.³⁵

A new threat to school finances emerged in 1905. The land tax, which had been the backbone of municipal revenues, became an American imperial tool. At the end of 1905 and beginning of 1906, Taft, who was now the U.S. Secretary of War, and the Philippine Commission discussed the suspension of the land tax to help the American aligned Federalista Party candidates win elections.³⁶ The Secretary of Public Instruction, James F. Smith, made an impassioned plea in his report of 1905 to not suspend the land tax. 1,400,000 pesos of the whole sum of just under 1,800,000 pesos that municipalities spent on school in the previous year came from it. “It may be said without hesitation that on the land tax the whole system of primary instruction depends,” he argued. Smith recognized the political nature of the land tax debate and pled with the U.S. government to not hinder the development of schools in the territory by suspending this crucial source of educational revenue. “As the beneficent policy of the United States with reference to the people of these islands hinges in its last analysis on the education of the people, it would seem that everything which detrimentally affects the public schools or which is likely to injure or cripple them should be avoided as far as possible,” he wrote. While the

³⁵ Smith, “Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” 676; Schuster, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction 1907,” 159, David P. Barrows, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904, Part 3*. Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 816. As the system expanded, so did the budget for the Bureau of Education. Expenditures for American teachers’ salaries rose from 1,036,524.57 in 1902 to 1,783,401.28 by the end of 1907. Though the size of the teaching force never substantially altered in the first decade, the salaries of the Americans grew dramatically. A comparison of the years ending in 1904 and 1907 demonstrate this point. 812 American teachers cost the government \$1,020,500 in 1904. In 1907, however, 717 permanent and 109 temporary teachers (for a total of 826 teachers) drew \$1,783,401.28 of the education bureau’s funds. This salary increase corresponded to the changing roles of American educators in the Philippines Islands. Rather than acting as lead teachers or training teachers, increasingly more Americans were assuming supervisory and administrative roles in the system.

³⁶ Frank H. Golay, “The Search for Revenues,” in *Reappraising an Empire: New Perspectives on Philippine-American History*, ed. Peter W. Stanley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 245.

Philippine Commission had argued that it would replace the lost revenue, Smith feared it did not “go far enough, for the reason that such an arrangement stops the march of progress just where it is today and leaves public instruction without hope of any higher development than that which at present exists.” The land tax provided more potential for growth than revenue from the insular treasury because as the country prospered, tax revenue would increase. Smith believed it was “no idle dream for the bureau of education to expect that instead of a million, ten million pesos might be realized for schools in the near future from the land tax.”³⁷

Despite these arguments for the significance of the land tax for the expansion of education, the American-controlled Philippine Commission suspended it on February 19, 1906, for one year initially.³⁸ Again, the Secretary of Public Instruction reiterated the significance of the land tax for the schools. He lobbied for its return in a year since the “permanent [suspension] would result in practically crippling the municipal schools.”³⁹ In an address to superintendents, Smith explored in more detail the harm caused from the loss of revenue. “The school department,” he emphasized, “has not been struggling for all these years with the idea that the sum realized from the land tax was all that it could ever expect. No!” Instead, the officials operated under an expectation of how the land tax revenues would grow each year as economic development improved. The Philippine Commission’s promise to reimburse the immediate loss was unlikely to match the expected future gains.⁴⁰

³⁷ James F. Smith, “Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905. Part 4* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 376-378.

³⁸ May, *Social Engineering*, 109.

³⁹ James F. Smith, “Annual report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 323.

⁴⁰ “The Land Tax” *Philippine Teacher*, vol. II, March 1906, no. 10. Carton 17, Folder: Philippine Teacher, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

Smith's fears about funding came true. In 1906, American officials agreed to reimburse local governments for the lost income. However, in 1907, they filled less than half of that gap.⁴¹ Rather than regular expansion as in previous years, some localities had to "close down a number of barrio schools because of insufficient funds to maintain them in operation."⁴² School leaders halted primary school enrollment, despite the goal of universal primary education, because "municipalities throughout the islands [had] not sufficient funds to employ a larger number of teachers."⁴³ Gilbert N. Brink, who served as acting Director of Education when Barrows visited the U.S. in 1907, highlighted the dire consequences of the suspension of the land tax. "In no year of the bureau's history," he observed, "has the necessity for rigid economy in municipal school funds and careful management of the same been more imperative than during the past year." Not only had the Commission suspended the land tax but only about fifty percent of the lost revenue had been sent to municipalities from the insular treasury. As a result, "the local school funds were greatly depleted." If a municipality chose to allocate money for schools from their general fund, it was usually at the expense of "greatly needed public improvements" which had to be postponed.⁴⁴ In the local governments, the financial issues extended even to the ability of the Bureau of Education to retain the qualified Filipino teachers, who were paid poorly.⁴⁵ Finally, the Philippine Commission gave municipal governments the option whether to reinstate the land

⁴¹ Frank H. Golay, "The Search for Revenues," 245.

⁴² W. Morgan Shuster, "Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction," in *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 160.

⁴³ W. Morgan Shuster, "Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction," in *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 160.

⁴⁴ Gilbert N. Brink, "Annual Report of the Director of Education," in *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 196.

⁴⁵ Gilbert N. Brink, "Annual Report of the Director of Education," in *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 202.

tax, and most did.⁴⁶ The tension between American political, economic, and educational goals in the overseas colony nevertheless persisted well into the next decade of imperial rule.

Even as the municipalities struggled to keep primary schools open and pay their Filipino teachers, Barrows celebrated the victories for the central administrative office and its staff. According to Barrows, that their offices had moved to a new location with a “tasteful gold and black sign ‘Bureau of Education’ over the entrance suggests an importance of the educational work that would never be conveyed by mean or crowded quarters.”⁴⁷ He also recorded in his diary that W. Cameron Forbes had become the acting Secretary of Public Instruction while Smith vacationed in the U.S. Though Barrows “disliked his administration” and distrusted his judgment, Forbes had treated the central administrative office favorably with the budget.⁴⁸ He had supported \$3,000,000 in appropriations for the Bureau, which raised the salaries of the two assistant directors of education and Barrows’ salary. The budget also increased the number of division superintendents, clerical workers, and insular teachers.⁴⁹ While the local primary schools staffed by Filipino teachers struggled to stay afloat, the centralized bureaucracy thrived.

The next two years did not see much improvement in the general insular appropriations or the municipal revenues for schooling, though the political situation had changed significantly in the Philippines. The newly-elected native Philippine Assembly was inaugurated in 1907 and

⁴⁶ Frank H. Golay, “The Search for Revenues,” 246.

⁴⁷ 1906/Review of the Year, “Period - Jan. 1 06 to June 30.” Carton 2, Folder: 1906/Review of the Year, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁴⁸ Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 20. According to Angulo, Taft and Forbes (who would later become Governor-General) prioritized commerce and economics over education. This might be one reason for Barrows’ distrust of Forbes since Barrows fought against this trend repeatedly.

⁴⁹ 1906/Review of the Year, “Period - Jan. 1 06 to June 30.” Carton 2, Folder: 1906/Review of the Year, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

its effects on the landscape of American imperial policy were already evident in educational reports from 1908. The new Secretary of Public Instruction, William Morgan, identified tensions between politics and taxes that had simmered for years in the Philippines. Shuster argued that although the amount of 3,510,000 pesos that were appropriated for 1908 and the 3,300,000 pesos set aside for the upcoming year compared “favorably with previous appropriations,” the monies were still “falling far short of the needs of the situation.”⁵⁰ Shuster pointedly praised the “warmest support” of the Bureau of Education from the Philippine Assembly, which set aside 1,000,000 pesos in the Galbadon Act for new school buildings.⁵¹ Overall, however, the bureau experienced a net loss in appropriations. Shuster did not lay direct blame in his report for why the revenue fell short. But he did note the effects of the elimination of the land tax which had earlier restrained growth. He also mentioned two bills that would have provided 900,000 pesos for school building that were not passed that year. Shuster hammered home the importance of more robust funding to accomplish the imperial educational goals. Without more support “the fundamental educational work in the islands represented by the municipal schools must perforce remain in status quo.” Moreover, the “problem has largely resolved itself into the dollar mark, and all material progress in the near future must be measured by that rule.”⁵²

While Shuster’s report set out the broad strokes of the issues with educational funding in 1908, David P. Barrows’ correspondence and personal notes detail the behind-the-scenes

⁵⁰ W. Morgan Shuster, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 765.

⁵¹ W. Morgan Shuster, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 767.

⁵² W. Morgan Shuster, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 778.

conflicts in the fight to expand the school system in the Philippines. In February, as the Philippine Assembly was just getting underway in their first session, Barrows praised the legislative body for being “most friendly to the cause of schools” by passing the Galbadon Act and deliberating on another bill that would provide 400,000 pesos for the salaries of barrio teachers. These potential new revenue sources made Barrows extremely hopeful. “With this aid we will be able to carry out completely our idea of a general system of primary schools and actually put a school within the reach of practically every child in the Christian provinces,” he wrote to his colleague and former superior Benjamin Ide Wheeler, the president of the University of California. Since the start of his tenure as Director of Education, Barrows had endorsed universal education. It was now, perhaps, in reach thanks to the newly-elected Philippine Assembly.⁵³

A few months later, Barrows discussed divisions that started to appear between the Philippine Assembly and the American-led Philippine Commission. The Director of Education again wrote to Wheeler about how the Assembly tried to expand the budget for his department but had met resistance from the American imperial officials on the Philippine Commission, which had “cut down” the appropriation the Assembly had voted for “by some four hundred thousand pesos.”⁵⁴ In another letter written to his friend James LeRoy, Barrows provided various details about the Philippine Commission’s financial neglect. He repeated his belief that the Bureau of Education had been fairly dealt with in the insular appropriation of 3,300,000 pesos, which was “adequate” for the central bureaus’ needs. However, aid to local municipalities to

⁵³ David P. Barrows, Letter to President Wheeler, February 25, 1908, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - July 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁵⁴ David P. Barrows, Letter to President Wheeler, June 19, 1908, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - July 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

expand schooling was still a major problem. Barrows argued it was wrong for the Commission to strike down a bill to provide 500,000 pesos for local school funds. “This is where our system breaks down,” he concluded. Pointing to the original goals of President McKinley and Governor-General Taft when the U.S. first took control of the islands, Barrows explained that the U.S. “government set out here to establish a universal system of primary public schools.” But the Philippine Commission had “persistently neglected to provide anything approximating an adequate system of primary school finance.” Barrows complained that “I have encountered the greatest ignorance, indifference and inability to see the necessity of this matter on the part of the Commission throughout the time that I have had to go to it for funds.” He again praised the Philippine Assembly for the two bills they had passed, but he criticized the Commission for cutting the appropriation from 900,000 pesos to 75,000 pesos.⁵⁵

Barrows also complained to LeRoy about the American press in Manila. “The arrival of Mr. Martin Egan and his taking over of the *Times*, saw the beginning of a vigorous *Times* campaign against the Bureau of Education, its object apparently being to cut down appropriations for education in every quarter,” he wrote.⁵⁶ In his annual report from 1908, Barrows expanded on this issue. “It is unfortunate that the attitude of much of the American community and of the American press is outspokenly hostile to public instruction.” The main point of contention was the type of education provided to Filipinos. “The cry is the common one, that the public schools interfere with the availability of labor, train boys away from fields, and expend large sums of money which would better be devoted to industrial and commercial

⁵⁵ David P. Barrows, Letter to LeRoy, June 29th, 1908, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - July 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁵⁶ David P. Barrows, Letter to LeRoy, June 29th, 1908, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - July 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

development.” The Director of Education again attacked the American Press for their stance. “So far opposition to Philippine education is a reflection of that ungenerous and illiberal opposition to native enlightenment which too often takes possession of Americans domiciled in these islands.” Barrows saw the attitude of these Americans as an “attempt to deprive an aspiring and awakened people of general elementary schooling, to keep them ignorant and dependent, for the benefit of commercial interests, or to deny them liberty in the choice of their studies and professions,” a betrayal of his vision of the aims of the U.S. imperial project.⁵⁷ This foreshadowed additional conflicts over the type of education provided in the Philippines that often pitted various American imperial factions against each other, a topic that will be more fully explored in Chapter 4.

In that same 1908 report, Barrows included a long section entitled the “Progress Made in Public Instruction” that served as an indirect response to the criticisms of his department. Barrows explained to Leroy that he felt compelled to make a “reference book” about the policies that the Bureau of Education had sought to carry out for almost a decade.⁵⁸ In this history, he repeatedly emphasized how financial issues significantly hampered the work. Barrows blamed lower attendance on “lack of school revenue” and insisted that the goal of universal education could have already been accomplished “had there been sufficient funds provided by the government to carry it out.”⁵⁹ He estimated that they lacked 1,500 schools and 3,000 teachers to complete the system of primary education despite his department’s careful planning for a full

⁵⁷ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 805-806.

⁵⁸ David P. Barrows, Letter to LeRoy, September 14, 1908, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - July 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁵⁹ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 806.

expansion. They already had an extensive supervision structure and were training enough Filipinos to become teachers. Instead, Barrows argued, universal education “fails of realization solely for the reason that the government has not provided an adequate system of primary school finance.” He thought, “it is a question of more money and of little else, and the amount of money needed is not an unrealizable and unthinkable sum but an amount which the government of the islands is able to furnish and sustain.”⁶⁰ In his report, the director repeatedly returned to the theme of insufficient funding for schools, which he blamed squarely on the Philippine Commission for reducing the appropriations passed by the Philippine Assembly.⁶¹

Despite focusing on funding issues, Barrows remained optimistic about the quality, efficiency, and promise of the school work being done in the islands.⁶² As he told LeRoy in a letter after finishing his report, “The prospects for schools are encouraging; we are undoubtedly going to have a year of unprecedented achievement, but we do bitterly need more money for primary instruction.”⁶³ In November, Barrows wrote to Wheeler again stated that he planned to stay in the Philippines at least one more year. “We are having a phenomenally successful year in our school work, but nevertheless the system itself is at a crisis,” he explained. Barrows saw his

⁶⁰ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 807.

⁶¹ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 845.

⁶² David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 852.

⁶³ David P. Barrows, Letter to LeRoy, September 14, 1908, Box 1, Folder: September-December 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

final mission to help “carry thru a system of school finances which will put the work of public instruction upon an assured basis.”⁶⁴ Unfortunately, 1909 proved to be a difficult year.

As the legislative appropriation process unfolded in the first few months of 1909, Barrows expressed in his journal that he felt “disgusted” after learning that the conference committee between the Philippine Commission and Assembly would only give the Bureau of Education 3,137,000 pesos in the next budget.⁶⁵ In March, Barrows complained to Wheeler that Shuster’s sudden retirement from the position of Secretary of Public Instruction had left the department vulnerable with Newton W. Gilbert as the new leader, who was unfamiliar with the budget negotiations. Barrows reiterated that if the government allocated more revenue, they could establish a “complete system of primary instruction and make the entire rising generation literate.” He did not feel optimistic about support from the legislature, which had other priorities than education, and he complained about ongoing attacks from the American press. The Director of Education feared further budget woes. For the next half of year, Barrows wanted to help the department weather its financial difficulties. “In view of the current appropriation,” he explained, “we will have to retrench, and my policy will be to let this retrenchment fall upon intermediate and high schools, and not upon primary schools.” Barrows wanted to solidify the expansion of primary schools, the cornerstone of the Bureau of Education, and then he planned to retire from his service in the Philippines and return to the U.S.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ David P. Barrows, Letter to Wheeler, November 30th, 1908, Box 1, Folder: September-December 1908, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁶⁵ February 11th entry, 1909 Diary, Carton 3, Folder: 1909 Diary, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁶⁶ David P. Barrows, Letter to Wheeler, March 9th, 1909, Box 1, Folder: Jan. – June 1909, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley and May, *Social Engineering*, 111. May writes, “By the early spring of 1909, David Barrows had become very frustrated. He was aware that Governor-General Smith was about to retire and that Forbes, his constant opponent on the Commission,

A few days later, Barrows further outlined his retrenchment plan in a letter to Jesse D. Burks, a special investigator who had consulted with the members of the Philippine Commission in 1909. He thanked Burks for his lecture about the American school system in the Philippines. Barrows appreciated how much Burks wanted to interest people in the territory's educational work, since he recognized the problems connected to lower level of appropriations from the Philippines government. After he detailed the expected changes in revenue, the Director informed Burks that "[t]his means that we will have to cease a lot of intermediate school instruction which we are now giving, and I am working over our provinces one by one to see what schools we can lop off." Too many American imperial officials were indifferent to the goals of universal education in the islands. "I do not believe that at the present time there is any member of the Commission who really cares whether we educate all this people or the fifth part of them."⁶⁷ Again, Barrows blamed the Manila press for their consistent criticisms. Nonetheless, Barrows ended his letter to Burks with confidence that education in the Philippines would have a positive social and economic effect.⁶⁸

By May, the dust around the budget conflicts began to settle as Barrows turned his thoughts to his legacy as his career in the Philippines came to a close. His letters repeatedly underscored his belief that he had helped create a strong foundation for a system of education.

was going to succeed Smith. He realized that the new governor-general would continue to obstruct his policies and, furthermore, that Forbes would not allow Barrows to rise higher in the Philippine service."

⁶⁷ David. P. Barrows, Letter to Jesse D. Burks, March 12, 1909, Box 1, Folder: Jan. – June 1909, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley and Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 30. Angulo writes, "Education in this context was destined to fail. The lopsided policy decisions in favor of capital and to the detriment of the Filipino people had obvious consequences. It meant that there would be no stable sources of revenue to support domestic concerns, such as education."

⁶⁸ David. P. Barrows, Letter to Jesse D. Burks, March 12, 1909, Box 1, Folder: Jan. – June 1909, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

But he needed to move on since the Commission appeared more “indifferent to the success of public instruction.”⁶⁹ Barrows grew resigned to the situation, which was evident in his final report in 1909. He still extolled what the department had accomplished in less than a decade; the results compared favorably to the U.S. and other countries.⁷⁰ Barrows said little about the lower budget for the department but still advocated for a new local form of taxation to help build new schools.⁷¹ His work incomplete, Barrows left the Philippine Bureau of Education in 1909 and returned to California, where he resumed his career in higher education.⁷²

At the same time that Barrows was fighting on the insular level for more funding from the Philippine legislature, district superintendents and teachers experienced these budget shortfalls firsthand. In 1907 and 1908, a district superintendent (and future Director of Education) Frank L. Crone repeatedly turned to a theme of Filipino “self-help” to compensate for budgetary shortfalls. In a circular letter in 1907, Crone emphasized that “supervising teachers should insist wherever at all practicable that the people of the barrios furnish a school house free of all cost to the municipality in return for school privileges.” Due to the lack of funds to expand schooling across the islands, if the people of one municipality would not be able to cover the cost of a school building, the supervising teacher should just move on to another barrio more

⁶⁹ David P. Barrows, Letter to Casper Hodgson, May 14, 1909. See also Letter to Wheeler, May 14, 1909 and Letter to Doctor Washburn, May 18, 1909, Box 1, Folder: Jan. – June 1909, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁷⁰ David P. Barrows, “Ninth Annual Report of the Director of Education,” (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 5-8.

⁷¹ David P. Barrows, “Ninth Annual Report of the Director of Education,” (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 20.

⁷² Alidio, “Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation,” 82. Alidio summarizes Barrows’ experience with funding issues: “Barrows looked forward to returning to California because his schools began to lose significant support from the colonial administration. Because of poor funding and policy disagreements with the Philippine Commission, the socially progressive primary school failed both to expand across the islands and to spread English-language literacy among the populace. The municipal taxes and appropriations for primary schools were consistently inadequate from 1900 to 1909, thereby limiting the building of schools into the barrios.”

“willing” to do so. Crone believed that “preference should be shown those who are willing to help themselves.”⁷³ A year later, when issues again arose with municipalities about their inability to build enough school houses, Crone blamed supervising teachers unwilling to instill self-help in Filipinos. His staff should not expect or promise local residents aid from the insular government to build schools.⁷⁴ In another report in 1908, Crone again told teachers to not raise expectations too high. He asked educators to gather information about where new schools could be opened but they were not to “give the impression that schools are to be opened at once” because many localities lacked the necessary resources.⁷⁵

This push for Filipinos to provide their own educational resources bled over to the new policies related to industrial education. Just as Barrows described the more “practical” bend toward vocational schooling in his central reports, Crone echoed those ideas in his own directives to teachers. The letter emphasized “that industrial work is given a definite place in the course.” Though teachers may be unable to devote their full time to more practical work, Crone told them that “under no circumstances is industrial work to be neglected.” Industrial education, however, was often more expensive than academic education, since it required special equipment, tools, and materials. The division superintendent returned to the self-help theme to pay for vocational courses stating that “teachers and pupils should be able to gather their own materials where it cannot be readily secured by other means.” Crone preferred this method for

⁷³ Circular 44, July 1, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁷⁴ Circular 33, July 18, 1908, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁷⁵ Circular 57, October 26, 1908, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

supplying the necessary material, since students needed to “begin early to learn the industry from the beginning.”⁷⁶ While others advocated for more insular funding or suggested philanthropic aid, Crone placed the onus on the local Filipino communities for buildings and supplies.

As Crone pushed a local approach to school expansion, based on the U.S. model of local control of schools, other educators interested in Filipino schooling called for the U.S. federal government to assume more responsibility. At the 1907 Lake Mohonk Conference, William Sutherland’s speech, “Our Relations with the Philippines,” outlined his view of the U.S. government’s responsibility in the territory. Sutherland argued that the Philippine Islands had been wholly “self-supporting” from the beginning. “This government even declines to assist economically by removing the tariff barrier between the Philippine Islands and the United States,” he explained. According to Sutherland, the U.S. told Filipinos, “you must be ruled over by American officials and pay them good fat salaries, out of the fruits of your by-us-depressed industries. You must accept our governing and must also pay for it with money we keep you from making.” Sutherland insisted on the U.S.’s imperial duty to its colony. The Philippines needed direct federal financial intervention to make up for the financial limitations of the insular treasury. As Barrows repeatedly detailed in his reports, Sutherland believed only the U.S. federal government had the necessary resources to achieve universal education in the islands.⁷⁷

In the first decade of American imperial control in the Philippines, many colonial officials and educators decried the financial neglect of the establishment of the system of education. These men proposed various methods to deal with the budget shortfalls that plagued

⁷⁶ Circular 63, August 8, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁷⁷ William A. Sutherland, “Our Relations with the Philippines,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, 1907* (Lake Mohonk, 1907), 105-106.

the schools. Barrows often tried to persuade American Commissioners to appropriate a larger percentage of the insular treasury to his department. As a division superintendent on the ground in the provinces, Crone urged Filipinos to donate their time, money, and materials to build their own schools. Educators like Sutherland advocated for the federal government to take a more active financial role in the territory, which was similar to Lindsay's argument for Puerto Rico. As the American school system began its second decade in the Philippines, the appeals for funding persisted but took on different perspectives connected to the fight for Filipino Independence and amid emerging global crises.

Appeals for Funding: Filipino Independence

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the rhetoric about funding education in the Philippines often vaguely addressed Filipino movement for self-government. Barrows' focus on literacy and primary education foresaw a future where Filipinos would exercise the right to vote. "If we are to look forward to the time when the Filipino people are to be, at least in a large part, self-governing, certainly the obligation exists to supply the best possible training to that end," Barrows wrote in 1904. He urged schools to place "special emphasis" on classes about government, economy, and civic duties.⁷⁸ Barrows' repeated push for more funding related to this future self-rule but stopped short of calling for full Philippine Independence. Historian Paul Kramer describes this type of rhetoric as "calibrated colonialism" which would create "credible, if illusory, markers in time" for Filipinos to meet to enjoy self-rule. Kramer argues that calibrated colonialism "could succeed only as long as freedom could be both reliably promised

⁷⁸ David P. Barrows, "Report of the General Superintendent," in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 869.

and endlessly deferred.”⁷⁹ For American officials such as Barrows, limited educational opportunities became both a motivation and a hindrance to realize Filipino independence from the U.S.

As American education in the Philippines entered its second decade, the language around self-government and funding became more pronounced. While Americans were careful to describe a distant and ambiguous “self-government,” Filipino leaders pushed for a full vision of Filipino nationalism and independence through a strong educational system. Maximo A. Kalaw delivered a speech at the 1911 Mohonk Conference titled “The Filipino Youth and the Independence of the Philippines.” Kalaw was a student at Georgetown University and the Secretary to Manuel L. Quezon, a resident commissioner in the U.S. Congress who lobbied for more Philippine autonomy. Kalaw’s speech described an expansive vision for schooling in the Philippines, one that would challenge U.S. imperial rule. “Education brings, above all things, a stronger union among a people, a great consciousness of kind - a more perfect nationalism. And nationalism always manifests itself in a vigorous protest against foreign yoke,” he boldly explained. “It is impossible to educate a people and at the same time keep them down. It is out of the question to open the eyes of a people to the swelling movement of democracy and republicanism and at the same time expect them to prefer an alien government to an independent government of their own.”⁸⁰ In Kalaw’s view, a robust system of education would inevitably result in more agitation toward self-government and independence.

⁷⁹ Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 191.

⁸⁰ *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1911* (Lake Mohonk, 1911), 161.

Various speakers at the conference responded negatively to Kalaw's speech, insisting that the Philippines had had a representative government since 1907, following the first Philippine Assembly elections. "It has been said that the Philippines government is a representative one. The plain fact is that although the Filipino people have a voice in the Philippine Assembly, this body cannot do anything against the will of the Commission and the Executive which are appointees of the President of the United States," Kalaw responded. This power divide was most evident in appropriations. "The Assembly," he noted, "has never been able to make any change in the budget. Any proposed alteration by the lower house is opposed by the Philippine Commission, so the old budget has to be enforced again."⁸¹ After all, the American-led Philippine Commission repeatedly hindered efforts to expand funding for the Bureau of Education into the 1910s.

As U.S. educators held their yearly conferences to discuss the progress of schooling in the Philippines, the development of the system and Filipino independence became negatively linked. In 1913, Paul Monroe, a renowned expert from Columbia, Teachers College, reported on the conditions in the Philippines after he had conducted a school survey. He spoke positively about the industrial work that was being accomplished but acknowledged that still only about fifty percent of the school aged population attended school.⁸² As a result, Monroe concluded that it would take at least forty-five years of schooling to fully prepare the Filipinos for independence

⁸¹ *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1911* (Lake Mohonk, 1911), 191.

⁸² Paul Monroe, "What the Philippine School System is Doing for Philippine Freedom," *Report of the Thirty-First Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1913* (Lake Mohonk, 1913), 99-100.

through the schools.⁸³ While Monroe did not explicitly blame the financially hampered educational system for such a distant goal for independence, W.F. Oldham, a Missionary Bishop for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Philippines was more direct. In his speech, “The Profits and Perils of Philippines Autonomy – At This Time,” Oldham described how American schools had existed for “twelve or thirteen years” and “at no time has there been provided facilities for the schooling of more than one-third of the children of school-going age. In a population of from six to seven millions there have been but 600,000 children, at the utmost, in the schools at any one time.” According to Oldham, the major problem with granting independence to the Philippines was the inability of schooling to reach the “masses” in the rural areas.⁸⁴ While Oldham supported the extension of the school system, he offered no concrete plan to increase funding.

Monroe and Oldham used the financial neglect of education to argue against independence. They were occasionally countered by voices of Filipinos or other allies who expounded on the contradictions of American imperial rule as Kalaw had argued a few years before. In 1913, the lone voice of dissent belonged to Dr. John R. McDill, a surgeon and Professor of Surgery at the University of the Philippines from 1899-1912. While he was not present at the conference that year, his address titled, “Injustice of American Opposition to Philippine Independence” was read to the audience at the conference. He succinctly summarized the hypocrisy of the policy of American benevolent assimilation that was the cornerstone of

⁸³ Paul Monroe, “What the Philippine School System is Doing for Philippine Freedom,” *Report of the Thirty-First Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1913* (Lake Mohonk, 1913), 102-103.

⁸⁴ W.F. Oldham, “The Profits and Peril of Philippine Autonomy - At This Time,” *Report of the Thirty-First Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1913* (Lake Mohonk, 1913), 127.

imperialist rhetoric since 1898. “We hear a lot of our unbounded beneficence. We have given them the best we have, but it was the least we could do for them, having paid for our philanthropies out of their pockets,” he wrote.⁸⁵ McDill’s remarks highlighted the duplicity of trumpeting the underfunded American educational system while also using the lack of schooling as a factor to argue against independence for the colony. The status of Filipino self-rule remained frozen in the limbo of calibrated colonialism for many more years.

Financial Successes and Failures: 1910-1920

As American and Filipino educators, missionaries, and politicians discussed the expansion of education in the United States, the school officials in the Philippines continued to struggle with the Philippine Assembly and Philippine Commission to obtain the needed appropriations to realize their vision of universal education. Frank R. White became the next Director of Education in the Philippines after Barrows’ retirement. White remained committed to the goal of making “the largest possible number of the youth of the country literate in a common language” but also began to point the department toward a larger emphasis on industrial education – a shift that will be explored in a future chapter.⁸⁶ Funding persisted as a perennial concern for White and the directors that followed him.⁸⁷ In 1912, White reported to the U.S.

⁸⁵ John R. McDill, “Injustice of American Opposition to Philippine Independence,” *Report of the Thirty-First Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1913* (Lake Mohonk, 1913), 138.

⁸⁶ “Education in the Philippine Islands [An abridgment of the annual report for 1909-1910 of Frank R. White, Director of Education for the Philippine Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1911, vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 440.

⁸⁷ Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 28. Angulo questions White’s commitment to universal education as the priorities under Governor Forbes shifted toward commercial interests rather than domestic projects like schooling. He states that “White (and Forbes) abandoned the goal of universal education. With this no longer a goal or even a priority, White could state without controversy that the ‘number of teachers employed must necessarily be diminished.’ He could also report on declining student numbers without penalty.”

Commissioner of Education that one province in the Philippines had a waiting list of 4,000 students desiring to enroll in the schools.⁸⁸ With limited funding, the department had to make decisions about how to best utilize its funds. White explained that a decrease in attendance was actually due to an increase in salaries for Filipino teachers. While the increase was needed to recruit and retain qualified educators, the “additional expense could be met only by reducing the number of teachers.” As Barrows had earlier warned, White pointed out that no more expansion of primary schooling could be made until “additional funds are placed at the disposition of the bureau.”⁸⁹

In his final report before his death in 1913, White focused on the perennial topic: the dire budget situation. Retrenchment was necessary due to the “ever-increasing demands of the bureau of education and no corresponding increase in appropriations.” White explained that between the two options of closing primary schools or limiting intermediate and secondary pupils, the Bureau chose to decrease the number of barrio elementary schools in the Philippines for two reasons. They could use intermediate schools to train students to become teachers, and because Filipinos had agitated for intermediate rather than primary schools.⁹⁰ The Director described the situation that year as a “serious one” because the “action taken reduced the number of schools to a dangerously low minimum.” The political issues between the Philippine Assembly and the Commission also hampered the budget. The legislature had failed to pass an agreed upon

⁸⁸ “Education in the Philippine Islands, 1910-1912: Based upon annual reports of Frank R. White, Director of Education for the Philippine Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1912. vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 428.

⁸⁹ “Education in the Philippine Islands, 1910-1912: Based upon annual reports of Frank R. White, Director of Education for the Philippine Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1912. vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 429.

⁹⁰ Frank R. White, “The Philippine Islands, 1912-1913,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913. vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 647-648.

appropriation bill. So funding decisions for the government fell to the Governor-General of the islands.⁹¹ Governor Forbes' decision to provide additional funding for 1,000 new primary schools avoided the worst-case scenario of retrenchment.⁹² The department opened the new schools, yet only 440,050 students were enrolled in the 1912-1913 school year contrasted with the 529,665 of the previous year. Universal education in the Philippines seemed even more unlikely.⁹³

Frank L. Crone became Acting Director and then the official Director of Education after White's death in 1913. Crone's previous ideas about the dilemmas of funding shifted considerably from his earlier concerns about Filipino self-help in building the school system. Like his predecessors, he called for more money to expand primary schools and warned that unless more funding were provided "the purpose for which the public schools were created will not be fully accomplished."⁹⁴ Changing course from his directives as superintendent five years earlier, Crone wrote to the Secretary of Public Instruction that "effective school work should not depend on voluntary contributions." Moreover, he regarded the funding as "entirely inadequate." He predicted school closures in many locations, but "voluntary subscriptions offer the only

⁹¹ Frank R. White, "The Philippine Islands, 1912-1913," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913. vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 650-51.

⁹² May, *Social Engineering*, 121. May contends, "Ironically, Forbes was not happy with these reductions (that had occurred while he was away on leave) and had only wanted to stop expansion. He created a special allotment in 1913 to add 1,000 more primary schools."

⁹³ Frank R. White, "The Philippine Islands, 1912-1913," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913. vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 648 and May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, 122. According to Glenn May, the goals between the American administration (White and Forbes) and Philippine Assembly differed drastically. "Forbes and White were willing to maintain appropriations to the Bureau of Education at the same level and to abandon the ideal of universal primary education. The Assembly was not."

⁹⁴ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Secretary of Public Instruction, January 24, 1913, Box 6, Inspection Reports, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

means of keeping some schools in operation.” He argued for a law that would allow more local taxation so that municipalities could raise more funds if needed.⁹⁵ That same autumn, Crone also confronted the dilemma of raising Filipino teacher salaries while keeping more schools open. Writing to Rafael Palma, the Acting Secretary of Instruction, Crone sympathetically described the Bureau’s desire to “do justice” to the valuable Filipino teachers. However, he explained that if revenue was not increased the only way to improve teacher salaries would be to “reduce the number and pay better salaries to those remaining.” “This, however, would result in the closing of many schools and would deprive thousands of children of an opportunity to receive an education” which Crone believed would not be “wise.” Instead, Crone saw the only option as asking “teachers to continue to serve the Government in the spirit of self-sacrifice” unless more revenue was generated.⁹⁶ Even though it was not ideal, voluntarism and sacrifice on the part of Filipinos seemed to be the only way the American schooling could function.

In November of 1913, Crone laid out his vision for how the school system would operate under his leadership given the persistently precarious funding situation. The increase in intermediate and secondary students along with the focus on industrial education created increased demands on the budgets for education for both the municipalities and insular treasury. Crone explained that not only had there been no increase to go along with these demands, but the schools were receiving less money than in 1910. “Until some definite plan is laid out,” he wrote, “the Bureau of Education must face every year this same problem - that of deciding whether it will limit the amount of higher instruction to be given or curtail primary instruction.” Crone had

⁹⁵ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Secretary of Public Instruction, September 19, 1913, Box 6, Inspection Reports, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁹⁶ Frank L. Crone, Letter to the Acting Secretary of Public Instruction, October 21, 1913, Box 6, Inspection Reports, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

“little hope” that the funding situation would soon change, so he proposed ending the goal of universal education. The current year’s enrollment of around 530,000 primary, 30,000 intermediate, and 6,100 secondary students would be the cap for the system. Whenever more revenue became available, the Bureau would increase Filipino teacher salaries and expand primary education. Crone still shared Barrows’ vision that primary schools were the most important element in the organization. “I am of the opinion that if primary instruction could be given to 800,000 children, we would meet the most pressing educational problem.” Schools would thus enroll most students in most of the barrios across the islands who desired to attend school, but would they would not reach the children in smaller barrios “scattered throughout the country.”⁹⁷ Yet, even this remained a pipe dream in light of the financial struggles of the previous thirteen years.

While Crone confronted the funding issues on the system-wide level, Walter W. Marquardt, Superintendent of City Schools in Manila, described how the financial issues had impacted education on the ground. Similar to what educators experienced in Puerto Rico, Marquardt detailed how schools held “split sessions” as temporary measures to accommodate as many students as possible. “There are still some 1500 first grade pupils attending the split sessions,” he noted. They “are getting but two and one-half hours instruction daily and the majority of the primary classes average in excess of fifty pupils to the teacher, a condition which makes effective instruction practically impossible.” Crowded classrooms were common due to the shortage of buildings. Many schools were housed in rented buildings. The Superintendent

⁹⁷ Frank L. Crone, Letter to the Secretary of Public Instruction, November 4, 1913, Box 6, Inspection Reports, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

warned that schools would have to be closed and teachers laid off by December without additional funds.⁹⁸

Despite these dire warnings, the new fiscal year brought Crone a momentary burst of optimism in the summer of 1914. He wrote to his friend Edwin Schell in early August: “Everything has been running along very nicely for us during the past few months. It seems that we came out of the period of doubt and uncertainty a little stronger than ever.” Crone boasted about the accomplishments of the past year and believed that the department would be in a “better financial position next year than ever before.” Dark clouds were on the horizon, however, as the war in Europe threatened economies everywhere. Crone hoped that his optimism was not misplaced and that the government revenues would not “suffer too much as a result of this war.”⁹⁹

But the situation was changing fast in the summer of 1914. By the end of August, Crone was worried, as revealed in a letter to Earl Blough, a friend from Indiana. “The War is almost the sole topic of conversation here at the present time and I presume that this is almost the case back in the States.” Crone’s fear was coming true. “The revenues of the Government are being very seriously affected and economies are necessary all along the line. I do not know whether we can pull through without some assistance from the United States.” Crone underscored the effect the war had on education in a letter to former Director Barrows. “Had it not been for the War, the Government would have been in fair financial condition at the beginning of the year,” he wrote.

⁹⁸ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to the Municipal Board, City of Manila, July 31, 1914, Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁹⁹ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Doctor Edwin A. Schell, August 6, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

“We are being given the very best of support by the present administration, and if money were available I am sure we will be allowed to further extend the school system.”¹⁰⁰

The financial situation in the islands for schooling had split in two directions at the end of 1914. Due to the war, the insular appropriations passed by the Philippine Legislature each year were significantly curtailed. At one point, Crone feared about 400,000 pesos would be stripped from their previous years' budget.¹⁰¹ However, new land tax assessments held hope for an expansion of the education at the municipal level. Crone believed that the new real estate revenues might double after the completion of the new assessments. With that additional money, the bureau aimed to prioritize higher salaries for Filipino teachers while “opening new schools and providing suitable school buildings in many municipalities which lack them at present.”¹⁰² Though publicly optimistic, Crone privately expressed doubts to his colleagues in the central Bureau since the new assessments might lead to delinquent tax payments.¹⁰³ Yet Crone remained hopeful that some improvement would come from this source for the municipal schools.¹⁰⁴ In late December came the bad news. The Assembly passed a bill that reduced the Bureau of Education by 270,000 pesos. Crone believed that in the negotiations between the Commission

¹⁰⁰ Frank L. Crone, Letter to David P. Barrows, September 15, 1914, Box 15, Folder: Frank Linden Crone, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹⁰¹ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Governor Martin, November 13, 1913, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁰² Frank L. Crone, Letter to Governor Martin, November 19, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁰³ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Magee, December 7, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁰⁴ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Hazelton, Dec. 21, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

and the Assembly the money would be restored for his department, but he was tiring of the annual political battles to simply sustain the meager budget for his department. “I must confess that I have a very strong aversion to being called up every year to beg for money to keep our schools going properly,” Crone complained to Secretary Martin.¹⁰⁵

After the legislature passed the appropriation bill in early 1915, Crone wrote to his division superintendents to explain how the department would weather the financial difficulties. He spun the retrenchment of the budget in a positive light. “Although there was a considerable reduction in the total amount appropriated for the Bureau of Education as compared with the necessary operating expenses on the basis of a normal fiscal year, this reduction has been so distributed among the various allotments that no very serious curtailment of the activities of the Bureau of Education need be anticipated,” he told his administrators. The department had spread the cutbacks among allotments for motor vehicles, office furniture, and supplies including textbooks, flags, and rulers. Crone did not anticipate the reduction to cause “any serious inconvenience.” He concluded his letter by optimistically writing that the “generous treatment which the Bureau of Education received at the hands of the Legislature is cause for sincere congratulation in view of the evident need for economy and the fact that other bureaus were not nearly so fortunate.” Crone rallied his staff with his belief that “everything points toward a very successful school year.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Frank L. Crone, Letter to H.S. Martin, December 19, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁰⁶ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Division Superintendents, Feb. 8, 1915, Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

By April, the new assessments of real estate provided the Bureau of Education with solid reasons to be optimistic about the direction of the school system. While Crone took a sabbatical in the U.S., Marquardt, now Second Assistant Director, described the good news to the division superintendents. “The revision of the assessed valuation of real estate promises to increase municipal school revenue considerably,” he wrote. Assessments completed before November 1, 1914 showed increases in the number of parcels assessed from 10-112% and increases in real property values from 25-700%. This encouraged educational leaders that the school system could be expanded. Marquardt described not only the ability of the department to create new schools but also to add “specialized” features such as farm schools, trade courses, and intermediate grades. Expanding the number of primary schools and creating various types and levels of education in the Philippines always stood in tension due to the financial crunch. But for the first time, both aims might now be accomplished. Marquardt hoped that “These funds should mean both the extension of our work and increased efficiency in the schools now in operation.”¹⁰⁷

Optimism about the new land assessments and future increased appropriations soon yielded to the harsh reality of financial hardships. During a brief return to the islands, Crone addressed the Filipino teaching corps at a conference repeating the familiar funding problems: lower appropriations in the insular budget and insufficient tax revenue for municipalities. In his speech, he placed the responsibility on the Philippine Legislature.¹⁰⁸ Writing to provincial

¹⁰⁷ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Division Superintendents of Schools, From the Second Assistant Director, April 7, 1915, Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁰⁸ “The Government of the Philippines Islands,” *Teacher Assembly News*, April 19-May 22, Department of Public Instruction Bureau of Education, Box 5, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences, Oct.-Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

governors, Crone once again stressed that primary education was his priority. “I regret that it is necessary to invite the attention of provincial governors to the fact that it will be necessary in a number of provinces to turn away pupils, especially those who apply for admission to intermediate and secondary grades, on account of the lack of funds to provide the necessary teachers, accommodations, and equipment.” He asked the leaders to explain “to those who are interested” the financial difficulties that denied students access to schooling. Crone reiterated his reluctance to fund education through voluntary contributions but admitted this practice might be necessary to allow students to attend higher levels of education.¹⁰⁹

In 1915, Marquardt became Acting Director of Education, and he soon filled the position permanently after Crone’s retirement in 1916. Like his predecessors, Marquardt pled for more money to prevent school closures. He asked the Governor-General to grant the Bureau of Education a waiver for the general 5% cuts to budgets requested that year. Marquardt argued that the cost of education per pupil had significantly increased while the funding had only stayed steady or decreased. Further cuts meant firing teachers and closing classes for a few months. “It is hoped that such action will not be necessary,” he begged.¹¹⁰ As Barrows, White, and Crone had done before him, Marquardt also regularly lobbied members of the Philippine Commission to continue funding the Bureau of Education. In a letter to Crone, Marquardt related one of his earliest experiences with the Governor-General. He secured the money he asked for but described his approach like a hunting trip. “I went loaded for bear although I felt that the odds

¹⁰⁹ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Provincial Governors from the Director, May 13, 1915, Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹¹⁰ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to the Governor-General through the Secretary of Public Instruction, August 3, 1915, Box 6, Inspection Reports, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

were against me.... It was rather uphill work, but finally came through.” Marquardt also described how he was learning and growing more comfortable with this political game necessary as Acting Director. “The Governor pleased me this morning (naturally) by stating that he was very well pleased with the way things had been going during the past three months. It was B.S. of course, but I rather like it.”¹¹¹

Though Marquardt’s experience as Director started with the usual financial hindrances, he would oversee drastic improvements to the funding of schools in the Philippines that his predecessors had dreamed of and had worked toward for decades. The Jones Act which passed in 1916 was similarly named as the law granting more autonomy in Puerto Rico. It helped lead to conditions for the major shift in the monetary future for the Bureau of Education. The Jones Act stated the intention to grant the Philippines independence at an unspecified time when a “stable government” could be formed. Importantly for the school system, the act replaced the appointed American-dominated Philippine Commission with an elected senate, thus placing the budget in the hands of native Filipino leaders. The American Governor still had veto power, but into the 1920s, Governor Harrison, who worked to significantly Filipinize the civil service, rarely used it.¹¹² As a result, the future for schooling in the islands looked considerably brighter.

Marquardt reflected this new optimism. As he wrote to a friend in the U.S., “I am hoping for an increase of appropriation this year. An elective senate should respond more quickly to the continued and insistent demand from all parts for further opportunities of public instruction.”¹¹³

¹¹¹ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Crone, September 1, 1915, Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹¹² For more about the Jones Bill see Kramer, *Blood of Government*.

¹¹³ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Caspar Hodgson, World Book Company, September 6, 1916, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The grounds for Marquardt's hope was further solidified by Sergio Osmena, the powerful Speaker of the Philippine Assembly. Osmena had privately confided to Marquardt that he expected to "secure a considerable increase in the Bureau of Education funds, particularly for use of primary and intermediate schools."¹¹⁴ Marquardt eagerly anticipated what the legislature in full control of Filipino elected officials would do for his department. He believed that "upon the action of the next session will depend, in a large measure, the future of the schools." Marquardt cautiously believed the future looked bright: "Indications are that the elected senate will be more favorable toward granting funds for school purposes than was the appointed commission."¹¹⁵ His faith would be warranted.

In January of 1917, Marquardt wrote separate letters to Crone and a friend, O. Garfield Jones, about his efforts to acquire the desired appropriations from the new Filipino legislature. "Our appropriation is finally through and we came out in pretty good shape. It was a long, hard fight," he confided to Crone. Although Marquardt no longer had to contend with the Philippine Commission, the political wrangling with both chambers of the legislature was just as difficult. The Director particularly focused on "extra clauses" to bring more money to the Bureau for specific projects. "The passage of these clauses," he wrote to Crone, "required a great deal more effort and work than any one can imagine who has not been through the mill."¹¹⁶ Marquardt bragged to Jones that his department came out even better than any other bureau of the

¹¹⁴ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Crone, September 20, 1916, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹¹⁵ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Dr. Francis W. Shephardson, September 21, 1916, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹¹⁶ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Crone, January 7, 1917, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

government. He believed the legislature was inclined to give them even more money but “probably the only reason that it was not more favorable was that it was difficult for those in authority to withstand pressure brought by other bureaus who are jealous of the privileges accorded our bureau.”¹¹⁷

While 1917 showed promising signs for the financial future of Philippine schools, the most drastic shift occurred the next year. 1918 opened with small victories that Crone boasted about to his wife. “Last Friday I attended the closing session of the Legislature, and as a result of my staying away from the two baseball games, I secured an unexpected appropriation of P100,000 for Manila High School and an increase of P50,000 for the central and intermediate building allotment,” he was pleased to say. “So I made P150,000 in one day. Last Tuesday, however, I spent P200,000 for high schools. No wonder we cannot save any money,” he joked.¹¹⁸ As talks for the next budget began in late summer, Governor-General Harrison assured Marquardt that he wanted to expand the school system. The Director of Education explained that he planned to ask for double the amount of money and that Harrison assured him he would support it. “So right now,” Marquardt wrote to Camilo Osias, his assistant director, “things are looking bright and rosy.”¹¹⁹ Marquardt’s wife heard the news that the Bureau of Education was going to “receive the largest appropriation in its history.” Marquardt emphasized the implications

¹¹⁷ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Professor O. Garfield Jones, Morningside University, Sioux City, Iowa. January 7, 1917, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹¹⁸ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to “A,” Alice Marquardt, February 15 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹¹⁹ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Camilo Osias, Second Assistant Director of Education, September 14, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

of this funding that finally “public instruction will be offered to all of the children in the Philippines at the earliest possible date.”¹²⁰ He was cautiously optimistic about reaching the goal of universal education.¹²¹ The only uncertainty was whether the increased money would come from larger appropriations from the insular treasury, a refund of the internal revenues to the schools, or changes in taxation.¹²²

The details of the appropriation increase solidified in the last few months of 1918 with an additional funding surprise at the very end of the year. The first draft of the budget presented to the legislature provided an almost 50 percent increase of 2,400,000 additional pesos from the previous year’s appropriation. One and one-half million pesos were specifically earmarked for the extension of primary schools. “This budget was determined upon after the conference with the Governor and the Vice-Governor, Speaker Osmena, and President Quezon last Thursday morning, so I anticipate that there will be no question at all as to its going thru the Legislature,” Marquardt exuberantly wrote to his wife.¹²³ By December, the House had passed the budget leading the Director of Education to exclaim to his friend, George Shoens, “This is the first real step in the proper financing of the educational needs of the country that has been made for many a long year.”¹²⁴

¹²⁰ The word “all” was underlined by hand in the letter.

¹²¹ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to “A,” September 15, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹²² Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Dr. Howard L. Jones, October 14, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹²³ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to “A,” October 21, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹²⁴ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to George T. Shoens, December 5, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The Philippine legislature gave Marquardt additional reasons for exuberance. In a letter to Crone, he reported that, “This mail will probably bring you references to the thirty million pesos appropriation for the Bureau.... The appropriation was made in good faith and is in addition to the regular yearly appropriation.” In addition, “This bill means that by 1920, the Bureau will have twenty million pesos per year to spend instead of the eight and one-half million pesos which it has had for the past two years.” The Director of Education shared the significance of this substantial funding with his predecessor, “This amount should enable us to offer primary and intermediate instruction free in every barrio in the Islands.”¹²⁵ The goal that each Director of Education had worked toward was finally within reach. In the months following the passage of this additional appropriation, Marquardt boasted about his role in the “greatest educational measure ever passed in the Philippines.” Writing to Rev. H.E. Leonard, Marquardt dramatically declared, “I feel that I can’t really go much farther now with a blaze of glory. In fact, all future achievements will necessarily be more or less in the shape of an anti-climax, but *vamos a ver*.”¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Crone, December 13, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹²⁶ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to Rev. H.E. Leonard, San Antonio, Texas, December 13, 1918. Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

No. 29.—Insular, Provincial, and Municipal Expenditures for Public-School Purposes during the Period 1912 to 1921

Year	Insular			Provincial	Municipal	Total
	Instruction and Administration	Public Works	Total			
1911-1912 ^a	P3,906,455.95	P348,066.39	P4,254,522.34	P277,272.48	P2,211,091.36	P6,742,886.13
1912-1913 ^b	3,991,084.73	479,836.22	4,470,920.95	386,421.10	2,455,660.18	7,312,962.23
1913 (6 months) ^c	2,391,688.41	401,185.16	2,792,873.57			2,792,873.57
1914	4,080,055.98	509,678.01	4,589,733.99	472,538.29	2,303,304.34	7,365,576.62
1915	4,174,106.54	731,189.62	4,905,296.16	443,166.96	2,164,813.69	7,513,276.81
1916	4,323,719.10	383,996.88	4,707,715.98	463,843.76	2,394,787.79	7,566,347.53
1917	4,800,205.84	376,582.58	5,176,788.42	431,018.20	3,614,514.70	9,222,321.32
1918	5,339,651.34	727,625.99	6,067,277.33	715,614.63	4,098,808.01	10,881,699.97
1919	8,460,538.20	1,626,911.72	10,087,449.92	468,124.58	3,715,552.05	14,271,126.55
1920	11,905,121.61	897,126.22	12,802,247.83	1,050,492.28	4,358,799.59	18,211,539.70
1921	14,117,005.29	196,820.06	14,313,825.35	3,278,606.40	4,709,286.54	22,301,718.29
	67,489,582.99	6,679,018.85	74,168,601.84	7,987,098.63	32,026,618.25	114,182,318.72

^a July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1912.

^b July 1, 1912, to June 30, 1913.

^c July 1, 1913, to December 31, 1913.

Chart from the Government of the Philippine Islands, Department of Public Instruction, Bureau of Education, "Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Director of Education, Jan 1, 1922-December 31, 1922," (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1923), 153.

In fact, that would be Marquardt's last budget process. By July of 1919, Marquardt left his post to return to the U.S. to become the supervisor of Filipino pensionado students in the United States.¹²⁷ Before he left, he remarked one last time about the financial struggles of the Bureau of Education and particularly about the long struggles of the Filipino teachers for economic security. "The country is proud of the school buildings which have been erected, but the teachers may well be prouder of the fact that most of these buildings were literally erected from funds that should have been paid to them in the shape of decent salaries," he wrote in one

¹²⁷ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to John De Huff, April 14, 1919, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

article.¹²⁸ This was a nod to the sacrifice that Filipinos had endured to expand education, even while American imperial leaders neglected to fully support the goal financially.

As Marquardt gained distance from his time in the Philippines, he shifted the credit from himself to the work of the Philippine legislature in securing their own expansive educational system. In a talk at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1922, Marquardt touted the “special self-tax program for school extension” adopted in 1918 by the Philippine Assembly and Senate. Marquardt discussed how by the year 1923, 1,200,000 Filipino students would be able to attend school due to this increased funding, a significant step toward education for all children in the islands. He believed that this financial support of schools demonstrated “the best possible evidence of the determination of the Filipino people to carry to completion the scheme of general public instruction.” Without question Marquardt believed the transfer of power from the American Commission to the Filipino legislature was the most important factor behind the funding decision. “In 1920, with the Filipinos in full control of expenditures, with the single exception of a governor’s veto, more than three times as much was appropriated for school as in 1913 when the Filipinos held control only of the Lower House,” he told his Teachers College audience.¹²⁹

In 1943, after the U.S. and Filipino forces had ejected the Japanese from the Philippines, the independent Filipino nation began to emerge from the direct American imperial sphere. Marquardt was called upon to write an article for the U.S. Office of War Information. Emphasizing the long desire and support that Filipinos had for education, Marquardt described

¹²⁸ Walter W. Marquardt, “Two Parting Thoughts,” Manila, June 30, 1919, Box 7, Articles, Correspondence, Philippines, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹²⁹ Walter W. Marquardt, “The Philippine Schools,” Box 6, Scrapbook, Talks, and Papers, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Filipinos hiding books from the Japanese and immediately reopening the schools when the Japanese Army departed. He also pointed to the new President of the Philippines, Sergio Osmena, as another hopeful sign. “Moreover my faith in the future of the schools is strong because [of] my faith in President Osmena.” With decades of retrospection, Marquardt credited Osmena for the appropriation bill that set the educational system on firmer ground. “When I was Director of Education in 1918,” he recalled, “President Osmena, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, was responsible for the passing of an appropriation of thirty million pesos for the doubling of the public schools in a five-year period.”¹³⁰ This connection across decades demonstrates how the Filipinos’ long struggle for self-government and universal education went hand in hand during American imperial rule.

Conclusion

The parallel histories of school funding in Puerto Rico and the Philippines demonstrate a number of key points about American imperial education in the early twentieth century. First, the nature of colonial control in both territories was always contested and did not easily fit into the categories of colonizer vs. colonized.¹³¹ In addition to extended military conflicts in the first decade of the twentieth century in the Philippines, Filipinos and Puerto Ricans consistently resisted the effects of American imperial control on their education system. As the next chapters will further demonstrate, they fought for schools that would reach all children with a curriculum

¹³⁰ Walter W. Marquardt, “An Unparelled [sic] Venture in Education,” Box 6, Folder - Marquardt Papers 1992 Accession, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

¹³¹ For a historiographical discussion about how post-colonial scholars have complicated the colonizer vs. colonized dichotomy see Elisabeth Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and U.S. Imperial Education, 1879-1918* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2019), 12-13.

that would provide an opportunity for social mobility. This struggle for increased funding for school expansion often pitted American educators against American officials with different economic and political concerns for the territories.¹³² More often than not, the directors, superintendents, and other American supervisors sided with native parents, teachers, and leaders also wanting a more expansive and quality school system.

These fights also demonstrate paradox and contradictions in the history of American imperialism. Education was a key component of the rhetoric of benevolent assimilation that Americans had put forward since 1898. Literacy was tied to the gradual movement of political freedom for both Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Yet, many American leaders used limited education to argue against each territory's readiness for self-rule. The neglected financial systems revealed the gaping hole between American imperial rhetoric and action.¹³³ Finally, while some prominent educators such as Paul Monroe emphasized that self-rule should only come after generations of education, the native legislatures in both territories upended that logic. Freedom and education were tied together, but in reverse. When the two Jones Acts gave more control to native elected officials in both colonies, those leaders proved that an expanded education would only come when the budgets were placed in their own hands.

¹³² Benjamin Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun," 42. Justice writes, "American rulers in the Philippines were never willing to commit the resources necessary to build an adequate infrastructure to enroll all school-aged children, provide them with enough culturally relevant materials, or train enough Filipino teachers to teach them."

¹³³ Coloma, "Education and Empire," 33-34. Coloma argues how the rhetoric about Filipino self-help and participation was also used to create an illusion of benevolence through schooling: "Depicted in the Bureau of Education's annual reports as the beneficiaries of America's benevolent mission, Filipinos were persuaded to participate through advisory and school boards as well as through taxes and donations. However, their participation was limited due to the boards' negligible power and the tax suspensions. In reality, the U.S. retained complete command administratively and, financially, they collected the most amount of money. The power of persuasion ensured that the United States represented itself as different from Spain, the former imperialist ruler, and gave the illusion that Filipinos played a role in shaping the formulation and development of the educational system."

The nearly two decades of financial neglect in Puerto Rico and the Philippines affected more than just the expansion of the system, however. The next two chapters will explore how the limited funding shaped the nature and emphasis of the education in the territories and how those school practices and ideas returned to the mainland to shape the Progressive education movement in the U.S.

Part 2: Chains of Ideas

In 1910, David P. Barrows, the former director of education in the Philippines, prepared to teach his first year as a professor at Berkeley. In his private notes, he outlined his plans for the next year and included one course about education in the Philippines each semester. However, Barrows noted that he also wanted to branch out beyond his imperial school experience in his new professional career. “I must from now on make a place for myself in the discussion of contemporary American problems, political, social, educational and religious. I cannot afford to live only in the [unreadable] experience of the last nine years and be known solely as a man who did something in the Philippines.” Each semester he included a more general course such as “Seminar on School Administration” and “The School Principal.”¹

In his “Topics in Education” course, Barrows merged discussions of American education in the territories with efforts on the mainland. He told students that he would begin class with the Philippines “in the hopes that types [of policies] developed on transplanted ground will have significance for you.”² The variety of topics that members of his class pursued demonstrated the potential widespread relevancy schooling ideas in the Philippines had in the U.S. Class members chose topics such as “civic training in education, vacation courses, negro education, adaptation of curricula to newly arrived emigrants, Chinese in the U.S. on the Pacific Coast, playgrounds, and changes in the public-school curricula.”³ Barrows’ lectures included information about the

¹ David P. Barrows, Diary, Carton 3, Folder: 1910/ March to December/Notes/Collections/ Personal Feelings,” David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

² David P. Barrows, “Outline,” Carton 3, Folder: Topics in Education/January - May 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

³ David P. Barrows, “Outline,” Carton 3, Folder: Topics in Education/January - May 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

system-building, centralization, and supervision in the Philippines as well as his usual calls for more funding as described in Chapter 2. Interestingly, the course list of books included the newly-published *Laggards in Our Schools* by Leonard P. Ayres, a former school administrator in Puerto Rico.⁴ The content of Barrows' courses demonstrates the expansive chains of ideas that circulated between the imperial school systems in Puerto Rico and the Philippines and returned to influence educational efforts back in the mainland U.S. in the early twentieth century.

⁴ David P. Barrows, "Outline," Carton 3, Folder: Topics in Education/January - May 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

Chapter 3: Efficiency and Statistics in Puerto Rico

As Chapter 1 described, Commissioner of Education Samuel McCune Lindsay decried the financial constraints of schooling in Puerto Rico, but he also spoke hopefully about the “new educational experiments” happening on the island.¹ At the 1906 Lake Mohonk Conference, Lindsay gave a speech titled “What Porto Rico Can Do for the United States.” In this speech, the former commissioner reversed the usual flow of influence from metropole to colony and asserted, “There are many things that we can readily learn, many things that the Porto Rican is able to contribute to our American civilization.” “I welcome the coming together of these two principles,” he continued, “because I believe [Puerto Ricans] will contribute something to the up building of our civilization here.”² Lindsay’s address focused on ideas such as learning the Spanish language, adopting Puerto Rican handicrafts, and improving American politicians’ rhetoric with “flowery political speeches.” Although he did not specifically describe educational practices, Lindsay hinted at a crucial idea about the reciprocal effects of American imperialism that would become more evident during the next ten years. Schooling ideas tried out in Puerto Rico influenced educational movements in the mainland U.S. in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The neglect of educational funding for the colony shaped the nature of these school experiments on the small island. In particular, the quantification and efficiency movement - in its very early stages in the United States - flourished in Puerto Rico. Through the networks of administrators and educators who passed through the colony and returned to the continent, ideas

¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 41.

² Samuel McCune Lindsay, “What Porto Rico Can Do for the United States,” *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1906), 133.

about promotion, school statistics, and surveys helped shape crucial aspects of the progressive education movement in the U.S. Historians have not fully explored the imperial roots of this form of progressive education in the U.S. Yet, in the first two decades of the 20th century, educational professionals all touted the chains of connection between Puerto Rico and school movements on the mainland.

In an article in 1911, the former Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico, Roland P. Falkner explained that “through the return to the United States of Porto Rican officials” the New York and Puerto Rican statistics movement, “have been merged into one.”³ In 1912, William H. Maxwell, the long-time superintendent of New York City Public Schools, supported Falkner’s claim. It was “thru the researches of Mr. Faulkner [sic] in the schools of Porto Rico, and thru mine in New York, the matter of over-age children in the grades was, for the first time, forcibly and generally brought to the attention of the public mind, and that then commenced the studies and investigations, and experiments regarding over-age children, which have already accomplished much for the ‘backward child.’”⁴ The efficiency movement of American progressive education dovetailed with the financially neglected colonial school system and created the conditions for a new avenue of surveys, statistics, and efficiency in education that eventually tightened the imperial chains of American schooling throughout the world.

³ Roland P. Falkner, “Some Recent Developments of School Statistics,” *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, vol. 12, iss. 94, 1911: 57.

⁴ William H. Maxwell, “Discussion Statistics as to Over-Age Pupils,” *Educational Review*, vol. 44, December 1912: 521-522.

The Drive for Efficiency in Puerto Rico

The centralized control of schooling in the colonies enabled officials to use newly acquired territories as testing grounds for new ideas. Educators in Puerto Rico focused on system-building, supervision, and bureaucracy from the earliest days of American schooling on the island. In a report in 1901, Martin G. Brumbaugh, the first civilian Commissioner of Education, highlighted the need for improved bureaucratic structures for centralized control and supervision of teachers. He regarded the new school laws passed in Puerto Rico as a “compromise between...two extremes” of school governance: full centralization and localized control.⁵ The law “aims to place the largest measure of control with the local authorities consistent with the efficient administration of schools.” However, the commissioner still had “sufficient authority to continue the schools in spite of local indifference, should such indifference arise.”⁶ The commissioner gained more power in 1902, when Commissioner Lindsay proposed new school laws to further centralize the system.⁷ This reorganization aided “economy and efficiency as well as uniformity of standards in the administration of school affairs.” According to Lindsay, Puerto Rican elected officials were “in favor of more centralization rather than less.”⁸

⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 10.

⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 10.

⁷ Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 54.

⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 15.

The role of American supervisors also increased during Brumbaugh and Lindsay's administrations. Superintendents had more power over teacher selection than local Puerto Rican governments, with the goal of preventing "partisan politics from entering into the selection of teachers."⁹ Due to these increased responsibilities, Brumbaugh reversed a decision to decrease the number of American supervisors to six and instead hired ten more, raising it to the maximum number allowed. These educators would be the leaders of American schooling on the island, and Brumbaugh sought to "place them with increased powers and dignity at the front of education in their respective districts."¹⁰ Leonard P. Ayres was a young and ambitious teacher who had aspirations to become one of these supervisors.

Ayres came to the island in 1902 as a teacher after receiving his bachelor's degree from Boston University. He had lofty goals early in his career and rose through the ranks quickly. He wrote to his sister Ida that "I am industriously making friends where I think they will be the most use."¹¹ Through these strategic connections, he aimed to get the "supervision of all the schools of an entire district of 100 to 200,000 population" for the next year.¹² Ayres received the chance to put his "scheming" to action in April of 1903 when the Assistant Commissioner of Education, E.W. Lord, planned to visit near Ayres' village. "Yesterday was a big day for I brought off the grand stroke I have been planning for so long and everything worked all right," he wrote to Ida.

⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 11.

¹⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 39.

¹¹ Ayres, Letter to Ida, January 17, 1903, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

¹² Ayres, Undated Letter to Ida, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

Ayres rented a horse and rode to the town in the “pitch dark and driving rain” to meet with the administrator. He toured schools with Lord, who introduced Ayres as “my college chum.”¹³ In June his plans and work paid off when Ayres received word that, due to his high score on the superintendents’ exam, he was in line for a promotion in 1903 despite not teaching for the required two years.¹⁴ Ayers fine-tuned his ideas about education in his role as the superintendent of schools in San Juan and rose to even more importance on the island in the next few years. He brought a structural vision to the role envisioning his job as superintendent as the “organization, administration, direction and supervision of schools in large related systems.”¹⁵

As Ayres rose through the ranks, a shift occurred at the highest position in the department. As a result of the funding issues, when economist and statistician Roland P. Falkner replaced Lindsay as commissioner of education in 1904, the new administrator heightened the focus on efficiency. Relying on his background, Falkner increased the use of statistics in the department.¹⁶ Because financial constraints had stymied expansion of the schools, the commissioner sought to secure “better results from each school than had been obtained in the preceding year” and paid more attention to enrollment and attendance numbers to achieve that result.¹⁷ Falkner, like other efficiency progressives in the United States, described the situation in

¹³ Ayres, Letter to Ida, April 15, 1903, Box 2, Folder 2: General Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ E.W. Lord, Letter to Ayres, July 15, 1903, Box 2, Folder 2: General Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁵ Leonard P. Ayres, “The Work of Five Years: A Superintendent’s View,” Box 189, Folder: General File: Puerto Rico 1901-1912 – Printed, Samuel McCune Lindsay Papers, Columbia University Archives.

¹⁶ A.J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 42.

¹⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 11.

terms of a factory. “To borrow a simile from modern industrialism, it may be said of the educational problem in Porto Rico, ‘It is not so much to extend the plant as to increase the output,’” he wrote. Falkner used this lens of value and efficiency as the measure for success in Puerto Rico rather than the expansion of the system.¹⁸ Acknowledging his divergence from Brumbaugh and Lindsay, he asserted, “We have laid emphasis upon the quality of our work and have given little attention to the quantity of it.”¹⁹

Falkner also expanded the duties and strengthened the impact of superintendents’ work in their districts. He praised the administrators’ efforts in 1905: “The progress thus far recorded has been made possible by the excellent organization of supervision established in the department and by the zeal and intelligence of the supervisory force.”²⁰ Ayres was one of these superintendents, who at the age of twenty-six was the head of the urban district of San Juan.²¹ The new focus on efficiency kept Ayres very busy. As he indicated, “I have so much office work to do now that I have had a stamp made with which to sign circular letters, reports, visit blanks etc.”²² Ayres’ professional proclivities seemingly dovetailed with Falkner. In his report about

¹⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 9.

¹⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 23.

²⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 15.

²¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 15.

²² Ayres, Letter to his father, September 1905, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

the schools of San Juan in 1905, Ayres described his job as one “largely devoted to the work of organizing and systematizing.” He increasingly reveled in record keeping and standardization.²³

Early in 1906, Ayres learned that Falkner had promoted him to Chief of Division of Supervision and Statistics due to his detailed record-keeping in San Juan, and the pair maintained the focus on the efficiency of the system in their reports.²⁴ Funding for school expansion remained stagnant, so the administrators reorganized clerical work to create “greater efficiency” in the central office.²⁵ Ayres’s division churned out more tables and statistics than ever before. Falkner explained in his annual report, “Inasmuch as the key to progress is an accurate knowledge of conditions, I have endeavored to present a detailed study of the conditions in our schools.” He continued, “To this end the statistical service has been completely overhauled. The tables presented are not mere formal appendixes, but an integral part and portion of the report.”²⁶ Supervision and the increased use of statistics went hand-in-hand. It created what Falkner referred to as “intimate” relations between the department of education and the field staff despite fewer visits to schools by the general superintendent.²⁷ This reliance on data rather than in-

²³ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 107-108.

²⁴ Roland P. Falkner, Letter to Ayres, January 24, 1906 and Handwritten Memo from Falkner, July 1, 1907, Box 2, Folder 2: General Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 9.

²⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 9.

²⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 20-21 and Aida de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900-1930* (Barcelona: University of Puerto Rico Press, 1975), 113.

person experience to inform administrators about the conditions of the school translated to 166 pages of statistical tables, compared with nineteen pages in the report in 1901.²⁸

An expansive school survey was the source of many of these statistical tables that documented the efficiency of the system through student promotion data. Falkner and Ayres oversaw an island-wide census on March 2 that focused on “length of time the children had been in school” rather than overall enrollment numbers, a change from previous reports.²⁹ Falkner saw this emphasis on the census and statistics not as abstract or dehumanizing but as a way to focus on the “most important element in our consideration of the common schools – the pupils.”³⁰ By collecting information on the age, grade, sex, and length of time in school of each student in Puerto Rico, school officials could know their population better and identify ways to improve the quality of education. The supervisors believed the information gathered from this survey could create a “transformation” of the entire system.³¹

This effort put Falkner and Ayres at the forefront of the school survey and statistics movement in the United States. In the report, Falkner repeatedly criticized the lack of comparative evidence in other school districts in the U.S. to use as a measuring stick to evaluate education in the colony. Concerning an analysis of the gender balance in schooling, for example, Falkner wrote, “No general report has been made upon this subject for the cities of the United

²⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901) and *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907).

²⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 22 and Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 42.

³⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 75.

³¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 11.

States and the individual reports of the different cities generally lack data upon this point.”³² Yet, Falkner and Ayres still attempted to analyze their census data to understand their own system and the quality of coeducational schooling in Puerto Rico. Their report focused on “over-aged” students and promotional issues (what would be termed “retardation” in Ayres’s later work). The officials tried to understand the connection between the advanced age of students in lower grades and the efficiency of schools.³³ This focus on efficiency was heightened in Puerto Rico due to limited funding and the rhetorical centrality of mass education to the imperial project. Since the goal of schooling was to provide lessons in civilization and citizenship to every colonial subject on the islands, students who were not being promoted each year were wasting resources and limited space in classrooms.³⁴ These “laggards” (as Ayres would later refer to them) were markers of inefficiency within a school system. In his future writings, Ayres would later expand on this idea of determining the efficiency of a school organization through promotion statistics.

The next year both Falkner and Ayres returned to the U.S. after a major shakeup in the Bureau of Education. Commissioner Falkner announced his plan to resign in June, and Ayres actively sought the position of Assistant Commissioner if his “college chum” Lord became Commissioner.³⁵ When he learned that the new Commissioner was Edwin Grant Dexter of the University of Illinois, his advancement hopes died. Ayres wrote to his father exclaiming, “This

³² *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 76.

³³ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 79-81.

³⁴ In regards to the “civilizing mission for the non-elite” in both colonies see Julian Go, “The Chains of Empire,” 192-193.

³⁵ Ayres, Letter to his father, June 9, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

reminds me of Dr. Falkner's invariable quotation when one of his plans fails, not an uncommon thing, by the way; 'Another pipe-dream gone to Hell.'"³⁶

Dexter's selection not only blocked Ayres's promotion goals but also led to the end of the emphasis on statistics in Puerto Rico. Dexter held a different philosophy of education, at one point referring to it as a "spiritual process." Ayres was unhappy that "yesterday he told me to abandon all the work of my division as he considered it practically worthless. No more professional records of teachers are to be kept and no figures or facts gathered about the school system." The superintendent derided Dexter's non-data driven mindset. "The whole thing," Ayres complained, "is to be run on the plan of the old-fashioned Sunday School. We are to have a great many children and they are to be taught by numerous teachers in various towns. More accurate measures are un-necessary."³⁷ Such profound pedagogical differences created a rough start to Dexter's and Ayres's relationship, which grew tense in the next few months.

Ayres planned to leave Puerto Rico in September due to health problems and lack of promotion. Dexter refused to accept his resignation. Ayres reported, "Although I have opposed the Commissioner at almost every turn, he has somehow taking a great liking to me." Instead, Ayres took a leave of absence, returned to the mainland, and searched for a position elsewhere.³⁸ Right before he exited the island, however, major drama occurred within the highest levels of colonial government. Governor Regis Post, the head executive since April, gave a drunken

³⁶ Ayres, Letter to his father, July 2, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

³⁷ Ayres, Letter to his father, Sept. 4, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress. Despite these opinion differences between Ayres and Dexter, according to Angulo, Dexter actually increased the number of American supervisors during his time as Commissioner. Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 43.

³⁸ Ayres, Letter to his father, September 9, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

speech at Commissioner Dexter's house. He berated the Department of Education to its American supervisors. The governor told the educators that the "school superintendents [had] done more, next to the missionaries, to bring about the anti-American feeling in the Island" and called Assistant Commissioner Lord's seven years of service a "damn failure." Everyone was outraged and, despite the Governor's apologies the next morning, many from the department resigned over the matter.³⁹ Ayres witnessed the haranguing and spoke out against Post to the press back in the U.S. and corroborated the reports of Post's speech.⁴⁰

In addition to the open protest against the governor, Ayres also anonymously published a multiple edition periodical called "The Pharisee" in support of the school officials still working under the Post-Dexter regime.⁴¹ Linking together the administration of Dexter with Post allowed Ayres to take his nemesis to task in the pages of "The Pharisee." One column stated, "No man ever had a greater opportunity than was presented to Dr. E.G. Dexter when he took up the duties of the office of Commissioner of Education last August." Instead of continuing the efficient system that had been developed over the years, "Dr. Dexter has made up his mind before landing in San Juan that the sure way to get a reputation was to immediately 'reform' things. So he spat on his hands, shut his eyes, and started the 'reform' movement." According to "The Pharisee," Dexter had "disorganized the central organization."⁴²

³⁹ "Serious Business," *The Porto Rico Review*, September 28, 1907, Box 23: Folder: The Porto Rico Review Sept. 28, 1907, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁰ "Protest Against Gov. Post Is Signed," *Boston Herald*, Dec. 26, 1907, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: The Pharisee - A Periodical Protest May 28; June 16, 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴¹ An archival note explains, "The Pharisee was written by LPA in defense of the educators of Puerto Rico against the Post-Dexter regime. - LRB June 58," Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: The Pharisee - A Periodical Protest May 28; June 16, 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴² "A Lost Opportunity," *The Pharisee: A Periodical Protest*, San Juan, P.R., Thursday, May 28, 1908. vol. 1. no. 2., Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: The Pharisee - A Periodical Protest May 28; June 16, 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

Multiple tongue-in-cheek features of the newsletter excoriated the Commissioner's lack of attention to data and statistics. One advertisement called for proposals for "furnishing one Embossed Leather Dice Box with two (2) Loaded Ivory Dice, for use in the office of the Commissioner of Education." The advertisement jested, "After much thought and long consultation with the chiefs of division, the Commissioner has decided to abolish the use of logic in the consideration of knotty problems of administration and pedagogy, as he believes that it involves a needless waste of time and gray matter. By simply rolling the bones, an entirely impartial and much more reasonable decision can be quickly reached, without the confusion which inevitably results from a careful consideration of the facts."⁴³ Ayres thus used "The Pharisee" to air his grievances against Dexter from the safety of the American mainland, where he soon became an educational statistics expert who shaped new ideas in the efficiency movement, an influential part of school reform.⁴⁴

Return to the U.S.

Upon his return to the mainland, the Lake Mohonk Conference provided Ayres with his first professional experience outside of Puerto Rico and helped set the direction of his career after his time on the island. The opportunity came up for Ayres to give an unprepared speech about Puerto Rico. He believed he had "made quite a fair bluff" and was pleased that the

⁴³ Advertisement, *The Pharisee: A Periodical Protest*, San Juan, P.R., Thursday, May 28, 1908. vol. 1. no. 2., Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: The Pharisee - A Periodical Protest May 28; June 16, 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 59. Zimmerman notes that another rift that occurred before Ayres left his post in Puerto Rico was between Ayres and the Puerto Rican House of Delegates regarding the lack of vocational schooling in the island. Zimmerman finds that after Ayres had begun his leave of absence in the U.S., the legislative body called for his dismissal because of his speech at the Lake Mohonk conference criticizing the demise of vocational education.

conference planned to publish his words.⁴⁵ Ayres's short speech provided basic facts about the system and focused on the lack of funding to fully expand the number of schools, yet it launched the next phase of his career in education.⁴⁶ Ayres described his opportunities after the conference as "dazzling." "I have been meeting a continuous stream of the most influential literary, educational, and financial people and have been asked whether I would give a course of lectures at New York University, write a series of articles and considering writing a book on common school statistics," he boasted. In addition, he had landed a job with the Russell Sage Foundation and started post-graduate courses at Columbia University under Edward Thorndike, a well-known psychologist at Teachers College.⁴⁷ Very quickly after returning from Puerto Rico, Ayres's career had taken off.

Ayres entered a burgeoning educational quantification and efficiency movement, which was part of a larger Progressive Era trend toward using statistics to explore a variety of social issues, that gained momentum in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴⁸ The pediatrician-turned-educational researcher Joseph Mayer Rice had upset school professionals with his findings in the 1890s that schools were not effectively educating students because of their traditional pedagogical methods and practices. He based his claim on a large-scale study that administered tests to children across the U.S. Although his findings did not receive a warm

⁴⁵ Ayres, Letter to his father, New York, October 31, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁶ Ayres, "The School System in Porto Rico," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 172-73.

⁴⁷ Ayres, Letter to his father, New York, October 31, 1907, Box 2, Folder 1: Family Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁸ For more about the larger quantification and statistics movements see Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) and Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

welcome among the members of the National Education Association, it raised questions about school efficiency among many in the general public.⁴⁹ Thorndike also investigated the issue of school efficiency in the early 1900s. The United States Bureau of Education published his report “The Elimination of Pupils from School” in 1907 that examined similar questions that Falkner and Ayres had studied in Puerto Rico in 1905 and 1906. Thorndike’s work coincided with Ayres’s classes at Columbia and became the impetus for further research into measuring school efficiency through promotions.⁵⁰ As historian David Tyack describes this movement, “In an age that worshipped efficiency, over-aged students and school leavers were signs of malfunction that required analysis and correction.”⁵¹

For the next few years Ayres brought his experience in Puerto Rico into his academic and professional career in New York. His lectures at NYU between December 1907 and May 1908 focused on statistical work in education.⁵² In his lecture “Attendance,” Ayres connected the use of statistics in education to efficiency with machines. “The actual efficiency of a machine never equals its theoretical capacity. But the skill of the engineer consists in reducing the difference to the lowest practicable point,” Ayres asserted. He linked these ideas to education, “The same spirit should exist in the administration of our schools. Study and research will show whether or

⁴⁹ Geraldine Joncich, *Edward L. Thorndike: The Sane Positivist* (Wesleyan, 1968), 294; Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 79; David P. Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban: Designing the Progressive School District, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 39; Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 19.

⁵⁰ Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 40 and Joncich, *Edward L. Thorndike*, 301-303.

⁵¹ David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 199.

⁵² Box 19: Speeches and Writings, Folder: NYU School of Pedagogy Dec. 1907-May 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

not we are losing more force and energy than should be the case.”⁵³ Ayres closed the lecture with a call for students to carefully consider the quality of statistical information being gathered.

“What we want is not more school statistics, nor less school statistics,” he argued, “but different school statistics with nothing trivial, with nothing not clearly understood, no red tape.”⁵⁴ A pair of lectures titled “Backward Children” and “Causes of Retardation and Proposed Remedies” drew upon his work in Puerto Rico and became the basis for his first major publication in the U.S.⁵⁵

Ayres also began his research with the Russell Sage Foundation at the same time he lectured at NYU. The educator worked with a medical doctor, Luther Gulick, to investigate “retardation” or students who were overage for their grade in New York City’s schools. Superintendent of New York City schools Maxwell had been sounding the alarm about issues of promotion in his schools since 1904. In his annual report in 1909, Dr. Maxwell applauded the work that Ayres and Gulick had accomplished in the last year by calling the survey the “first really scientific inquiry into the causes of retardation.” The pair surveyed the records of less than 20,000 children out of 600,000 in the school system and drew “tentative” conclusions about New York City schools. Late entrance to schools and slow progress were the main two causal factors indicated in their report. Maxwell believed that, “The conclusion that will cause the most surprise is that physical defects play a much less important part in retarding children’s progress in school than has been supposed.” These findings laid the responsibility squarely on the schools, teachers, and the system as a whole for the problems of promotion. As a next step, Maxwell

⁵³ Leonard P. Ayres, “Attendance” Lecture V, April 7, 1908, Box 19: Speeches and Writings, Folder: NYU School of Pedagogy Dec. 1907-May 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ Leonard P. Ayres, “Attendance” Lecture V, April 7, 1908, Box 19: Speeches and Writings, Folder: NYU School of Pedagogy Dec. 1907-May 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁵ Leonard P. Ayres, “Causes of Retardation and Proposed Remedies” Lecture VIII, May 5, 1908, Box 19: Speeches and Writings, Folder: NYU School of Pedagogy Dec. 1907-May 1908, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

called for further study and the hiring of an assistant within the City Superintendent's office to conduct more statistical investigations. Maxwell concluded his report with high praise for Ayres and Gulick and noted their pioneering efforts. "It is not too much to say that their report constitutes a new departure in the scientific investigation of popular education."⁵⁶

In 1909, riding on the success of his work in New York's schools, Ayres published *Laggards in Our Schools*, which studied the issue of promotion and overage children on a national level.⁵⁷ In the introduction to the book, Gulick extolled the work of both Ayres and Falkner. He believed that the foundation was "exceedingly fortunate in securing Mr. Leonard P. Ayres, formerly General Superintendent of Schools for Porto Rico, and Chief of the Division of Statistics of the Insular Department of Education" because their investigation needed someone with "technical knowledge of how to handle statistical material" and who had "extensive experience in school administration and the widest possible knowledge of the literature bearing on these subjects."⁵⁸ Clearly, Gulick believed Ayres's four years as a bureaucrat in Puerto Rico gave him the necessary credentials to accomplish this work. The doctor also expressed his "grateful recognition" to Dr. Roland P. Falkner for his assistance in the study.⁵⁹

Ayres's ideas in *Laggards* demonstrate a number of ways that his time in Puerto Rico shaped his ideas back in the U.S. Ayres focused on the economic waste connected with the promotion issue he outlined in his report. He estimated that thirty-three percent of all pupils fell

⁵⁶ "Retardation: Some account of a study conducted in the New York Public Schools by the Backward Children Investigation of the Russell Sage Foundation," Reprinted from the *Tenth Annual Report of Dr. William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools of New York City 1909*.

⁵⁷ Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 88-89.

⁵⁸ Leonard P. Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools: A Study of Retardation and Elimination in City School Systems* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1909), xiv.

⁵⁹ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, xiv.

into the category of “retarded” relating to their slow progress through school. The problem was massive, “affecting most intimately perhaps 6,000,000 children in the United States.”⁶⁰ With the funding issues from Puerto Rico fresh in his mind, Ayres argued, “This means that in the country as a whole about one-sixth of all the children are repeating, and we are annually spending about \$27,000,000 in this wasteful process of repetition in our cities alone.”⁶¹ Increasing funding, but even more importantly, using money efficiently remained Ayres’s focus. He argued, “Overcrowding means that we are not spending enough money on our schools. Retardation means, not that we are spending too much – but that we are spending it wastefully.”⁶² As with the recommendations in Puerto Rico, Ayres concentrated on administrative and organizational changes to improve the efficiency of schooling. He called for “better medical inspection, courses of study which will more nearly fit the abilities of the average pupil, more flexible grading, and, most important of all, a better knowledge of the facts.”⁶³

Ayres reiterated the importance of school surveys and statistics throughout *Laggards*. He compared education to a factory that is “most efficient when it is being worked to its full capacity,” and decried how school officials, unlike businessmen, lacked the needed information to evaluate the efficiency of their systems.⁶⁴ Stronger compulsory education laws could also improve students’ attendance, but Ayres added that, “If we are to enforce the attendance laws we must know where the children of school age are. Therefore, we must have better laws for taking the school census and better methods for utilizing the returns.”⁶⁵ Ayres regarded this lack of data

⁶⁰ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 3.

⁶¹ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 5.

⁶² Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 90.

⁶³ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 7.

⁶⁴ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 49.

⁶⁵ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 7.

as shameful. He chided educators, “But we have not known, or if we have known, we have failed to realize it, that large numbers of the children who enter the public schools never complete the work of the common schools.” “Perhaps this does not mean that our public school system is any worse than it used to be,” he lectured, “but on the face of it certainly does mean that the system is not nearly as good as it should be.”⁶⁶ Ayres concluded his work by stating, “One main object of the present volume will have been attained if it has been convincingly demonstrated that we need more and better facts on which to base our judgments as to action in educational matters.”⁶⁷

Laggards was a call-to-arms for others to join the school survey and statistics movement. Soon school leaders across the U.S. were looking toward the ideas set forth in *Laggards* to help them deal with increasing enrollments and costs by using data to help make their systems more efficient.⁶⁸

Although other researchers such as Rice and Thorndike had been foundational in studying school practices, promotion, and efficiency, *Laggards* thrust Ayres to the center of the movement. He agreed with the premise in “Elimination of Pupils from School,” but Ayres criticized Thorndike’s statistical methods and presented his own ideas for how to better gather and analyze promotional statistics.⁶⁹ Praise for the book was effusive due to the “power and appeal of the factory metaphor” about efficiency, according to historian Herbert Kliebard.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁶ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 9.

⁶⁷ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 216-217.

⁶⁸ Tyack, *The One Best System*, 201. For examples of specific school districts that were influenced by *Laggards* see Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban*, 101-102, 146.

⁶⁹ Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, 66-70 and Joncich, *Edward L. Thorndike*, 301-303. According to historian Geraldine Joncich, soon after *Laggards*, Thorndike abandoned efforts at system-wide statistical gathering because he had “imitators to succeed him.” Thorndike resumed his focus on the individual psychological and behavioral quantification efforts that became his educational legacy.

⁷⁰ Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 89.

Russell Sage Foundation printed endorsements from various educational leaders throughout the country. “I shall use it in my course in child psychology in the University of Pennsylvania next winter and expect to make it the basis of the statistical side of the work for some years to come,” wrote Lightner Witmer, Professor of Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania. Paul H. Hanus, Director of the Division of Education at Harvard, commended, “I have read the book with increasing satisfaction, and shall have still more satisfaction in using it in my classes during the coming year as an illustration of what an investigation in school administration really means.”⁷¹ The *Journal of Education* praised the book as “the most important specific study of school conditions that has been made by any one.”⁷²

This recognition opened doors for Ayres within educational circles in the U.S. The statistician spoke at the National Education Association in 1910 with a speech entitled: “What Constitutes Retardation? How Significant Are Retardation Statistics? When is Retardation Justifiable? How May it be Corrected?” He highlighted Falkner’s statistical work from an article in the *Educational Review* in 1909 and proposed more detailed record keeping for individual students.⁷³ Ayres also recalled the beginning of the school statistics movement in an article published in the *Journal of Education* in 1911. In “The Relative Responsibility of School and Society for the Over-Age Child,” Ayres explained that, “About five years ago, American

⁷¹ Lagemann, *Elusive Science*, 80. According to Lagemann, Paul Hanus was credited with initiating the school survey movement in 1911 with a survey of the schools of Montclair, New Jersey, however Ayres’s work in Puerto Rico and New York City resulting in the publication of *Laggards* clearly influenced Hanus’s ideas and future practices with the use of surveys.

⁷² Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Monographs for the Russell Sage Foundation, Child Hygiene 1909-1911 Nos. 54, 57, 61, 96, 99, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷³ Ayres, “What Constitutes Retardation? How Significant Are Retardation Statistics? When is Retardation Justifiable? How May it be Corrected?” National Education Association of the United States, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting Held at Boston, Massachusetts, July 2-8, 1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910), 149-154.

Educators awoke to a startled realization that a large proportion of all the children in the public schools were above the normal ages for their grades.” William T. Harris, as the Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools (1868-1880), had already called attention to this issue decades earlier. According to Ayres, the “educational world was not then ready to begin a serious study of educational economics.” Ayres highlighted Maxwell’s and his own role in bringing about more awareness of the issue over the last few years.⁷⁴

Ayres’s other work with the Russell Sage Foundation consistently explored efficiency, promotion, and the use of statistics to improve school conditions in the U.S. He reached a wide audience with publications such as “The Money Cost of Repetition versus the Money Saving Through Acceleration,” “A Comparative Study of Public School Systems in the Forty-Eight States,” and “The Measurement of Educational Processes and Products.”⁷⁵ That last publication was initially an address given to the Harvard Teachers’ Association in 1912. In it he expounded on the significance of the quantification and statistical movement in education that he helped further. He described how educators had shifted over the last decade from devaluing the use of data to centering measurements of educational efficiency. Ayres exuded, “This change represents no passing fad or temporary whim. It is permanent, significant, and fundamental.” He continued, “It means that a transformation has taken place in what we think as well as in what we do in education. It means that education is emerging from among the vocations and taking its place

⁷⁴ Ayres, “The Relative Responsibility of School and Society for the Over-Age Child,” Reprinted from the *Journal of Education*, December 21, 1911, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Monographs for the Russell Sage Foundation 1911-1913, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁵ Ayres, “The Money Cost of Repetition versus the Money Saving Through Acceleration” “Reprinted from the American School Board Journal, January, 1912 by the Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation,” “A Comparative Study of Public School Systems in the Forty-Eight States” Published December, 1912. Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation, “The Measurement of Educational Processes and Products,” “Address Delivered Before the Harvard Teachers’ Association, Cambridge, Mass. March 9, 1912,” Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Monographs for the Russell Sage Foundation 1911-1913, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

among the professions.”⁷⁶ According to Ayres, quantification would have long-lasting influence upon American education.

In 1912, after receiving his Ph.D., the now Dr. Ayres spread his expertise in educational statistics with new courses at NYU. Ayres worked with Earl Clark, also a former administrator in Puerto Rico, who had recently joined the Russell Sage Foundation as a statistician. In “Theory and Practice in Management of Educational Processes and Products,” the pair lectured about the “processes and applications of the newer scientific quantitative methods in education” and provided a laboratory section that offered “training in gathering, compiling, tabulating, and interpreting educational statistics.” The themes for the courses were central features of Ayres’s career by this point: “The lectures are devoted to statistics of the school census, attendance, promotions, retardation, school mortality, and test of efficiency in school administration. Special attention is given to most effective methods in the tabulation and presentation of data for superintendents’ and principals’ annual reports.”⁷⁷ Ayres was now teaching about bureaucracy rather than participating in the office work directly as he had done in Puerto Rico.

Ayres’s position as an educational quantification expert opened up more avenues for him in the growing school survey movement. In 1912, the city of Greenwich, Connecticut, asked Ayres to conduct a “school investigation and educational exhibit.” In a speech given at the close of the exhibit, Ayres expounded on the city schools’ deficiencies. Greenwich, Ayres said, lacked an actual system of education; it had a “school conglomeration.” “It has a confused mixture of big schools and little schools, and old schools and new schools; excellent schools and shocking

⁷⁶ Ayres, “The Measurement of Educational Processes and Products,” “Address Delivered Before the Harvard Teachers’ Association, Cambridge, Mass. March 9, 1912, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Monographs for the Russell Sage Foundation 1911-1913, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁷ “Two New Courses, New York University, Summer School, 1912,” Box 19: Speeches and Writings, Folder: Lectures and Handouts NYU Summer School July 1 - August 9, 1912, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

schools, built around one central plan, and supposed to be good for the children on the general proposition that all schools are good for children,” he explained. Despite the fact that Greenwich was the “second richest town in America,” according to Ayres, the inadequate school system boiled down to the familiar issues of monetary support. He argued, “The plain, hard fact is that the reason why Greenwich has no better schools to-day is that Greenwich, up to date, had been opposed to better schools.” Ayres detailed the consequences of the lack of school funding: not enough new buildings for expansion despite overcrowding, bad ventilation, and poor hygiene in many existing schools. All of these factors led to the worst effect of all – an inefficient organization. “A majority of the boys and girls who in a few short years will be voters of Greenwich are not getting even a complete common school education,” Ayres charged the community. His solutions included a bond issue to raise more money and to focus on vocational education to retain students beyond the common school course. These proposals had been central in the American public school system in Puerto Rico a decade prior.⁷⁸

The Greenwich investigation opened the door for Ayres to pursue a much larger school survey of the Cleveland, Ohio, school district in 1914 and 1915. Two prominent citizens, George T. Dissette and banker F.H. Goff, corresponded with him about the need to change the “sentiment toward education” in their city. Much like the issues Ayres found in Connecticut, the main problem was not enough money to properly support schools, leading to tensions between the school board, teachers, and the public.⁷⁹ Ayres was hired to oversee the survey to bring to

⁷⁸ Ayres, “Greenwich Schools from an Outside Viewpoint,” Address delivered June 15, 1912, at the closing session of the Educational Exhibit of Greenwich, Connecticut, Box 19: Speeches and Writings, Folder: Speeches June 15, 1912-Jan. 22, 1930, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁹ Letter from George T. Dissette to F.B. Goff, August 10, 1914, Box 2, Folder 2: General Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

light the conditions of the schools and advocate for more support.⁸⁰ During the survey, Ayres worked with other educational professionals including many who had ties to American imperial schooling in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, including R.R. Lutz and John Franklin Bobbitt.⁸¹ Between 1915-1917, Ayres oversaw the publication of twenty-five reports about public education in Cleveland, which was part of an even larger survey of various social and economic issues in the city.

After the Cleveland Survey, Ayres continued to be recognized as one of the foremost experts in the field of educational statistics.⁸² He was a founding member of the Cleveland Conference, which included prominent educators such as Charles Judd, W.A. Jessup, and Edward C. Elliot, and he became an influential “inner circle” of educational elites.⁸³ At the Second Annual Conference on Education Measurements at Indiana University in 1915, Ayres gave three speeches titled “Making Education Definite,” “The Measurement of Educational Processes and Products,” and the timely “A Survey of School Surveys.”⁸⁴ In these speeches Ayres recounted the progress over the last decade that the U.S. had made toward the quantification of educational data and the improvements in attitudes toward school efficiency. “Five years ago twenty-nine cities in America had systems of individual record cards for keeping

⁸⁰ Goff to Dissette, August 24, 1910, Box 2, Folder 2: General Correspondence, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress and Lagemann, *Elusive Science*, 83.

⁸¹ John Franklin Bobbitt, “What the Schools Teach and Might Teach” and RR Lutz, “Wage Earning and Education,” Box 23, Folder: Reports of the Cleveland Education Survey 1915, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸² Steffes, *School, Society, and State*, 42. For example, Ayres was invited to perform a survey of the city of Boston’s financial situation by the mayor and finance committee in 1915.

⁸³ Lagemann, *Elusive Science*, 94 and Gamson, *Importance of Being Urban*, 114.

⁸⁴ “Second Annual Conference on Educational Measurements,” *Indiana University Bulletin*, vol. XIII, no. 11, October 1915, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Educational Measurements; Standards for Graphic Presentation 1915, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

the school histories of the children,” Ayres cited as an example. “Today over three hundred cities have adopted a unified system for this purpose.” The statistician touted the intentional efforts of educationalists like himself: “These nation-wide changes are not products of mere chance. They have come because the public and the educators have begun to demand real information about their public schools.” Referencing his own work in and after Puerto Rico, he recounted that “About seven years ago it occurred to a few people in America seriously to ask the question, ‘What proportion of the children who enter our common schools remain to complete the course?’”⁸⁵

Ayres’s lecture on school surveys credited other experts in establishing and furthering the survey movement, yet he also reflected back to his time investigating “backward children” in the New York City schools in 1908. Regarding retardation and school efficiency, Ayres explained, “About seven years ago this became one of the most widely studied problems of educational administration, and in the past four it has been one of the prominent parts of the school surveys.” Due to this expanded recognition of the problem that came from his work, the graduation rates had significantly increased in American elementary schools. “It is probably that no other one thing so fundamentally important to the future of America as this accomplishment of our public schools has taken place in recent years. There is every evidence that this is the direct result of applying measurements to education,” Ayres bragged. Optimistically he asserted, “If the school survey movement now under way can produce other results at all comparable with this one, we need have no fear for the outcome.”⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ayres, “Making Education Definite” in “Second Annual Conference on Educational Measurements,” *Indiana University Bulletin*, vol. XIII, no. 11, October 1915, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Educational Measurements; Standards for Graphic Presentation 1915, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸⁶ Ayres, “Survey of School Surveys,” in “Second Annual Conference on Educational Measurements,” *Indiana University Bulletin*, vol. XIII, no. 11, October 1915, Box 20: Printed Matter, Folder: Educational Measurements; Standards for Graphic Presentation 1915, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Cleveland Survey in 1917, Ayres moved his statistical prowess to a new field. When the U.S. entered World War I, Ayres volunteered his services and the resources of the Statistical and Educational Divisions of the Russell Sage Foundation to the armed forces. He became Director of the Division of Statistics of the Council of National Defense and eventually served as the Director of the Division of the Statistics of the War Industries Board. After his discharge from the Army in 1920, Ayres became Vice President of the Cleveland Trust Company.⁸⁷ Though he had transitioned to the world of business, Ayres would always be connected to educational reform movements. The *Journal of Education* celebrated Ayres and called him “one of the most indispensable educators of the day.” The writer lamented, “For him personally we are exuberantly happy, while for the profession we are almost literally in the depths of despair. There is no man or woman in sight who has developed to any appreciable degree his scientific mastery of educational statistics. If any one is indispensable to educational progress today it is he.”⁸⁸

His foray into school statistics in Puerto Rico changed Ayres’s life trajectory. For decades after leaving the field of education, people linked him with data and quantitative work. A picture caption in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* asserted, “He trails the coy statistic to its lair and then makes it work for him”⁸⁹ Another article further developed how inseparable Ayres was from his data, “Unmarried, he lives in calculations. He times speakers to find out how long it takes to state an idea; he studies the relative qualities of neckties; the speed of bicycle racers, the length

⁸⁷ “For Release - Monday, November 22, 1920,” Box 22, Folder: Biographical Information, 1919-42, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸⁸ “Educators Today,” *Journal of Education*, Nov. 25, 1920, Box 22, Folder: Biographical Information, 1919-42, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸⁹ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, undated, Box 22, Folder: Biographical Information, 1919-42, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

and character of music programs. But chiefly he studies the human mind in relation to its pocket-book and reduces bonds, price movements, interest rates stock.”⁹⁰ In his journal from a trip to Paris in 1927, Ayres analyzed data from his journey:

“Countries visited...7”

“Yards of red carpet walked on...1,762”

“Kind and queens met...5”

“Evenings when entirely sober...0”

“Lunches when jovially jingled...19”

“Evenings seriously soused...17”

“Meal at which coffee was served...88”

“Meals at which coffee was good...1”⁹¹

Ayres had followed the American imperial education chains to the new island colony right after graduation in 1902 as an ambitious teacher. He returned with a new outlook and expertise on school statistics and efficiency that informed his perspective and career for many more decades. Ayres also significantly shaped the efficiency side of the progressive education movement in and beyond the U.S. Into the early 1920s the school survey and statistics movement expanded to encompass the entire U.S., many of its imperial territories, and school systems around the globe.

⁹⁰ “The Men and the Hour,” undated, Box 22, Folder: Biographical Information, 1919-42, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹¹ Leonard P. Ayres, “Journal of Trip to Paris to Attend Legion Convention, September, October 1927,” Box 1, Folder 3: Ayres Journal 1927-1929, Leonard Porter Ayres Papers, Library of Congress.

One of Ayres's final publications with the Russell Sage Foundation in 1920, "An Index Number for State School Systems," rated the efficiency of education in numerous locations. *The American School Board Journal* reported, "Among the surprising results of the study is the fact that the school systems of our territorial possessions, such as Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and Porto Rico, have higher rating than those of many of the 48 states." Puerto Rico was not highly ranked at 42nd place but that still placed it above ten southern states.⁹² This index brought together many of the threads from Ayres's two decades of education work statistics, surveys, promotion rates, and efficiency throughout the American imperial web. Interestingly, the index left out the Philippines, demonstrating that archipelago's different status than Puerto Rico (and Hawaii) in the U.S. empire by 1920. Though financial constraints shaped both territories, the history of school practices in the Philippine islands in the early twentieth century diverged from those in Puerto Rico. Yet, educational ideas and practices also flowed back to the mainland from the Philippines along the imperial chains that bound the U.S. and its territories.

⁹² "State School Systems Studied: Russell Sage Foundation Rates School Systems by Statistical Methods," *The American School Board Journal: A Periodical of School Administration* vol. LX, no. 6 (June 1920): 96.

Chapter 4: Centralization, Bureaucracy, and Practical Education in the Philippines

The author of *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* began the account from the mid-1920s exclaiming, “One of the most remarkable chapters in the history of education has been written since the opening of the twentieth century in the Philippine Islands.” This report, also known as the Monroe Commission Report after its director Dr. Paul Monroe from Teachers College, Columbia University, evaluated the quality of education after a quarter century of American rule in the Philippine islands. The experts who penned the report boldly touted the significance of the educational efforts in the U.S. colony. “For twenty-five years these Islands have served as a laboratory for an educational experiment of enormous magnitude and complexity.” Monroe and his colleagues were not alone in their assessment. Throughout the first two decades of U.S. imperial rule, educators considered the islands an ideal testing ground for new school ideas and practices. Just as Puerto Rico became a “colonial crucible” to trial ideas about efficiency and data, the school system in the Philippines developed in particular ways that influenced educational reform movements back in the U.S.¹ Though the two territories had similarities due to the funding issues in both locales, the school practices in the Philippines provided a laboratory to work out ideas in two different areas: expanded centralization and bureaucracy and “practical schooling” in the form of vocational, agricultural, and physical education.

Centralization and Bureaucracy

Historian Glenn May describes the monumental task in front of the U.S. in 1900 as “how to govern a colony consisting of more than 7,000 islands, inhabited by more than 7.5 million

¹ Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds. *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

people and separated by more than 8,000 miles from the capital of the United States.”² As chapter two described, the school system slowly expanded to reach the millions of children across the vast archipelago, but from the beginning, educators aimed to bring American schooling to even the most remote village. In the first years of the twentieth century, the celebrated “Thomasite” teachers docked in Manila after their long voyages but then were sent to outposts often days away from the capitol to set up new schools. Reflecting on these earlier times, many of these pioneering teachers recalled the risk, adventure, and romance of their initial careers in the Philippines. Teachers who stayed on for many years also fondly remembered the freedom from bureaucracy they experienced. A supervising teacher, Louis Lisk wrote to Commissioner Frank L. Crone in 1913, “In ‘the days of the empire’ there were no bothersome general and division circulars to worry over, no course of study that had to be followed, no monthly reports, no property responsibility, in fact nothing from the outside to worry one except the efficiency report.”³ Another teacher, Lewis S. Thomas reminisced, “The earlier teachers were not much troubled with reports. There were no forms.”⁴

In contrast, less than twenty years later, Commissioner Walter Marquardt described the “Red Tape” and “Office Methods” to new teachers. “The proper accomplishment of your paper work,” he wrote, “will undoubtedly be a source of perplexity at least until you get the hang of it. The return of some of your papers for corrections will surely be irritating until you either learn

² Glenn May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (West Port: Greenwood Press, 1980), xxvi-xxvii.

³ Louis H. Lisk, Supervising Teacher in Sara, Iloilo, P.I. Letter to the Director of Education, September 27, 1913, Box 6, Folder: Early Experiences of American Teachers, 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁴ Lewis S. Thomas, Letter to Frank L. Crone, August 2, 1913, Box 6, Folder: Early Experiences of American Teachers, 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

how to avoid mistakes or else to take things philosophically.” He encouraged them to not be upset when they had to redo office reports because it taught them how to fill it out correctly next time. He assured them, “When you are called upon to render some special report for which you can see no use, it is up to you to accomplish the same without question or delay. You may be sure that ‘There is a reason.’” Marquardt encouraged the teachers to not become frustrated with the bureaucratic red tape but to “consider it a game in which you are pitted against the higher officer to see which side will make the fewest errors.”⁵ This advice demonstrates the major shift in the Philippines in the first two decades of the twentieth century from teachers hitting the ground with no organization in place to a full centralized bureaucratic apparatus to create efficient supervision across the islands.

This change paralleled and, in some ways, even expanded on similar reforms in the mainland. At the same time the U.S. took control of the Philippines at the turn of the century, a few urban school districts had begun to reshape the administration of their public schools. Cities such as Kansas City and Cleveland placed more authority and responsibility in superintendents who were educational experts rather than lay elected officials on school boards.⁶ By the 1910s, university presidents, educational experts, superintendents, businessman, and other reformers created a cohesive and successful movement to centralize and bureaucratize municipal school systems.⁷ These ideas spread from the cities to the countryside as state departments of education

⁵ “Red Tape,” Box 5 Scrapbook, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁶ William J. Reese, *America’s Public Schools, From Common Schools to “No Child Left Behind”* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 58.

⁷ David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 136-137.

promoted the consolidation of small rural schools.⁸ Similar processes occurred in the Philippines at the same time, though colonial educators would later hold up the scale and success of their centralization and bureaucracy as a model for the movement on the mainland.

The earliest days of American schooling in the Philippines, however, were piecemeal and depended upon the skills and initiative of individual teachers. During his time as Commissioner of Education, Crone recalled his first impressions as a teacher. “When we arrived in 1901 we found that no definite plans had been worked out for the school system to be established. In fact, it seemed to be taken for granted that there already was a school system or that it would be very easy to find a force of native teachers who could open up schools in every town.”⁹ Every teacher had to find a building, persuade students to come, and establish themselves in each community.

However, even in the earliest reports, colonial officials prioritized creating centralized bureaucratic structures to build a stronger system. The initial Taft Commission proposed a mixed structure with a “strongly centralized” administration that still encouraged “local initiative and responsibility.”¹⁰ As Chapter 2 argued, this structure, which placed most funding demands on municipalities, created financial difficulties in the territory for two decades. Though local Filipino leaders were tasked with the burden of funding education, they were not given the control over other aspects of schooling.¹¹ In 1902, General Superintendent Atkinson reported,

⁸ Reese, *America's Public Schools*, 123.

⁹ “Some Notes on the Development of the Public School System in the Philippines,” Crone Papers, Box 6, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc. 2, 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁰ Elmer E. Brown, “Educational Progress of the Year,” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fortieth Annual Meeting Held at Detroit, Michigan, July 8-12, 1901* (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1901), 379.

¹¹ Benjamin Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun: The Origins of American Imperial Education in the Philippines,” *American Post-Conflict Education Reform* (2009): 41.

“Centralization, a necessity under the circumstances, is the chief characteristic of the present educational system.” Atkinson initiated the supervisory structure that would cascade from the central office creating eighteen districts overseen by division superintendents and more than forty deputy division superintendents.¹² Due to “increasing work of the office,” he requested at least four more clerks for his central office staff to deal with the increased paperwork from the field.¹³

By 1904, the role of General Superintendent (later called Director of Education) became more powerful as the balance shifted away from local administrative control to more centralization. Due to the limited funding for expansion, school officials focused on “development and perfection” of the bureaucracy rather than expansion of schools.¹⁴ Instead of more students, the office staff and responsibilities of the general superintendent grew. Twenty-nine people staffed the General Superintendent’s office, because the “routine work” increased “525 per cent over that of the previous year.”¹⁵ David P. Barrows, now in the highest role in the department, explained that he and his staff had focused on improving communication between the central office and the division superintendents to achieve a “more perfect uniform organization of schools and offices.”¹⁶ Due to the geographic distances, this was largely

¹² Fred W. Atkinson, “The Present Educational Movement in the Philippines Islands,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1900-1901*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 1336 and May, *Social Engineering*, 81.

¹³ Fred W. Atkinson, Letter to Executive Secretary for the Philippine Islands, Nov. 30, 1901, Box 6, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc. 2, 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁴ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 816.

¹⁵ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 814-815.

¹⁶ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 847.

accomplished through increased correspondence from the field supervisors.¹⁷ “Reliable statistics have been secured relative to public instruction in the Philippines, through a careful system of school reports,” he stated.¹⁸ Because of this increased paperwork, officials added the position of deputy general superintendent in 1905.¹⁹

Administrators used circular letters as a main way to disseminate information from the central office to the field supervisors. These communications regularly added new bureaucratic structures and record-keeping forms to teachers’ and supervisors’ workloads. During his time as Division Superintendent of the Camarines Province in 1905-08, Crone preserved and bound the myriad circulars that passed through his office. These circulars document the expanding centralization and bureaucracy while Barrows was General Superintendent from 1903-1909. Some of these letters reminded teachers to fill out daily attendance records carefully, to return reports promptly to the division office, and to avoid handing in reports with spelling errors or papers that had been crumpled.²⁰ Correct reporting became such an issue that Crone sent a circular to tell teachers they could not go on their long vacation until they corrected the errors.²¹ Other letters added more records to the list of required bookkeeping. Circular 34 stated, “Under

¹⁷ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 894.

¹⁸ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 847.

¹⁹ James F. Smith, “Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905. Part 4* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 371.

²⁰ Circular 17, Nov. 1, 1905; Circular 25, August 5, 1906; Circular 33, September 29, 1906, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²¹ Circular 37, Nov. 2, 1906, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

separate cover copies of Form B are being mailed to supervising teachers. This form is to be used to forward reports to this office of the expenditures approved by the supervising teachers. This will be checked over with Form C rendered by municipal treasurers and treasurers called to account for any discrepancies.”²² Another circular required teachers to document on Form 48 all of the overtime they used to fill out their reports.²³

The central office demanded an extensive list of reports from supervisory teachers at the end of the 1907 school year: “Form IX, report on school property, (by districts, not by town nor schools); property account slips; form XI, report on school buildings; an itemized statement of the approximate value of all contributions for school purposes of land, material and money; a report upon the quality of work done by each native teacher, ability as a class-room teacher, organizer, standing in community, energy and other personal qualities that may show his value to this Bureau.” The request included a reminder that “all the regular monthly reports should be rushed.”²⁴

That same year, the division office sent a circular offering supplies for teachers to use to store the extensive office correspondence. “This office will be able to furnish supervising teachers with Falcon Letter Files, library paste and binders for general and divisional circulars.” Crone advised his staff on the proper way to organize the circulars. “All letters of importance

²² Circular 34, September 29, 1906, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²³ Circular 3, Jan. 7, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²⁴ Circular 9, Jan. 22, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

should be filed in Falcon Files and all circulars should be filed in binders. If the circulars are indexed as received, teachers will have all information ready at hand.” He expanded on the rationale, “Many inquiries received at this office show that circulars are often mislaid or that teachers do not take the pains to read them with care. The result is a great deal of work that is entirely unnecessary.”²⁵

Some circulars focused on having staff report on curricular priorities like Arbor Day celebrations and the extent of vocational education in their schools.²⁶ Bringing things full circle, Crone asked his supervising teachers for topics to include at the yearly normal institute. In Circular 90 he asked, “Do teachers need instruction in making our reports?”²⁷ These circulars demonstrate how division superintendents such as Crone acted as middlemen between supervisory teachers and the central office in Manila bringing together the farthest reaches of the educational empire.

By 1907, the bureaucratic apparatus was securely in place. The numerous forms that Crone received from his teachers helped create his yearly documentation to the central office. Barrows as the head of the Bureau of Education completed his report for the Secretary of Public Instruction who then passed everything along to the Secretary of War. Barrows crowed about the success of the bureaucratic structures to Secretary of War William Howard Taft in 1907. “Our school organization in the Philippines is practically complete. It is laid out on lines which should

²⁵ Circular 21, March 8, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²⁶ Circular 51, July 18, 1907, Circular 79, Oct. 23, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²⁷ Circular 90, November 25, 1907, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

be followed for the next six or seven years.” As a result, Barrows assumed that his replacement would not need to be “trained in administrative school work.”²⁸ The system could seemingly run itself. In his yearly report, the Director of Education praised the importance of the division superintendents’ reports for supervision of such a large geographic area. “The reports of this year appear to the director of education to be of exceptional interest and value,” he explained. “The statistical matter is systemic and authentic, the comments and criticisms, both upon school work and the general social conditions of the country, are those of men of experience in the islands, of intimate acquaintance with the Filipino population, sympathetic disposition, and good judgment.”²⁹ According to Barrows, the layers of supervision and bureaucracy created a highly centralized system that remained responsive to local conditions.

In his final report as Division Superintendent in 1909, Crone detailed the increased centralization and bureaucracy he had helped pioneer for almost a decade. He contrasted the system in the Philippines with schools in the U.S. calling it a “departure from the American type.” “In our school work there is necessarily very little of local authority, it is all a centralized bureaucracy,” he wrote. According to the administrator, the division superintendents had almost complete control over all decisions in their district. He admitted, “The system has the advantages and deficiencies of every bureaucratic system.” Despite this strong centralization, it was vital for school leaders to get local input which naturally created an “endless amount of correspondence with, what appeals to the uninitiated, as endless ‘red tape’.” Referencing the types of letters and circulars he and all other division superintendents produced, Crone declared that “in the last

²⁸ David P. Barrows, Letter to Taft, Secretary of War, January 7th, 1907, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - Dec. 1907, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²⁹ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Ninth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 801.

fiscal year 66,000 separate communications were filed, indexed and card-referenced in the office of the Director of Education.”³⁰ Division Superintendent Crone’s ability to operate this extensive bureaucratic apparatus helped him advance to the chief clerk of the Bureau of Education in 1909.³¹

Crone reached the pinnacle of the department becoming Director of Education in 1913. Officials continued to focus on efficiency in terms of data gathering and bureaucratic structures through the decade. Multiple outside experts such as Paul Monroe from Columbia and Francis W. Shepardson from the University of Chicago conducted surveys of the system. Shepardson, in particular, “looked into the General Office organization very thoroughly.” One commentator on the school survey work in the Philippines noted the abundance of available data. Referencing the types of correspondence Crone had circulated in the field, the writer explained, “One can obtain the rate of promotion of pupils within each grade by examining Form XX. Data on attendance are accessible by examining the monthly Forms VI of division superintendents.” The Philippines outperformed all other organizations since it was “not believed that as satisfactory a survey could be made in any other school organization in the world without leaving the head office.”³² The Philippines’ unique level of centralization and perfected imperial bureaucratic structures in the territory created a model of educational efficiency.

³⁰ Frank L. Crone, Bureau of Education, Division of Camarines, Report for the School Year Ending April 3, 1909, Box 3, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences, 1910-1912, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³¹ Frank L. Crone, June 17th Entry, Box 2, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences 1906-1909, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³² “School Surveys, Purpose, Procedure, and Results,” Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

In an article titled “The Supervision of the Philippine Public Schools.” Division Superintendent H.A. Bordner elaborated extensively on how the elements of central authority, supervision, reports, and data worked together in the educational system. He described the supervisory structure as concentric circles emanating from the “central authority in Manila outward to the teacher stationed in the most isolated barrio.” Bordner asserted, “There is probably no other national school system closely supervised in all its varied phases as that of the Philippine Islands.” He added that “the supervision of the schools of the Philippine Islands by the directors of the Bureau of Education is more comprehensive, more detailed, and more minute than is the supervision of the schools in the United States and in many countries of Europe.” The chain of command that led to this extensive supervision was clearly laid out. The Director of Education sent directives to division superintendents who oversaw supervising teachers “responsible for a number of schools in a geographic area.” Each school had their own principal who answered to the supervisory teacher. Ubiquitous paperwork like “correspondence, circulars, industrial bulletins, and various publications issued by the Bureau for the benefit of the force in the field” bolstered the bureaucracy. This “indirect supervision” was “scarcely less value in securing uniformity in educational work,” according to Bordner. He provided a thorough description of how circulars worked to “train teachers.”

The Director issues a large variety of circulars direct to Superintendents in which administrative orders and information, both general and particular, are conveyed to subordinates. These treat of every phase of the work. They prescribe the courses of study, or make revision thereof. They summarize the work to be performed in bringing the yearly corn campaigns to a successful conclusion. They indicate the general and particular lines the industrial program must follow. They emphasize the part that athletics

occupy in the school curriculum. They explain the latest methods of filing correspondence and contain instructions for the care of property. They spread the propagandas of the bureau of health and agriculture. They inaugurate modern accounting system for the sale of industrial products of the schools. They give rules and regulations for the holding of insular examinations. They emphasize the necessity of new phases of school work and dwell on the desirability of beautifying school rooms and making grounds more sanitary. They give instructions through the schools to all of the people as to how destructive swarms of locusts can be combatted and how cheap homesteads may be obtained by the poor. They treat of industrial exhibits, school libraries, normal institutes, erection of buildings, school lecture courses, athletic meets, class outlines, appointments of teachers, regulation of school finances, the teaching of ethics in the schools, and kindred subjects.³³

Bordner also described bulletins that provided detailed instruction about curricular and pedagogical efforts, and a magazine, *The Philippine Craftsman*, which focused on industrial teaching in the islands.³⁴ These various publications created an extensive system of indirect supervision that strengthened the chains of the educational empire throughout the Philippine Islands.

Officials were conscious that teachers and critics could react negatively to this amount of bureaucracy. At the annual Teachers' Assembly in 1915, an educator poked fun at red tape

³³ H.A. Bordner, "The Supervision of the Philippine Public Schools," Bureau of Education, Division of Pangasinan, Lingayen, Pangasinan, P.I. September 21, 1914, Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

³⁴ H.A. Bordner, "The Supervision of the Philippine Public Schools," Bureau of Education, Division of Pangasinan, Lingayen, Pangasinan, P.I. September 21, 1914, Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

coming from the central office. Frank Wiseman Cheney, Jr., wrote “Behind the Scenes in the Director’s Office” and performed with other actors at the Annual Stunt Night of the conference. At the beginning of the skit, the men playing Directors Crone, Marquardt, and Magee sit around the office throwing letters in the “files” drawer, which is the trashcan:

Crone - There is a little matter here I would like to talk over with you fellows. Listen to this. (Picks up letter he has just been reading and reads aloud) Here’s a letter from a teacher in Hobo, Camarines. He says that the corn campaign’s a failure - when the dogs don’t eat the green ears from the stalks the municipal police steal ‘em. It takes so much time to replant and to fill out forms he has no time to teach school. (Turns to Mark) What do you think of that, Mark?

Marquardt - I know what I think about it. If I had my way about it I’d write and tell him to cut it out and get busy with his teaching.

Crone - What do you think the situation calls for, Mac?

Magee (judicially) - I think that Circular 4-11-44, Series 1910 covers the situation. If it doesn’t, we’ll get out another that will. Anyhow, things are probably not so bad as he represents them, and I would rather not give a definite order until we get more specific data.³⁵

Crone retained a copy of this skit in his papers, and he seemed to enjoy this light-hearted jest. Yet he and other school administrators insisted that this high-level of bureaucracy did not restrict teachers but instead allowed them a type of freedom. Bordner admitted in his article, “To

³⁵ Frank Wiseman Cheney, Jr., “Behind the Scenes in the Director’s Office,” Box 7, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. (Diary Entries, Letters, and Newspaper Clippings) 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

the uninitiated it might seem that so much and such thorough supervision of the schools would tie the hands of the teachers with too much red tape and would have a tendency to decrease their efficiency.” However, he claimed that the “plan of supervision is such that all supervisors and inspectors aid to increase the efficiency of the teachers and to give them a chance to develop originality and to put this originality into practice.” Bordner explained that teachers were fully aware of the experimental nature of the educational practices in the Philippines and the supervisory structure allowed them to trust in the expertise of their superiors and with this assurance the teacher can try new ideas with confidence.³⁶

After becoming Director of Education in 1916, Marquardt also defended the bureaucratic systems in the *Philippine Journal of Education*. He admitted that “many new teachers in the Bureau of Education are dismayed by the large number of rules and regulations prescribed in the 311 pages of the Bureau Service Manual. After reading these rules and regulations, they think that the Bureau is autocratic, or bureaucratic to say the least, in its method of conducting the public school affairs of the Philippine Islands.” Marquardt conceded that “Some new teachers seem to feel that there is no end to the making of rules, that there is no end to the making of reports, and that miles of red tape obstruct the wheels of progress.” He emphasized how much input was sought before making decisions saying the bureau was “administered on the theory of ‘many for counsel, but few for decision.’” He also detailed the many limits to the powers of the central office due to budget constraints. Still, the experimental nature of the imperial endeavor freed the school system from the restrictions of tradition. According to Marquardt this had given “the Philippines a wider and freer field for development during the last twenty years than in any

³⁶ H.A. Bordner, “The Supervision of the Philippine Public Schools,” Bureau of Education, Division of Pangasinan, Lingayen, Pangasinan, P.I. September 21, 1914, Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

other country or during any other equal length of time in the history of the world.”³⁷ Marquardt’s article summarized the results of these experiments of American imperial schooling in the Philippines: Due to financial limitations and imperial control, a highly centralized and bureaucratic system of education developed to a unique level in the colony.³⁸

The Slow Start of Practical Education

Practical education was another aspect of imperial schooling in the Philippines that developed in the early twentieth century. Like the structures of efficiency, this eventually influenced practices in the U.S. Though practical education started slowly in the earliest days of American schooling in the Philippines, it quickly became a central tenet of education. Specifically, practical education in the archipelago developed in three main directions. Vocational education in primary and intermediate schools emphasized handicrafts meant to teach trade skills. Agricultural education in rural areas taught students scientific techniques and introduced new crops. Lastly, educators pushed physical education for all students in efforts to share American values and strengthen the perceived physical weakness of the colonial subjects in the Philippines. Each of these reforms had earlier roots from the nineteenth and early twentieth century that informed their development in the colony. Yet, these three avenues of practical

³⁷ “The Representative Idea in the Administration of the Bureau of Education,” *The Philippine Journal of Education*, Box 6, Scrapbook, Diaries, and Travel Notes, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

³⁸ Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers, A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 221-222 and Elisabeth Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and U.S. Imperial Education, 1879-1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019), 27. Similar efforts to rationalize and Bureaucratize the Indian Service were also occurring before and during these practices in the Philippines. However, these efforts did not meet with as much success as the experiments in the Philippines.

education in the Philippines took new directions and sometimes morphed beyond the models in the U.S. during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The meaning of terms like practical, vocational, industrial, and manual training varied greatly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.³⁹ The target population of students often determined the nature and purpose of practical education. Scholars have noted the ways in which vocational education in the Philippines emerged from problematic efforts to limit academics for African-Americans and assimilate American Indians.⁴⁰ Other forms and ideas about vocational education were also part of the broader educational reform conversation at the turn of the century. Calvin Woodward popularized manual training practices for intellectual, moral, and economic purposes in the late nineteenth century.⁴¹ Shortly after, philanthropists founded technical and trade schools across the U.S., and some public schools adopted more vocational classes into their curriculum. By the end of the nineteenth century, manual training in its various forms was the center of school reform debates about the balance between academic and practical subjects.⁴² Support for vocational schooling swelled in the 1910s in the U.S. led by the National Association of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce, the National Education

³⁹ For a discussion about the shift from pedagogically and ethically motivated manual training to a more industrial economic focused vocational education in the late nineteenth century see Herbert M. Kleibard, *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876-1946* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 22.

⁴⁰ For example, see Anne Paulet, "To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (May 2007) and Glenn May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (West Port: Greenwood Press, 1980), xxvi-xxvii. Paulette describes Native American education as "precedents for future American imperial expansion as the United States discovered, at the turn of the century, that 'Indians' also lived overseas and that, just like those at home, they needed to be properly educated in the American way of life." May also notes how Fred W. Atkinson visited Tuskegee before taking his post as General Superintendent to see how that type of vocational education might be used in the Philippines.

⁴¹ Benjamin Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun," 24; and Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 112-113.

⁴² Reese, *America's Public Schools*, 98-108.

Association, and the American Federation of Labor.⁴³ At the same time this was happening on the mainland, officials instituted industrial education in the Philippines and were informed by the many conversations about vocational schooling for various populations. However, they were able to implement these practices on a larger scale and took that type of schooling in new directions.⁴⁴

As they opened schools, teachers primarily focused on teaching English. But in 1901 administrators made appropriations for a Normal School, School of Arts and Trades, and an Agricultural School. These centralized institutions demonstrated the educators' desire for practical education from the beginning.⁴⁵ Elmer E. Brown – Professor at the University of California, Berkeley – recounted the Taft Commission's proposal that had set the tone for schooling in the islands. He reiterated that special “attention shall be paid to the utilitarian side of elementary education, with a view to making every person self-dependent in the gaining of livelihood; that instruction in agriculture and in other subjects of vocational value shall be promoted.”⁴⁶ However, the funding problems that inhibited the expansion of the system also

⁴³ Tyack, *One Best System*, 189.

⁴⁴ See Glenn May, “The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-1930,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

⁴⁵ Miss Mary E. Coleman, “The Schools of the Philippine Island,” *Report of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1908* (Lake Mohonk, 1908), 98-100.

⁴⁶ Elmer E. Brown, “Educational Progress of the Year,” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fortieth Annual Meeting Held at Detroit, Michigan, July 8-12, 1901* (University Press of Chicago, 1901), 379.

delayed the development of practical education.⁴⁷ Still, school leaders took small steps to introduce industrial education and manual training.⁴⁸

Filipinos were also slow to accept practical education. According to American officials, Spanish education that had focused on training elites caused schooling to be associated with academic rather than hands-on learning. Secretary of Public Instruction Bernard Moses reported in 1902 that the “progress of industrial education has met, and will probably continue to meet, with certain obstacles in the Philippines. The people have been accustomed under their earlier instruction to regard education as a means of putting themselves in positions where manual labor is not required.”⁴⁹ According to one news article, the newly opened trade school in Manila found it “impossible to get enough pupils to open it” despite good teachers and equipment.⁵⁰ Though Dudley McGovney, a teacher in Manila, attributed the lack of students to the school’s distant location, he expanded on the reason why vocational education was such a significant part of the imperial plan. “The best thought of our day teaches that economic betterment is the safest path and the surest to political liberty. Abstract ideas from ‘book learning’ have sowed many a whirlwind for which commonsense and the selfish conservatism, if you please, of industry and

⁴⁷ Fred W. Atkinson, Letter to Executive Secretary for the Philippine Islands, Manila, P.I. Nov. 30, 1901, Box 6, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc. 2, 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁴⁸ Bernard Moses, “First Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction - Year Ending October 15, 1902,” in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902*, vol. X, *Report of the Philippine Commission, Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 883.

⁴⁹ Bernard Moses, “First Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction - Year Ending October 15, 1902,” in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902*, vol. X, *Report of the Philippine Commission, Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 881-882.

⁵⁰ “Filipinos are Hard People to Teach: They Still Talk of their Dreams of Independence,” *New York Times*, May 11, 1902.

material welfare are the best ballast.”⁵¹ McGovney’s perspective reflected a common racist, imperial viewpoint in the early twentieth century which argued for providing manual training for colonial subjects to assume lower economic positions rather than academic education for improved social standing.⁵²

These “abstract ideas” and “book learning” that McGovney discounted were nevertheless precisely what the Filipinos desired from their schooling. Despite the early rhetoric about industrial education, administrators relegated vocational training to separate schools set up for that purpose. Municipal primary schools through 1903 resembled common schools in the United States with such subjects as English, arithmetic, geography, Philippine and American history, and human physiology taught in elementary schools.⁵³ In 1904, supervisors dramatically increased the rhetorical emphasis on vocational education in the face of criticism from the Americans in the U.S. and Manila. Secretary of Public Instruction, James F. Smith, defensively ramped up his discussion of practical education and at the same time faulted the Filipinos for lack of progress. He asserted that classical studies were not the focus, but instead the Bureau of Education placed “great emphasis...on the severely practical.” He blamed the Filipinos’ disposition, adding that it was the “only wise course to pursue if lack of initiative and a too pronounced tendency to idealize are to be corrected.”⁵⁴ Smith cited Filipino resistance to

⁵¹ Dudley A. McGovney, “Education in Philippines: Problems Which Have to be Met by Those Who Instruct Malay People – Policy and Methods of Those at the Head of the Department of Education,” *New York Times*, February 1, 1903.

⁵² Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American School, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 21.

⁵³ James F. Smith, “Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fourth Annual Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War 1903, part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 703.

⁵⁴ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 821-823.

industrial training and faulted them for an impractical view of education causing them to “dwell too much on their expectations of the future and too little on the live, exigent problems of the present.”⁵⁵

E.B. Bryan, a former education official in the Philippines and current professor at Indiana University, provided the NEA conference in 1904 with assurances that vocational education was a key priority for school administrators. He insisted, “one thing that ought to be emphasized thruout the archipelago - and I am told by a representative of the school system this morning that it is the one thing which Dr. Barrows is emphasizing now more than anything else - is industrial education - industrial education based upon the stock of these people, their history, their traditions, their environment, their industrial development, and their industrial promise.”⁵⁶

At that time in 1904, most of the manual training occurred at the high school level, which had small enrollments. According to Barrows, “The Provincial High Schools of which there are just thirty-five, one in each province, besides being a preparatory school for college entrance are in addition really technical schools, giving courses in commerce, agriculture, arts and trades, and in teaching.”⁵⁷ Crone, working at one of these secondary schools, set up a school garden and worked the plot of land himself to demonstrate to his students that he was not above physical labor in an attempt to interest more Filipino students in gardening.⁵⁸ When Crone became

⁵⁵ James F. Smith, “Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 821-823.

⁵⁶ E.B. Bryan, “Education in the Philippines,” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting Held at St. Louis, Mo. June 27-July 1, 1904* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), 103-104.

⁵⁷ David P. Barrows, Letter to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Berkeley, October 5, 1904, Box 1, Folder: Jan.-Dec. 1904, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁵⁸ “Some Philippine Experiences 1903-1904-1905,” Box 1, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences 1903-1905, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Division Superintendent, he continued to push practical education. In his annual report to the Director in 1906, he explained that at first industrial education had not been popular but things like needle work and wood working had made inroads in his district. He also reported that physical exercises were very popular with students, a theme that would become more pronounced during this tenure as head of the bureau.⁵⁹

American educators like Crone persistently supported industrial education despite attacks from many sides on this issue. Filipinos were hesitant to accept practical education and insisted on schooling that would lift them out of manual labor professions. Meanwhile, the American press questioned the efficacy of U.S. educational efforts in the Philippines. These attacks forced education leaders to defend public instruction by focusing on the centrality of vocational training in the schools. In 1907, Secretary of Public Instruction W. Morgan Shuster railed that these press attacks for vocational training “take no account of the fact that this practical form of education has been one of the keynotes of the government's policy since the establishment of the public school system.”⁶⁰ A year later, Barrows provided more details about the press objections to education funding which mirrored shifting perspectives in the attitude of government officials in the Philippines. “The cry is the common one,” Barrows lamented, “that the public schools interfere with the availability of labor, train boys away from the fields, and expend large sums of money which would better be devoted to Industrial and commercial development.” The press charged that efforts at incorporating industrial education into a school system modeled after

⁵⁹ “Annual Report to the General Superintendent, 1906,” Box 2, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences 1906-1909, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁶⁰ Hon. W. Morgan Shuster, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction” in *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907 (in three parts) Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 163.

American schools had failed to achieve the industrial goals set out by the government. They called for a “radical change in the amount and character of instruction” so “that the money devoted to public instruction” would not be “wasted.”⁶¹

While this type of schooling had been prevalent in discussions about education since the beginning – as Shuster and Barrows insisted - it had not become widespread throughout the islands. Educators introduced a new course of study in 1907 to incorporate vocational education more broadly into the primary school curriculum to help quiet the critics. Noticing that most students would only complete the first three years of instruction, American officials aimed to provide “sufficient academic knowledge and training to enable him to efficiently transact his own business.” Schools also aimed to create a “habit of work” and show Filipino students that “manual labor is eminently respectable and honorable.” Therefore, the new primary school curriculum would balance the traditional common school subjects with practical education.⁶²

In the field, this expansion of practical education ramped up significantly. Division Superintendent Crone reported that his district had extended industrial education to “all towns of the province.” “The work has consisted of hat, basket, mat and chairmaking, woodworking, gardening, carving, sewing, plain and fancy, embroidery, desk and school house repairing, school house decorating etc.” Some of these articles had been placed on exhibit and even sold. In his province industrial work was becoming very popular and they had been “unable to keep up with the demand for this instruction” in some places. “There is little of that disposition to shirk all forms of manual labor which Manila papers are so fond of recording.” Filipinos’ interest in

⁶¹ David P. Barrows, “Report of the Director of Education,” in *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908. Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 806.

⁶² Gilbert N. Brink, “Annual Report of the Director of Education,” in *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907. Part 3* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 200.

physical education also expanded. According to the Division Superintendent, athletics was fast becoming a means to attract and retain students. “The interest in baseball, track and field events and gymnastics has grown rapidly.... Many boys are kept in school just because of the introduction of these sports.”⁶³ The next year, Crone urged all of his teachers via Circular 26 to “take immediate steps to start athletic training in their districts.”⁶⁴ Crone’s experience demonstrated the shift occurring across the islands as the many forms of practical education became more than a rhetorical emphasis for American imperial schooling.

In 1908, officials turned their attention to agricultural education in rural areas. Vice Governor W. Cameron Forbes, who had played various roles in the imperial government and would soon become governor of the islands, focused on the material advancement of the territory. He envisioned a campaign to assist farmers to change their methods and increase their yields by establishing government farms in each province. These sites would fill many roles for Filipinos. First, they would be an “an agricultural school, a place where seeds could be grown to give the best grade of plants for each province.” They would also be a “school of Arts and Trades, where the students would be taught to make and repair machinery and tools used in the agricultural development of their own provinces and where the government could maintain a certain number of steam plows and other cultivating and harvesting machinery, which could be available for use by people owning neighboring farms, they to get their land plowed and work

⁶³ Frank L. Crone, “Bureau of Education, Division of Camarines Report for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1907,” Box 3, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences, 1910-1912, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁶⁴ Circular 26, July 6, 1908, Box 2, Folder: Bound Circulars Distributed as Division Superintendent in Camarines (Province in Philippines), Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

done for a percentage of the crop.”⁶⁵ Forbes’s ideas represented a shift at the highest level of the colonial government toward focusing on the economic and commercial development of the colony rather than traditional academic education.⁶⁶

Director Barrows acknowledged this tension between practical and academic education at a convention for superintendents. He proposed new initiatives for how to increase practical education in primary schools. After five years as Director of Education and discouraged by recurrent battles over budgets, Barrows reiterated his belief that universal primary education was still the best means to meet the “social and economic needs of the Filipino people.” However, expansion had stalled due to financial issues, and many Americans pushed for less “book instruction.” Critics wanted to “take away the primer and the arithmetic...and give to the Filipino boy the trowel and the hoe.” The Director rejected this extreme line of thinking and claimed, “The man who utters it would not for a moment think of surrendering any part of that fragment of the world’s culture which he himself has gained through books and through schools. He would not think of denying any measure of it to his own child.”⁶⁷ Barrows’ struggle to balance primary school expansion and practical education demonstrated the complicated political minefield which often required educators to navigate between the desires of American officials, Filipino politicians, and native families.

⁶⁵ W. Cameron Forbes, “What Had Best Be Done for the Material Advancement of the Philippines.” *Report of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1908* (Lake Mohonk, 1908), 117.

⁶⁶ Peter W. Stanley, *Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 102, 117.

⁶⁷ David P. Barrows, Undated address to the convention of superintendents, Carton 6, Folder: Philippines Islands – Education, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

Barrows conceded that, after universal literacy, the second goal of the school system in the islands was to make the population “industrious and skilled in the business of life.” To his army of administrators in the field, Barrows recounted how intermediate schools had been the primary site for practical education. “In placing this work in the intermediate schools we proceeded on somewhat original lines,” he contended, since “in the United States the development of manual training has been confined largely to high schools.” However, focusing on academic instruction in the primary grades and vocational education in the intermediate grades had not done enough, according to the Director. He asked the superintendents to debate a proposal that would move a more thorough curriculum of practical education down to the primary grades, particularly emphasizing industrial work in the newly added fourth year. This proposal aimed to introduce vocational education to more students not planning to attend intermediate schools.⁶⁸

Barrows’ efforts to establish separate schools for this additional vocational training met the same financial hindrances as his vision of universal education. Barrows wanted to retain the first three years of primary schooling focused on English and other general subjects to fulfill the most important goal of universal literacy. But the move to expand vocational education throughout all levels of the school system pushed practical schooling in the Philippines beyond previous and current models in the U.S. and placed the practices on experimental grounds in the colony.

⁶⁸ David P. Barrows, Undated address to the convention of superintendents, Carton 6, Folder: Philippines Islands – Education, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

Barrows' decision to retire in 1909 was partly due to the ascension of W. Cameron Forbes to Governor-General of the islands.⁶⁹ Forbes' commercial-centric schooling and Barrows' universal literacy priorities conflicted.⁷⁰ Frank R. White took over as Director and elevated Crone to Assistant Director in the central office. The new educational leaders met with Forbes to discuss his vision for American imperial schools in the Philippines. The educators stated in their memorandum after the meeting that Forbes "wanted concentration or specialization as compared with generalization. The aim of education as to prepare the people to be self supporting and this could not be brought about through teaching too many lines; concentrate on a few and teach them well." Forbes criticized an industrial education exhibit he had observed where the "articles looked as if they had been made in a trade school for idiots, or the purpose was to turn out a lot of toys." Instead, what he envisioned was a "course of study that would make real articles that could be used in the home and also enter into the channels of the world's trade." During this meeting, Forbes presented ideas that cemented the relationship between businesses and schools and further demonstrated the drastically different direction he wanted to take education in the territory. One such idea was for industrial centers in each province led by an expert who had trained in Manila. Rather than relying on professional educators as had been the practice so far, Forbes insisted that "one of the requisites for appointment to the superintendency of an industrial

⁶⁹ Letter to James A. LeRoy, American Consul, Durango Mexico, September 8th, 1906, Box 1, Folder: Feb. - Dec. 1906, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. In 1906 Barrows wrote to a close friend, James A. LeRoy "Whether I return or not or continue in the service depends upon who goes in as Secretary of Public Instruction. There is some talk here of shifting things around so that the Secretaryship would go to Forbes. If this were the case I would resign. My experience under him during the time that he has been acting has been such that I would not continue permanently."

⁷⁰ Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers and Contested Colonization in the Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 192. Steinbock-Pratt argues that "Despite Barrows' dedication to a liberal education, he still viewed it as a pedagogical tool to create a better class of farmers. The primary difference between American advocates of vocational over liberal arts training, then, was not what future they envisioned for most Filipinos, but what sort of education would best achieve that goal."

center would be success in business.”⁷¹ His focus on economic development accelerated and expanded the scope of practical schooling in the Philippines during the 1910s.⁷²

The Expansion of Practical Education

In the second decade of the twentieth century, officials differentiated the practical education in the Philippines from similar efforts of vocational schooling in the U.S. Educators touted the more uniform system of industrial education in the islands and argued that the Philippines outperformed the American model.⁷³ The new Director of Education White wrote to Barrows exclaiming, “Our system of industrial instruction is going to be the distinguishing feature of the educational work here.”⁷⁴ White and Forbes’s goals of commercialization and standardization were aided by the centralized bureaucracy established in the first decade. Historian Glenn May describes the educational system from 1909-1930 as a “mammoth business operation.”⁷⁵ Official department bulletins became an essential tool to circulate ideas about vocational, industrial, agricultural, and physical education. These bulletins shared information through the islands and back to the U.S. and encouraged others to replicate the success of various experiments. Many of the bulletins during this time highlighted the commercial ventures

⁷¹ “Memorandum of Interview with Governor General Cameron W. Forbes, December 4, 1909, Manila,” Box 7, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. (Diary Entries, Letters, and Newspaper Clippings) 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁷² Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire*, 176, 192-193.

⁷³ Newton W. Gilbert, “Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), 172-174.

⁷⁴ David P. Barrows, Letter to Hodgson, July 2nd, 1910, Box 1, Folder: Jan.-July 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁷⁵ May, “The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30,” 152-153.

connected with practical schooling. One bulletin described how the School of Household Industries in Manila trained women. It taught embroidery and lacemaking with a goal for the women to return to their province with the skills they had acquired to set up “working centers” to meet the “steady and constantly increasing demand for high-grade work.” The educators there wanted to “establish a new standard of excellence for Philippine lace and embroidery” at the school. Following more along Forbes’ vision of education, these women were not to be viewed as teachers but as businesswomen who relied on the sales of their product for money.⁷⁶

Another bulletin described the purpose and activities of the “Industrial Museum, Library, and Exhibits of the Bureau of Education.” Officials created a new museum in the general office to house the expanding number of publications and artifacts connected to industrial education. The space was part library for teachers and part exhibit. “The industrial library contains a considerable number of books dealing with the different lines of industrial work and is being constantly increased as new books are published,” the bulletin stated. Furthermore, the general public could view furniture, implements, and photos of plans in their natural environment along with other fabricated articles from the schools. This centralized facility was meant to inspire other similar museums to be “established throughout the islands.” The bulletin deemed a traveling exhibit “one of the best and quickest methods of extending knowledge of new industrial articles, raising the quality of articles made, and standardizing industrial work throughout the islands.” These exhibits represented and expanded the practical schooling focus in the Philippines and helped build one of the most comprehensive and systematized models in the world.

⁷⁶ “Bulletin No. 45 - 1912, Bureau of Education, The School of Household Industries, 1912,” Box 3, Folder: Bulletins 45-46-47 vol. IV Bureau of Education 1912-1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

In 1913, Director Crone provided a retrospective of the progress that had been made in all branches of practical education since 1909. He recounted how before 1909, “industrial instruction was only partially organized.” Then the department began by introducing specialized vocational education classes in the intermediate grades. Practical education grew in tandem with the heavily centralized and bureaucratized system. This resulted in the creation of an “industrial information department, at the head of which is a division chief, and which necessitates the employment of a botanist, a designer, four native craftsman, and a force of traveling supervisors who inspect trade schools, machinery, school gardens, and building sites, and the general industrial work done through the public school system.”⁷⁷

Crone addressed the three main areas of practical education in the Philippines. Vocational instruction focused on local industry and resources. “An intense rivalry sprang up between supervising teachers throughout the country,” Crone asserted. “The arts of pillow lace making, embroidery, Irish crochet, hat weaving, basketry, and macrame work have been introduced and standardized throughout the primary and intermediate schools.” Agricultural education mainly started in the form of school gardens, “in which each pupil has his own individual plot, and home gardens which are three times the size of the school plot.” The goal was to teach students about techniques and crops but also encourage families to continue the gardens as a “permanent source of food supply.”⁷⁸

⁷⁷ “Educational Progress in the Philippines Since the American Occupation,” Box 4, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc., 1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁷⁸ Frank L. Crone, “Educational Progress in the Philippines Since the American Occupation,” Box 4, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc., 1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Athletics and physical training were essential parts of the triad of practical education in the Philippines. In the early twentieth century, physical education and athletics in public schools also gained momentum on the mainland. Reformers shifted control from students to school districts for interscholastic sports. They also envisioned an expanded role for games, sports, and physical education to “help ameliorate some of the pathologies of modern industrial society,” according to historian Robert Pruter.⁷⁹ However, physical education practices and policies were slow to expand widely in the U.S. until the 1920s.⁸⁰ Prior to that, athletics and physical education spread through the centralized Philippines system and provided a model for educators in the U.S. to emulate.

In the Philippines sports started as a connection between soldiers and Filipinos, according to Crone, but eventually transferred to civilian teachers and their students. Inter-provincial competitions were “accepted with the greatest enthusiasm by the people” and the Bureau of Education began to systematize physical education in the schools. Differing from the “highly specialized sports” that “were introduced as in the United States,” educators in the Philippines wanted all students to engage in physical activity and developed “group athletics in which a large percentage of the pupils would take part.” Crone hoped that in two to three years, eighty percent or more of the students would be involved in athletics.⁸¹ These system-wide goals and

⁷⁹ Robert Pruter, *The Rise of American High School Sports and the Search for Control: 1880-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 45.

⁸⁰ Pruter, *The Rise of American High School Sports*, 49.

⁸¹ Frank L. Crone, “Educational Progress in the Philippines Since the American Occupation,” Box 4, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc., 1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

standardization efforts created a unique development of practical education in the Philippines not simply copied from similar ideas in the U.S.⁸²

Crone took particular pride in the development of athletics in the islands. As the Division Superintendent of Camarines, he helped organize the first league comprised of baseball teams from three different provinces.⁸³ The Director credited athletics with “popularizing the schools in bringing about more regular attendance” based on his experience in Camarines.⁸⁴ These types of specialized sport competitions achieved other goals as well as including improving the “physical development of the participants,” teaching the “spirit of fair play and sportsmanship,” allowing athletes to travel to new places, promoting a “general understanding between the members of the various tribes constituting the Filipino people.”⁸⁵ This emphasis on physical education was part of what historian Sarah Steinbock-Pratt calls “body-centered pedagogy” which was an “important tool to reform and Americanize Filipino bodies.”⁸⁶

To achieve the aims of play and sports, Crone used his extensive centralized bureaucracy to push for more students to be involved in physical education.⁸⁷ “Some of the more conservative

⁸² In one letter, Crone wrote to the Secretary of Public Instruction, “The emphasis placed upon industrial work and physical training has no counterpart in any other system familiar to the undersigned in so far as their extension through all the primary and intermediate schools is concerned.” Letter to the Secretary of Public Instruction from Crone, October 7, 1914, Box 6, Inspection Reports, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁸³ Tirzo Garcia, “Athletic and Play Movement in the Philippine Public Schools,” Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁸⁴ Frank L. Crone, “Some Notes on the Development of the Public School System in the Philippines,” Box 6, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc. 2, 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁸⁵ Frank L. Crone, “Educational Progress in the Philippines Since the American Occupation,” Box 4, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences Misc., 1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁸⁶ Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire*, 183.

⁸⁷ Frank L. Crone, Letter from Director of Education to Division Superintendents, November 5, 1914, Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank

[reports from the division superintendents] state that more than 80% of the boys and girls are receiving physical training in one form or another,” he reported. “However, most of the division superintendents state that practically all of the children are receiving such instruction. Their reports indicate that perhaps 98% are being reached.” Crone boasted, “I believe that these reports are essentially correct and if so they would show that no other country has a more complete system than ours with the possible exception of Japan.”⁸⁸

An article entitled “Athletic and Play Movement in the Philippine Public Schools” by the Bureau of Education summarized the past and current athletic efforts in the territory. The goal of the Bureau was to offer “some form of physical training to every boy and girl who enters its courses.” Administrators issued bulletins that “outlined a variety of games” that were used in Europe and the U.S. to engage all students in physical activity. The book also provided training instruction for specialized sports for those who hoped to “win in the various athletic contests held each year.” To support the instructions in the bulletin, a course of study outlined how physical education could fit into a school day and what classes to provide in each grade for the 500,000 students attending the public schools. The article highlighted baseball and track but also discussed a newer sport, volleyball, that had become popular in the colony. Volleyball was a particularly useful sport since it allowed a whole class to play together.⁸⁹ Interestingly, Filipinos helped shape the future of the sport’s rules. According to Historian Gerald Gems, Filipino

L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁸⁸ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Governor Martin, November 19, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁸⁹ “Tirzo Garcia, “Athletic and Play Movement in the Philippine Public Schools,” Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

athletes learned to use multiple hits per turn rather than immediately returning the ball each time as the Americans did. “When the Filipino strategy proved victorious,” Gems contends, “the Americans changed the rules to limit the Filipinos to only three hits, while they were permitted unlimited touches.”⁹⁰ Eventually the three-hit rule became the norm.

Despite the popularity of sports, the expense of equipment was a major difficulty in the cash-strapped bureau. Unlike American high school and college experiences today, educators in the Philippines used academics to help finance their athletic programs. A teacher reported that a common method to raise funds was to have “literary programs, dances, or other forms of public entertainments and charge admission fees in order to get money with which to purchase athletic goods.” “The new spirit of athletic interest has swept in upon the boys and girls with a force that is actually revolutionary, and with it has come new standards and new ideals of conduct which lead to the all-important aim of the American school system - new ideals of character,” the educator concluded.⁹¹ As historian Jonathan Zimmerman contends, sports in schools provided similar lessons as vocational education regarding the values of “diligence, perseverance, physical strength, and obedience to authority” and were more popular with students and families.⁹² As a result, physical education occupied a central role in the American imperial school system in the Philippines as one of features of practical education developed uniquely in the territory.⁹³

⁹⁰ Gerald Gems, *Sports and the American Occupation of the Philippines: Bats, Balls, and Bayonets* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), 34-25.

⁹¹ Tirzo Garcia, “Athletic and Play Movement in the Philippine Public Schools,” Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁹² Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 63-64. 66.

⁹³ For more about the role of sports in the American occupation of the Philippines see Gems, *Sports and the American Occupation of the Philippines*. Gems main emphasis is on organized sports rather than physical education in the school curriculum although each had similar functions in their goals to Americanize Filipino students.

The third component of practical schooling, agricultural education, also expanded during the 1910s. On the mainland, agricultural education was often considered the rural version of industrial training in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. The Morrill Act in 1862 and the Hatch Act in 1887 expanded agricultural education in higher education.⁹⁴ But agricultural education in public schools was often isolated and connected specific farm schools. Though by the 1910s, some reform ideas about merging home and school agricultural practices in the curriculum gained momentum.⁹⁵

In the Philippines, agricultural education was widespread by the 1910s. As in Puerto Rico, officials used agricultural education to focus on the rural areas of the archipelago. Both primary and intermediate schools taught gardening supplemented by students' home gardens and yearly garden day celebrations. The Bureau of Education launched a variety of food campaigns to encourage crops such as yams, sweet potatoes, and legumes. The Corn Campaign was the most widespread food campaign in the Philippines.⁹⁶ The Bureau of Education also participated in developing nurseries and encouraging tree planting through Arbor Day celebrations. The department established specialized farm schools in remote areas that often worked in cooperation with the Bureaus of Agriculture and Forestry. The centralized bureaucracy also helped spread the agricultural education movement through various bulletins and circulars from the Director and Assistant Director of Education. A special agricultural inspector who worked out of the central office supervised the various aspects of agricultural education. For the most part, the regular

⁹⁴ Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 123.

⁹⁵ Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 133.

⁹⁶ For more about the Corn Campaign see May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-1930."

teachers taught farming subjects along with their academic instruction, but special teachers worked in farm schools and some larger schools to teach gardening.⁹⁷

Intermediate schools, which had been at the forefront of the early industrial courses, became even more specialized. Crone wrote to his division superintendents, “I have the honor to advise you that from now on this office will insist that the general intermediate course be discontinued and special intermediate courses adopted wherever it is possible to do so.” New intermediate schools that only provided the general course meant to prepare students for high school were “discouraged in the future.”⁹⁸ The bureau explained the vanguard nature of vocational education that reached even down to the primary school level in an article entitled “The Evolution of the Filipino Students.” “In no other school system of the world, has the vocationalizing of the grammar school course been carried so far as it has been in the Islands,” the author stated. Furthermore, the specialization at the intermediate level included myriad classes such as “woodworking, farming, commercial, housekeeping and household arts, and teaching, in addition to a general course which prepares more particularly for the secondary schools.”⁹⁹

Americans in the Philippines believed that they had built something special in the first two decades of American control. They may have started out following vocational models

⁹⁷ “A Brief Memorandum on the Agricultural Education Given in the Philippine Schools by the Bureau of Education,” Manila, February 27, 1915, Box 5, Folder: Some Philippine Experience & Misc. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁹⁸ Frank L. Crone, Letter from the Director to DSS, April 13, 1915, Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁹⁹ S.P. Stuart, “The Evolution of the Filipino Students,” Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

initiated for black and American Indian students in the U.S., but the Philippines system surpassed these predecessors with the spread of centralization and bureaucracy and practical education.¹⁰⁰ American educators now believed that their organization had lessons to teach schools on the mainland. Marquardt crowed that “[t]here is no one phase of our school system which so attracts the attention of the visitor as does our industrial work.” He recounted a story of a “recent distinguished educator” who was very impressed after an inspection of the schools. The visitor had “recommended that the United States Commissioner of Education be invited to inspect our schools, not only on account of the assistance which he would be able to render to us but more particularly on account of the knowledge which he would acquire and the inspiration which he would receive and the effect that this knowledge and this inspiration would have upon the schools in the United States.”¹⁰¹

Though the U.S. Commissioner of Education may not have made a direct visit to the islands in the early twentieth century, there were many more ways that ideas and practices traveled from the colony back to the mainland. Centralization and bureaucracy and practical education – distinguishing features of American imperial education in the Philippines - returned along these chains of empire to the United States in the early twentieth century.

¹⁰⁰ May, “The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-30,” 151, 154 and Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire*, 193. Steinbock-Pratt asserts that at its height in 1924, approximately 900,000 students were engaged in industrial education in the Philippines schools. May similarly argues that because the schools in the Philippines were more heavily centralized than locally governed schools in the U.S., “the industrial education program in the colony dwarfed in size any then existing in the United States. The only U.S. school district that had remotely comparable student numbers was New York City, which had about 700,000 pupils in the early 1920s versus more than a million in the Philippines.”

¹⁰¹ Walter W. Marquardt, “A Brief Review of Some of the Activities of the Bureau of Education,” *Philippine Education*, Box 5, Special Articles, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Chapter 5: Exhibiting the Model System

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, American officials in the Philippines constructed a highly bureaucratic centralized school system that emphasized academic and practical education for students. In the beginning, leaders looked to the precedents of vocational schooling practices already initiated for African American and American Indian students and other forms of manual training in the U.S. Due to the specific American imperial context, however, colonial officials believed that education experiments in the Philippines went beyond existing practices on the mainland and expanded the modern school reform ideas of the Progressive Era. As previous chapters show, reality is always more complicated than rhetoric and the expansion of a centralized bureaucracy and practical education was neither uncontested nor consistent. Yet, the chains of empire tied American educators in the periphery back to the metropole and allowed colonial reformers to put their model school system on display back in the U.S.

Ideas Return to the U.S.

News of the educational experiments in the Philippines spread far and wide along a variety of routes including exhibitions, conferences, newspapers, speeches, and publications. From the start of American control in the islands, educators were interested in the development of vocational education in the colony. Due to economic needs and the perceived educational and ethical values attributed to manual training in the nineteenth century, officials saw industrial education as a good fit for Filipinos but also for many students in the United States as well. Speaking about the earliest efforts to bring industrial schooling to “dependent races,” Dr. W.N. Hailmann told his audience at the Mohonk Conference in 1900, “It is an interesting fact to me

that, while we are deeply concerned to give industrial training to the Indians, we are so apt to neglect it for our own children....In our own schools manual training has to struggle against opposition, and yet its physical, intellectual and ethical advantages are as great, as far-reaching, as persistent as in the Indian schools.”¹

Myron T. Scudder, the Principal of the Normal School at New Paltz, agreed. “It is a firm conviction with me that school life should consist of something more than the mere mastery of subject matter as presented in text-books.” Scudder described the practical curriculum that would come to dominate the Philippines. “We are still ignoring in our schools many of the vital things of life. Most of our common schools, for instance, have little or nothing to do with the industrial arts, manual training, domestic science and art, and proper physical training.” Scudder believed that a school that claimed to “fit young people to live” should include this more practical schooling curriculum.² Audiences at conferences like Lake Mohonk regularly discussed how vocational education could be used for both “dependent races” such as Filipinos and Native Americans and a broad range of students in mainstream U.S. schools. Practical education in the Philippines provided a clearer path to test out ideas of vocational education that were more difficult to sell in schools for white Americans.

The 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair provided one of the richest opportunities for educators in the U.S. to learn more about the schooling practices in the islands.³ Imperial officials planned

¹ Dr. W.N. Hailmann, “Industrial Education,” *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, 1900* (Lake Mohonk Conference 1901), 96.

² “Speech by Mr. Myron T. Scudder, Principal of the Normal School at New Paltz,” *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, 1900* (Lake Mohonk Conference 1901), 100.

³ Fairs had long been a space for education leaders to display their schools. See for example: Elizabeth Cornelius Pruett, “Kindergarten Goes to the Fair: How the World’s Fair of 1876 Advanced the Kindergarten Movement in the United States,” (PhD Dissertation, The University of Alabama at Birmingham, 2013) and Robert

an extensive school exhibit that included a live demonstration of a school with two different classes of pupils. But, as historians Robert W. Rydell and Paul Kramer detail, the Philippines exhibitors presented multiple and often contradictory messages through the expansive forty-seven acre Philippine Reservation in St. Louis. Efforts to display commercial possibility, imperial progress, Filipino collaboration, and racial theories merged and conflicted with a desire for massive ticket sales at the fair. The federally supported exhibit featured almost twelve hundred Filipinos from various tribes in ethnological villages and the Philippine Constabulary marching around the grounds daily.

The anthropological ceremonies and racial controversies significantly overshadowed the demonstration from the Bureau of Education. Questions about the types of clothing the Igorot villagers wore (g-strings were considered authentic but not necessarily appropriate) and a clash between the Philippine scouts and white American marines (the Filipinos dared to accept an invitation by white women off of the reservation) captured the attention of the fairgoers and made newspaper headlines across the country. However, the cross-purposes at the fair were most evident in the elaborate anthropological ceremonies like Igorot dances and rituals. These events attracted millions of visitors and solidified an image of Filipino “savagery” in the minds of Americans – to the consternation of many American and Filipino of colonial representatives who wanted to convey civilization and colonial development demonstrating the fractured nature of imperial control and representation.⁴

A. Trennert, “Selling Indian Education at World’s Fairs and Expositions, 1893-1904,” *American Indian Quarterly* vol. 11, no. 3 (1987), 203-220.

⁴ For more information about the Philippine Village at the 1904 St. Louis Worlds Fair see, Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) and Paul Kramer, “Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905,” *Radical History Review* vol. 73 (1999), 74-114.

American school officials from the Philippines were unhappy with this ostentatious and popular display. That summer, E.B. Bryan, a former general superintendent in the Philippines, urged educators at the NEA annual meeting in St. Louis to not “watch the Igorrotes dance” and ignore the “educational exhibit to get the other side of the Philippine situation.” Bryan extolled the work of Albert Hager who designed the schooling presentation. “I assure you that you will get from no exhibit on these grounds greater encouragement and greater hope than from the Philippine educational exhibit, if you will have the pains to go and inspect it,” Bryan urged his audience.⁵ By the fall, Bryan was disappointed and complained to a crowd at the Mohonk Conference that most people had overlooked the educational exhibit. But he reminded his audience what a “rare opportunity” Americans had to develop an education in the islands.⁶

Despite the popularity of the ethnological spectacles at the fair, the educational exhibit did introduce an American audience to the unique features of the Philippines’ schools. Hager touted the special responsibility placed on the General Superintendent in the territory. “Ten thousand miles west of St. Louis is an American educational system that is less than four years old,” he told his audience. Hager praised the centralization in the colony. “It is unique in one respect, at least, in that it is all under the active direction of one man, the general superintendent of education.” He outlined the structure of the increasing bureaucratic structure detailing how the American teachers rarely taught in Manila but instead worked as supervisors in rural districts.⁷ In

⁵ E.B. Bryan, “Education in the Philippines,” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting Held at St. Louis, Mo. June 27-July 1, 1904* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), 100.

⁶ E.B. Bryan, “Education in the Philippines,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, 1904* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1904), 47.

⁷ Albert Ralph Hager, “The Philippine Teacher and the Philippine Educational Exhibit,” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting Held at St. Louis, Mo. June 27-July 1, 1904* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), 396-397.

addition to the highly centralized Philippine system, Hager's speech and exhibit presented the early vocational work to thousands of fairgoers and educators in St. Louis. He reported, "The basket work, hats, textiles, mats, drawings, and carvings shown in the exhibits of the various primary and secondary schools were of particular interest to American teachers of manual training." He gleefully retold how one American teacher "exclaimed enthusiastically, 'Why that's what our American schools are working toward!'"⁸ This type of praise recognized that though manual training had been a part of the conversation in the U.S. for decades, the Philippines system-wide approach pushed the imperial schools to the forefront of the movement.

After the world's fair, Americans continued to learn about educational endeavors in the Philippines. At the 1905 Mohonk Conference, James A. LeRoy praised the expansion of schools in the islands and the introduction of manual training and agricultural courses at the intermediate and high school levels.⁹ LeRoy optimistically touted the lessons that the Philippines' schools could provide to the U.S. He told his fellow Americans the example of the Philippines might help "get over some of our own narrowness of vision." The new understandings could also translate back to schooling for Black and American Indian students, some of the original subjects of concern for members at the conference. LeRoy believed engagement with the "problems of the wider world" would "help us toward a better solution of our own home problems." He worried that this would seem like "rank optimism for some people" but other American

⁸ A.R. Hager, "Report about the Philippines exhibit at St. Louis World's Fair," *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1904*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 937.

⁹ Speech by James A. LeRoy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples. 1905* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 99.

educators were starting to take note of the parallels and connections between schooling for various marginalized populations throughout the American empire.¹⁰

In addition to conferences, American officials who returned from the Philippines found plenty of interest in their speeches and lectures about the schools in the islands. During one of his sabbaticals to the mainland in 1907, Barrows complained about the number of engagements he had been asked to attend. “I have given ever so many public addresses and talks — much too many, I am inclined to think, but the interest in Philippine affairs on this Coast is very strong,” he asserted.¹¹ In his “Review of the Year” journal, the director recorded the numerous speeches the public demanded. Barrows spoke at the Berkeley Club, Unitarian Club, the Pacific Theological Seminary, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Outlook Club, Adelphi Club, and a symposium on colonial policy - all in the spring of 1907 before he returned to the Philippines.¹² His experience in the Philippines enhanced his career after Barrows permanently returned to the U.S. His public talks and addresses in 1909 and 1910 included the California State Teachers’ Association, The Town and Gown Club of Berkeley, The Commonwealth Club, Chico Normal Schools, Berkeley Teachers Association, Colorado College, and the Winter Night Club in Colorado Springs.¹³ The educational work in the Philippines boosted Barrow’s profile as he spread the ideas they were trialing in the colony.

¹⁰ Speech by James A. LeRoy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples*. 1905 (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 103.

¹¹ David P. Barrows, Letter to Frank R. White, April 10, 1907, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - Dec. 1907, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹² 1907 Review of the Year, Carton 2, Folder: 1907/Review of the Year, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹³ Evangeline Thurber, “Bibliography of the list of writings of David Prescott Barrows,” Carton 1, Folder: Bibliographies of his writings, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

In 1909, the former director returned to the University of California to teach and expressed interest in starting a “journal dealing with progress of the backward peoples and races” with Professor George Hubbard Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall of Clark University.¹⁴ Barrows became a contributing editor to the *Journal of Race Development* at its start in 1910 and wrote an article titled “What May Be Expected from Philippines Education” in the October issue.¹⁵ Barrows’ article described the widespread white supremacist attitudes toward the Filipinos and applauded the educational efforts as the cornerstone of U.S. imperial policy. The former director also introduced his American audience to some key features of the school system, particularly the expansion of practical education in the primary and intermediate schools in the islands.¹⁶ Barrows praised the work of colleagues in the schools. American educators “have revived native arts and industries and are teaching them in the primary schools; they have provided shops, laboratories and facilities for industrial training that probably cannot be paralleled in any state in America.”¹⁷ His favorable comparisons of the Philippines system of practical education with the U.S. became a common refrain in the 1910s.

As Barrows developed his courses at Berkeley, he embedded his experience in the Philippines in classes such as “Seminar on School Administration,” “The School Principal,” and

¹⁴ David P. Barrows, Letter to Professor George Hubbard Blakeslee, June 29, 1909, Box 1, Folder: Jan.-June 1909, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹⁵ David Barrows, “What May Be Expected from Philippines Education,” *Journal of Race Development*, George H. Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall, eds. vol. 1 (Worcester: Clark University, 1910-1911), 156-158.

¹⁶ David Barrows, “What May Be Expected from Philippines Education,” *Journal of Race Development*, George H. Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall, eds. vol. 1 (Worcester: Clark University, 1910-1911), 161-162.

¹⁷ David Barrows, “What May Be Expected from Philippines Education,” *Journal of Race Development*, George H. Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall, eds. vol. 1 (Worcester: Clark University, 1910-1911), 164.

“Topics in Education.”¹⁸ In the last few months of 1910, the former director’s attention turned to larger avenues for displaying imperial school practices. Writing again to Blakeslee about his participation with the *Journal of Race Development*, Barrows pivoted to a new matter he was “tremendously interested in.” This was the Panama Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) slated for 1915. Barrows boosted his home state of California to host the exhibition for both “material” and “moral” advantages. He felt San Francisco was particularly well-suited as the site and told Blakeslee to “think what an opportunity there would be in an International Exposition held here for reaching a better understanding among the races and people of this great Pacific World!”¹⁹

Barrows had seemingly learned a lesson from the St. Louis World’s Fair display and envisioned something different than bringing together people from all over the world “not with the spirit of exhibiting their nakedness, their savagery and helplessness alone.” Instead, he advocated for a “different aim” to foster “admiration of what other peoples, especially the primitive, have accomplished, and to increase confidence in the progressive improvability of mankind.”²⁰ Of course, highlighting the advances in the Philippines education system was one way Barrows had in mind to achieve this goal. He wrote to Dr. James A. Robertson, the Director of Public Libraries in Manila, about the exhibition. “The Philippines would be greatly affected by such an exposition, and would I hope be able to participate in it, perhaps not so lavishly as

¹⁸ Diary, Carton 3, Folder: 1910/ March to December/Notes/Collections/ Personal Feelings,” David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹⁹ David P. Barrows, Letter to George H. Blakeslee, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. July 25th, 1910, Box 1, Folder: Jan.-July 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²⁰ David P. Barrows, Letter to Starr, July 28th, 1910, Box 1, Folder: Jan.-July 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

they did at St. Louis, but in an even more representative way.”²¹ Though the former director’s role in the PPIE in presenting the educational work in the Philippines lessened over the next five years, other educators embraced the opportunity to share their imperial school practices with the U.S. and the world through various other exhibits including the PPIE in 1915.

Fairs and Exhibits

In 1911 the Philippine officials prepared the “Mohonk Exhibit,” which started its circuit at the annual conference and traveled widely. Physical products like handicrafts and sewing work were natural objects to display in the U.S. Photographs of other school practices and materials, including bulletins and reports, accompanied the traveling exhibition. “Prominent societies and educational associations” that received the mobile museum included The Ohio State University, the University of Chicago, Columbia University (New York), the Public Library of Washington, D.C., and the National Education Association for 1912. The American press also published news of the exhibition widely.²² Crone reported that “noted educators and men prominent in commercial life have been uniformly favorable and are noteworthy testimony of the value and character of the industrial instruction being offered in Philippine schools.” The popularity of the traveling exhibit prompted officials in the Philippines to prepare more permanent collections for

²¹ David P. Barrows, Letter to Dr. James A. Robertson, Director of Public Libraries, Manila. November 2, 1910, Box 1, Folder: August-December 1910, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²² “United States Exhibits,” Box 3, Folder: Bulletins 45-46-47 vol. IV Bureau of Education 1912-1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

the “National Museum at Washington and for the Field Museum of Natural History” in Chicago.²³

At the 1911 Lake Mohonk Conference where he first presented the traveling exhibit, George W. Briggs – a representative for the Philippine Educational Department touring the country - spoke at length to the audience about the significance of the industrial work in the Philippines. The title of his speech asked the question: “Are Schools in the Philippines Meeting the Demands in Respect of Industrial and Technical Training?” His answer was a pride-filled yes regarding practical schooling in the colony. Briggs described the many unique and experimental features of vocational education there. This included specialized vocational work in elementary grades for students in “hat-making, lace-making, embroidery, gardening, sewing, wood-working, or any one of the other numerous local industries, to enable him to become a productive member of society.”²⁴ Briggs also highlighted the specialized vocational coursework in the three years of intermediate grades which allowed students to “step out and take up their work in the community and become its leaders.”²⁵ The intermediate tracks included an academic course with “some form of industrial training,” a teaching course - which Briggs asserted created better prepared rural teachers than the U.S. produced - a course in farming, a trade course, and a business course. These specialized avenues of study allowed a student to become a leader in the “affairs of the

²³ “United States Exhibits,” Box 3, Folder: Bulletins 45-46-47 vol. IV Bureau of Education 1912-1913, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²⁴ George W. Briggs, “Are Schools in the Philippines Meeting the Demands in Respect of Industrial and Technical Training?” *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1911), 134.

²⁵ George W. Briggs, “Are Schools in the Philippines Meeting the Demands in Respect of Industrial and Technical Training?” *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1911), 135.

community, as a teacher, a nurse, a housekeeper, a business man, a farmer, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a wheelwright.”²⁶

Briggs argued that this developing system exceeded any other similar educational endeavor. Speaking for supervisors in the Philippines, Briggs asserted, “[W]e shall not be satisfied to accept the industrial instruction program of any other country, for we believe that in the Philippines we can develop a system which will actually be superior to any now in existence anywhere.” He emphasized how the U.S. had “excellent higher technical schools” but these were limited to colleges and higher education. “In the entire public school system of America there is practically no technical instruction designed to fit a boy to become a more skillful artisan or craftsman or farmer than he could be without such training,” Briggs claimed. American educators who had visited the colony had left “impressed” by the practical schooling experiments there. One faculty member from the University of Chicago predicted, “Other nations one of these days will be coming to the Philippines to see how the educational triumphs have been won.”²⁷ The regular use of fairs and exhibits in the U.S. to display the work of the Philippines Bureau of Education guaranteed that Americans would not have to travel directly to the colony to learn about the work.

In November of 1912, *The Elementary School Teacher* reported that an “exhibit of work done in the Philippine schools has been shown in various cities in this country.” The publication highlighted how the schools had “broken away from the traditional notions about education and

²⁶ George W. Briggs, “Are Schools in the Philippines Meeting the Demands in Respect of Industrial and Technical Training?” *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1911), 135-136.

²⁷ George W. Briggs, “Are Schools in the Philippines Meeting the Demands in Respect of Industrial and Technical Training?” *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1911), 137-138.

have introduced a large amount of handwork” while at the same time not neglecting “general training.”²⁸ A former teacher from the Philippines, Byron B. Barton, wrote to Crone in 1914 and relayed that he had created his own exhibition of handicrafts from his Filipino students. Barton included photos with those objects and relayed to Crone that his informal exhibit was very popular: “The display of industrial articles and explanation of how they are made under the system of industrial instruction, interests them very much, especially the teachers here.” Barton excitedly predicted to his former boss, “DO YOU KNOW SOME DAY WE ARE GOING TO GET A SCHOOL SYSTEM LIKE THAT IN THE UNITED STATES?”²⁹ Both official and unofficial displays spread pride for the accomplishments in the Philippines and taught school leaders in the U.S. how a more practical form of education could be achieved on the mainland.

As Barrows had hoped, the crown jewel of exhibits in the 1910s culminated in the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915. The former director’s early boosterism to secure the fair in the Bay Area paid off. The Philippines Bureau of Education began extensive preparations to create a strong showing at the event after the debacle at the 1904 World’s Fair. In the fall of 1914, Crone wrote to his friend Dr. Shepardson that supervisors in the central office were “very busy” preparing. Assistant Director Charles Magee and Clerk of the Bureau of Education John Potter were planning on traveling from the Philippines and staying in the U.S. from the middle of November until June. “I expect to leave here at that time and stay the

²⁸ “Educational News and Editorial Comment,” *The Elementary School Teacher*, vol. XIII, no. 3 (November 1912), 113-114.

²⁹ Capitalization in the original. Letter from Byron B. Barton to Crone, September 4, 1914, Box 5, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc., July-Sept. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

rest of the exposition,” the director explained. Crone had further plans to publicize the work in the colony at the NEA and Mohonk conferences that year.³⁰

One of the main methods that school officials used to prepare for the PPIE was through articles about the various aspects of schooling in the islands. These articles touted the connection to American education as well as the uniqueness of the Philippine structure. Many writers highlighted how the Philippines went beyond the practices in the U.S. “Probably the latest word in educational systems is that of the Philippines,” wrote supervising teacher John H.M. Butler. In his article on “Philippine Primary Schools,” he elaborated. “It represents more distinctively the American spirit in progressiveness, breadth, and execution than several systems in the States.” In particular, Butler highlighted the “great national system” that Americans had built over the last decade and a half. Butler and other authors emphasized centralization, vocational education, and physical training in their articles.³¹

Numerous articles highlighted the system of practical education. One described the vocational specialization at the intermediate levels of instruction. The author contrasted the practical purpose of intermediate schools in the Philippines with junior high schools in the U.S. which were supposed to prepare students for secondary education. “The industrial program of the public schools represents one of the most successful undertaking of school work in the Philippines and is the feature of the school work in which the American people will be most

³⁰ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Dr. Shepardson, October 19, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³¹ John H.M. Butler, “Philippine Primary Schools,” Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

interested, especially when they understand what is being accomplished,” the educator insisted.³² Other articles about secondary schools, industrial education, and athletics repeatedly proclaimed the purpose of vocational education and physical training to prepare students at all levels for life beyond schooling.³³

Agricultural education was also featured in the PPIE articles. North H. Foreman, the Inspector of School Gardens for the Bureau of Education, prepared two different articles about farming and gardening schooling in the Philippines. He emphasized how such practical education aided in “training for life work” since the Philippines was a heavily agricultural country. The school system provided some type of agricultural education at all levels.³⁴ Heading off critics in the U.S. who might have argued against practical schooling prohibiting students from improving their social and economic class status, Foreman argued, “Further, we are not afraid in the Philippines of the bugaboo that training a pupil in school for the kind of work he will have to do in life is undemocratic.”³⁵ Moreover, “We believe that a school is the most democratic when it fills the common needs of the daily life of the people it serves.”³⁶

³² “Philippine Intermediate Schools,” Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³³ Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³⁴ North H. Foreman, “School Gardening in the Philippines,” Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³⁵ North H. Foreman, “School Gardening in the Philippines,” Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³⁶ North H. Foreman, “Gardening and Farming in the Philippine Schools,” Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Other articles emphasized the extensive centralized system of control and supervision. Highlighting the expanding bureaucracy of bulletins and paperwork one author wrote, “The system of reports is entirely different from that obtaining elsewhere, and here it varies from year to year in order to keep up with the evolution of the Bureau. Each month reports are made out to cover every phase of school activities, so that those in charge may know how the work is progressing and can get new ideas for the prosecution of more advanced schemes.”³⁷ H.A. Bordner highlighted the comprehensive supervision in his article. “The supervision of the public schools in the Philippine Islands is frequent, thorough and effective because it is so organized that it works concentrically from the central authority in Manila outward to the teacher stationed in the most isolated barrio,” he explained. As a model for his American audience, he claimed, “There is probably no other national school system closely supervised in all its varied phases as that of the Philippine Islands.”³⁸ An article titled “Indirect Supervision” explored the role of circulars in furthering the goals of American educators in the Philippines in “every phase of the work.” These administrative orders touched curriculum, industrial programs, athletics, filing and office procedures, rules and regulations for exams, accounting systems for selling crafts, sanitation, teaching of ethics, and many more topics creating standardization from the director down to each teacher.³⁹ Bureau of Education officials prepared more than a dozen such articles

³⁷ “Evolution of the Philippine Public School System,” Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³⁸ H.A. Bordner, “The Supervision of the Philippine Public Schools,” Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³⁹ “Indirect Supervision,” Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

in 1914 prior to the PPIE in order to convey to an American audience the progress and potential lessons that could be gleaned from the imperial school system in the Philippines.⁴⁰

The expansive 10,000 square foot Philippines exhibit in the Palace of Education was a physical manifestation of the ideas presented in these papers. The official publication from the PPIE described the elaborate presentation of “wall charts, class written work, publications, references, statistics, compilations, administration features, text-books, models, designs, plans, research work, school library work, school museum work, scientific and technical displays, graded industrial courses, transparencies, photographs, lantern slides, moving pictures, an industrial working exhibit, a force of demonstrators, and a sales department of school-made industrial articles.” The goal was to “show the complete public school system as it is now organized from grade one...through the high school.”⁴¹ Case after case, chart after chart, room after room at the PPIE provided statistical and visual representation of the argument that educators had been trying to make for years: the American imperial school system in the Philippines had made great progress and provided a model for others. The main features highlighted were consistent with the emphases in the department for more than a decade. The handbook described, “Stated most briefly, the exhibit presents the complete public school system of the Philippine Islands, with balanced curriculum embracing academic instruction, industrial training and vocational guidance, athletics and play; organization and administration.” Thousands of items created by school children were on display and for sale at the fair, so

⁴⁰ David P. Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban: Designing the Progressive School District, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 18. The PPIE was a showcase for other educators as well. According to Gamson, superintendents in western states began preparing years before the PPIE to “brandish their accomplishments” at the fair. The PPIE was a major source for sharing information between educators within the American empire.

⁴¹ *The Philippines Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: Press of Marnell and Company, 1915), 4.

industrial schooling received extra attention.⁴² As a guide for those attending the exhibit and for those unable to visit, the official publication provided sixty-three pages of photos with vivid descriptions of the presentation.

Educators attempted to erase the memory of the events of the St. Louis World's Fair with their expansive exhibit in San Francisco. Their educational progress had not received its proper due in 1904. Now, more than a decade later, school officials were not going to allow the label of "savage" or uneducated be applied to the territory this time. Yet, American educators from the Philippines once again had to counter the overall message of the fair, which heavily emphasized racial classification, eugenics, and social hierarchy.⁴³ The success of the educators' efforts this time was noticeable enough to be explained in the guidebook, however. "Those who have visited exhibits from the Philippine Island at other expositions, and particularly at the exposition held in Saint Louis in 1904, are at once impressed by the striking differences in this exhibit," the author wrote. Ignoring the educators' efforts to balance the Igorot dancers at the earlier fair, the writer continued, "In former exhibits, emphasis was placed upon what is strange, curious or bizarre in the Philippines – something to startle people or to amuse them." In contrast, the goal of the current exhibit was to "show in what manner the Philippine public schools have fulfilled their task of giving enlightenment to the rising generation, and what may be the possibilities of the

⁴² *The Philippines Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: Press of Marnell and Company, 1915), 4. Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers and Contested Colonization in the Philippines*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 194. Steinbock-Pratt argues that these types of displays highlighted "both students' bodies and their labor as proof of success of colonial education."

⁴³ For more information about the overall messages of the fair see Astrid Böger, *Envisioning the Nation: The Early American World's Fairs and the Formation of Culture* (New York: Campus, 2010) and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 209-236.

Filipinos educationally, industrially, and as a people.”⁴⁴ At the PPIE in 1915, American imperial educators had clearly changed the narrative about the school system in the islands and balanced if not erased the memory of the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair.

The exposition received strong attention in U.S. educational circles. The *NEA Bulletin* gushed, “Of all the exhibits in the Palace of Education, however, that of the Philippine Islands is the most ample in scope, generous in illustration, and thoroly [sic] illustrative of education in this interesting field. It shows a complete ‘system’ of education with balanced curriculum embracing academic instruction, industrial work, and physical training, with emphasis upon the industrial and commercial features.”⁴⁵ J.W. Searson from State Agricultural College in Manhattan, Kansas wrote, “Easily the most conspicuous industrial exhibit at the Panama Pacific International Exposition was that of the Philippine public schools.” He credited Crone in particular for his work in the islands and mentioned that those who had been at the fair in 1904 “could scarcely believe their eyes as they looked upon this wonderful exhibit in San Francisco.”⁴⁶

As in 1904, the NEA chose a location near the exposition for their annual meeting. “The International Congress on Education” was held in August at Oakland, California, in 1915. The Philippines was a major topic on the agenda. Crone addressed the audience with a speech titled “Public Instruction - America’s Work in the Philippines.” He emphasized the “experimental”

⁴⁴ *The Philippines Public Schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: Press of Marnell and Company, 1915), 20.

⁴⁵ “Panama-Pacific Exposition” *NEA Bulletin*, vol. III, no. 5, whole no. 13, (National Education Association, April 1915), 16.

⁴⁶ J.W. Searson, “The Philippines Public School Exhibit,” *The American School*, Box 8, Folder: Correspondence, Licenses, Certificates, Awards, Municipal Election, Notes 1891-1925, 167-171, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

nature of schooling in the territory and reiterated the key themes on display across the bay.⁴⁷ In addition to that first speech, Crone presented on particular topics such as “Secondary Schools of the Philippine Islands,” “Higher Education in the Philippines,” and “Physical Training in the Philippine Public Schools.” Other imperial educators also spoke, some based on the previously prepared articles for the PPIE. Chief Clerk for the Bureau of Education, John S. Potter described “Some Social Phases of Vocational Education in the Philippines” and North H. Foreman presented his “Gardening and Farming in the Philippine Schools.”⁴⁸ The Bureau of Education had clearly planned a publicity blitz based on the number of speeches and attention given to schooling in the Philippines at the conference that year. This was the most people in the U.S. had heard about the territory since the earliest days of American control.

That fall, the audience at the Lake Mohonk conference listened to speeches about the progress of the Philippine school system as well. Crone’s address “The Education of a People – America’s Work in the Philippines” discussed practical schooling and specialized vocational coursework in primary and intermediate grades for students who were not going to go on to high school or college along with the highly centralized nature of the system. However, according to Crone, the lessons learned from the efforts in the colony did not stop in the islands. He believed Americans would be interested in the development of the school system there for “many reasons.” First, the nature of the imperial control allowed school officials the chance to “build up a school system according to American ideals, unhampered by tradition and prejudice and uninfluenced by political pressure.” Second, education-building in the Philippines allowed the

⁴⁷ Frank L. Crone, “Public Instruction - America’s Work in the Philippines,” *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifty-Third Annual Meeting and International Congress on Education Held at Oakland, California. August 16-27, 1915* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915), 166-171.

⁴⁸ National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifty-Third Annual Meeting and International Congress on Education Held at Oakland, California. August 16-27, 1915*.

American people to demonstrate their “true attitude toward dependent and backward peoples.” But the keystone of Crone’s claims was that the U.S. could learn from the experiments being done in its overseas territory. He argued, “[T]he educational principles we have adopted in the Philippines will certainly prove of interest and may be of much value when the American people comes at last to face the task of determining the direction of education in this country.”⁴⁹ As the U.S. wrestled with its own debates about vocational education in the curriculum and centralization, educators like Crone believed they could look to the experiments in the colonies for guidance.

The NEA and Lake Mohonk Conferences were not the only talks on Crone’s agenda as he toured the U.S. during the PPIE in 1915. In his diary, the director listed more than three dozen engagements from May to January, 1916. He spent time with groups such as the Physical Education Association and The Recreation League of San Francisco. He made stops at various schools, university classes, dinners, luncheons, and colleges took Crone from the West Coast to the East Coast and back with plenty of attention paid to the middle of the continent, too.⁵⁰ Crone proudly told each audience about the school work in the Philippines on display at the PPIE.

Almost nineteen million people visited the PPIE, many of whom made their way to the education exhibits.⁵¹ The myriad comments from visitors recorded in the visitors’ book demonstrated the lessons that audiences took away from the Philippines’ school presentation.

⁴⁹ Frank L. Crone, “The Education of a People - America’s Work in the Philippines,” *Report of the Thirty-Third Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Monk Conference 1915), 82.

⁵⁰ “Talks Given from May, 1915, to January 15, 1916,” Box 7, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. (Diary Entries, Letters, and Newspaper Clippings) 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁵¹ Rydell, *All the World’s A Fair*, 209.

Many prominent people left their remarks on the guest list and praised the work. Maria Montessori signed the register and “wrote in Italian ‘With profound admiration.’” Former President Theodore Roosevelt inscribed, “I congratulate you. This is justification of our being there.” Helen Keller “passed through the exhibit and had some of it explained to her.” “She examined some of the basket and embroidery pieces and declared that from her point of view this work of Filipino school children was wonderful.”⁵²

In addition to these luminaries, many people connected to education explored the display. School teachers, politicians, vocational directors, judges, and others in the public eye all commented on the success of the exposition. Crone recorded that one senator visited and “thoroughly inspected” the exhibit and “stated that he had been anxious to introduce to work into the California schools as it had been done in the Philippines.” Crone reported that Myer Bloomfield, a well-known vocational education proponent, “visited the Exhibit during July and said that while educators in the United States were talking we were doing things.” One man from Colorado wrote, “I think we might teach our American boys to do something as good as this.” The YWCA National Secretary for Immigration, Mrs. Harry Bremer commented, “I would like to see this educational system introduced into the United States for the teaching of immigrant peoples.” Caroline L. Humphrey the President of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae insisted, “The United States would do well to study the Philippine system of schools.”⁵³ David Snedden, Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts at the time and a name synonymous with social-

⁵² C.H. Magee, Letter to Walter W. Marquardt, May 27, 1915, Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁵³ “Some Visitors to the Exhibit of the Philippine Public Schools In the Palace of Education, P.P.I.E., and Their Remarks,” Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections, University Library, California State University, Dominguez Hills.

efficiency in schooling, described it as a “monumental exhibit” in a speech at the PPIE.⁵⁴ The exposition had clearly hit its mark to not only demonstrate the progress in the Philippines but also provide a model for industrial instruction back in the U.S.

The exhibit’s favorable impression went beyond the general public. Alvin T. Pope, the Chief of the Departments of the Education and Social Economy of the PPIE, wrote in the register, “The biggest story ever told.”⁵⁵ Awards juries for the exposition echoed his assessment of the Philippines exhibit. Assistant Director Magee wrote to Marquardt who had remained behind in the Philippines, “Exhibits were judged very carefully by the group of jurors. The jurors were not satisfied with an examination of industrial articles, photographs and other exhibits, but went back of these features and always asked why.” Their preparation had paid off. “We were ready for every question and could back up every statement with clear-cut statistics arranged in logical order. The members of the juries stated that ours is the most honest exhibit they had ever seen.”⁵⁶ As a result, the medals poured in for the Philippines Bureau of Education. Grand Prize representing “best of class” went to the Philippine Public School System. Ten different categories of the Philippines exhibit were awarded the second highest “Medal of Honor.” Other parts of the display received Gold (28 categories), Silver (8 categories), Bronze (2 categories),

⁵⁴ C.H. Magee, Letter to Walter W. Marquardt, May 27, 1915, Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Tyack, *One Best System*, 191. According to Tyack, Snedden particularly “admired the experiments possible in reform schools, for there the experts had a preselected population over whom they had virtually total social control.” Because of this, he would have seen the experiments in the Philippines as useful as well. For more about Snedden and his role in the vocational education movement see: Walter H. Drost, *David Snedden and Education for Social Efficiency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

⁵⁵ “Some Visitors to the Exhibit of the Philippine Public Schools In the Palace of Education, P.P.I.E., and Their Remarks,” Box 4, Folder: Philippine Experiences, vol. 13, Correspondence, Annual Reports, Diary Entries, Lists, 1913-1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁵⁶ C.H. Magee, Letter to Walter W. Marquardt, May 27, 1915, Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

and Honorable mention (2 categories).⁵⁷ The administrators returned to the colony proud of the results from the PPIE.

The spotlight from the fair was very bright, but a publication from the Philippines in the middle of the 1910s also aided in spreading the imperial education lessons back to the U.S. *The Philippine Craftsman* started in July 1912 by the Bureau of Education in the Philippines, received high praise from the beginning. It was published monthly for nine months of the year and included detailed illustrations, photos, and articles about the vocational work throughout the islands. Educators in the Philippines noted how the publication brought together two key features of the school system: vocational education and centralized bureaucracy. One author touted the significance of *The Philippine Craftsman* in an article for the PPIE writing, “Thus, in a systematic way, the Bureau conveys to its Division Superintendents, its Supervising Teachers, and its nine thousand other members information regarding its latest achievements, instruction as to improved standards and designs, methods employed and results obtained in every industrial experiment.”⁵⁸ The magazine was discontinued in 1917, but despite its brief run, the publication helped disseminate ideas from the central office and standardize vocational practices throughout the extensive system.

From the beginning, many people in the U.S. noted the value of *The Philippine Craftsman* for their own school practices. The *Sierra Education News and Book Review* remarked on Director Frank R. White’s visit to the U.S. in 1913 stating, “The eyes of all

⁵⁷ “Awards Received by the Philippine Public Schools Exhibit,” Box 7, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. (Diary Entries, Letters, and Newspaper Clippings) 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁵⁸ “Indirect Supervision,” Box 7, Folder: Articles Prepared for San Francisco, 1915, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

educators in this country are being turned toward the East. Several publications in his department are of the highest order.” *The Philippine Craftsman* was highlighted for its “information on the shops and trade schools, intermediate courses, basket and hat work, textiles and embroidery, and other matters of educational interest.”⁵⁹ The U.S. Commissioner of Education’s report from 1913 also commented on how much “favorable attention from prominent European and American educators” the magazine had received.⁶⁰ Charles Magee thanked Marquardt for sending him the bound version of *The Craftsman* and explained that he had “begun to make use of it in the School Arts Magazine,” a publication devoted to vocational education.⁶¹ Former Director Barrows, who had kept in touch with his colleagues overseas, also thanked Marquardt for sending him the magazine and added, “I shall read it with great interest and it will attract the attention of some of my colleagues here who have learned to turn toward the Philippines for ideas with respect to industrial education.”⁶² *The Philippine Craftsman*, though short-lived as a publication had significant impact on bringing ideas about vocational education from the colony back to the mainland U.S.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Sierra Educational News and Book Review*, vol. IX, no. 1 (January 1913), 75.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913*, whole no. 582, vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 653.

⁶¹ C.H. Magee, Letter to Walter W. Marquardt, May 27, 1915, Box 5, Humorous, Personal Letters, and Memos, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁶² David P. Barrows, Letter to Marquardt, November 18, 1916, Box 2, Folder: Nov. - Dec. 1916, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁶³ W. Carson Ryan, Jr., “Introductory Survey,” *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913*, whole no. 582, vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 1.

The Philippine Model in the U.S.

The momentum around practical education in the U.S. built in the middle of the 1910s, and educators regularly held up work in the Philippines as a model. In the “Introductory Survey” for the U.S. Commissioner of Education’s report in 1913, W. Carson Ryan Jr., who worked in the editorial division of the U.S. Bureau of Education, illuminated the increased interest in the “new spirit of social democracy in education.” He explained that the idea that all students and not just the “average” child were entitled to an education that developed in “accordance with inborn aptitudes” was gaining ground in the U.S. “It is this idea that gives vitality to the general demand for ‘productional education,’” Ryan insisted. He connected various initiatives that explored this type of practical schooling including Montessori schools, farm-life schools in the U.S., and classes for “basketry and lace making taught by American teachers in the Philippines.” Ryan insisted that the larger vocational movement which all of these examples were a part should have the “larger aim” of “broadening of State-provided educational opportunities to meet the needs, not of this or that special group, but of every individual as an individual and of society as a whole.” In addition, Ryan advocated for increased specialization and vocational training in the 7th and 8th grades – pushing that type of differentiation to children younger than secondary school level – a practice not very common in the U.S.⁶⁴

This desire to expand vocational education throughout the public-school levels and into earlier grades demonstrates the ways the Philippines schools had outpaced the mainland in these educational reforms. In 1914, the U.S. Commissioner of Education’s report detailed the limited progress made in developing system-wide vocational schooling. A Commission on National Aid

⁶⁴ W. Carson Ryan, Jr., “Introductory Survey,” *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913*, whole no. 582. vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 6.

for Vocational Education was formed to lobby for congressional legislation. The Smith-Hughes bill, which came out of the commission, provided this federal support for practical education. The bill proposed federal funding to “public supported and controlled schools of less than college grade for training teachers for agricultural education, trade and industrial education, and home economics, and for paying part of the salaries of supervisors and directors of agricultural subjects and teachers of trade and industrial education.”⁶⁵ These practices were what educators in the Philippines had already set up in their centralized organization. In the U.S., the goal of this new legislation was to increase the reach of vocational schooling beyond the few states like Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Indiana which had “definite systems for organizing and supervising vocational school and for lending State aid to local communities.”⁶⁶ A few pages later in the U.S. Commissioner of Education Report, both the Philippines and Puerto Rico were cited as “making notable progress” in industrial education and providing “valuable lessons for the various States.”⁶⁷

Other educational experts also noted the significance of the American imperial school development in the Philippines for the U.S. Paul Monroe, a prominent educator from Columbia University, completed a survey of the Philippine school system in 1914 and hailed the centralization and vocational work there. He argued that Japan’s national system had a more “efficient organization” than the U.S. but that “even Japan turns to the Philippines to find a lesson in education and learn what a school system can do.” Other nearby Asian countries looked

⁶⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 9.

⁶⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 9.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 16.

to the American colony for lessons as well. “This is because the American teachers in the Philippines have actually made a contribution,” he insisted. Like others had observed, vocational ideals had been turned into practice there. Monroe explained, “The things which have been talked about elsewhere they have worked out.” It was not just other Asian countries who might benefit from the example in the Philippines. Monroe asserted that American teachers in the colony had more freedom to initiate new schooling ideas than they had in the U.S., “[T]his may be one of the cases which would have a beneficial reflex action at home.”⁶⁸ L.W. Wahlstrom, a teacher at the progressive Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, also celebrated the vocational work in the Philippine schools. Reviewing a pamphlet titled *Apprentice Instruction in the Manila Bureau of Printing for Manual Training Magazine* in 1914, Wahlstrom gushed over the “efficient system of vocational education adopted in the government printing office at Manila.” “Those interested in vocational education, whether in corporation schools, private trade schools, or in the public schools would gain much from a study of this system,” he proclaimed.⁶⁹

Lessons from the Philippines extended to questions about school reorganization. In an extensive bulletin titled “Reorganization of the Public School System,” Frank Forest Bunker, Superintendent of the Berkeley Public Schools, laid out a rationale for rethinking how the different levels of schooling were traditionally divided in the U.S. Bunker coalesced ideas regarding the development of an intermediate level of education between the elementary schools and high schools. He explained that this new movement had already gone through the “academic discussion” phase and the “consideration of working plans.” “It is now entering the final stage,

⁶⁸ Paul Monroe, “America’s Occupation of the Philippines A Lesson to the Orient,” *Report of the Thirty-Second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples October 14th, 15th, and 16th, 1914* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1914), 185-186.

⁶⁹ L.W. Wahlstrom, “Reviews,” *Manual Training Magazine*, vol. XV, no. 5 (The Manual Arts Press, 1914), 438.

that of adoption and trial,” Bunker asserted.⁷⁰ Bunker proposed that school districts needed to move from an eight grade primary school and 4 grade secondary system to a 6-3-3 model like the one he had instituted in Berkeley.⁷¹ Bunker also held up the Philippines schools as an example of a school system developing intermediate grades to provide what he considered a more functional organization. “It is interesting to observe how nearly the men who shaped the educational system of the Philippines have approached the grouping toward which American cities are now tending,” he observed. He described the early years of schooling under Atkinson and Barrows and how the intermediate level of schooling was developed as a bridge to extend schooling for those who wanted more than elementary education but could not attend high school.⁷² As in the Philippines, Bunker’s proposed leveling would introduce more vocational specialization into these intermediate and even upper elementary grades.⁷³ As American educators like Bunker considered these types of educational reforms, experiences in the islands provided a roadmap to enact innovative change.

E.B. Conant, Professor of Law at the University of the Philippines, also held up the centralization in the Philippines as a direct practice for states in the U.S. to emulate. In a speech to the Mohonk Conference in 1916, Conant exclaimed, “From what I have learned and seen in the Philippine Islands, I am pretty emphatic for a centralized educational system.” He continued,

⁷⁰ Frank Forest Bunker, “Bulletin No. 8: Reorganization of the Public School System,” Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), v.

⁷¹ Frank Forest Bunker, “Bulletin No. 8: Reorganization of the Public School System,” Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 87.

⁷² Frank Forest Bunker, “Bulletin No. 8: Reorganization of the Public School System,” Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 92.

⁷³ Frank Forest Bunker, “Bulletin No. 8: Reorganization of the Public School System,” Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 139. Tyack, *One Best System*, 107-108. According to Tyack, Bunker, who is credited with opening the first junior high school in the U.S. as superintendent in Berkeley, also drew inspiration from Ayres’s *Laggards* to create the intermediate level and orient the curriculum toward the social efficiency ideas of vocational education.

“I would like to see it put into effect in this country.” He used his native state of New Hampshire as an example of how the current systems of highly-localized control and funding created poor school conditions in rural areas with “ill-qualified teachers,” “inadequate salaries,” and “lack of equipment.” The Philippines proved this did not have to be the case, however. According to Conant, the centralized Bureau of Education in the colony sent out to the “remotest rural districts of the Philippine Islands the same kind of teachers that they use right in the best schools in the City of Manila; they draw the same salary and are doing the same work, with the same equipment.” States like New Hampshire should reorganize more along that model by paying their taxes to the central treasury “to be used by the central board of education, organized from the central power throughout the state.” Then schools across the state would have the same quality of teachers and funding. Conant believed centralization was needed across the U.S. “I know of no reason why the central bureau of education system, that has worked so well in the Philippine Islands, could not be transferred bodily to the average state of the Union and work with enormous success.”⁷⁴

Physical education and athletics in the Philippines also garnered significant attention from educators in the U.S. Charles F. Thwing, the President of Western Reserve University, wrote an article for the *San Francisco Examiner* titled “Play and Education.” He cited the Philippines Director of Education who described how games in the imperial schools were “civilizing influences” and had developed students into “their stronger and happier selves.” Thwing elaborated, “Such testimony has value for other parts of the world than the Philippine Islands. For plays and athletic games stand for great things in the development of character and

⁷⁴ E.B. Conant, “Education in the Philippines,” *Report of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1916), 173.

of American life.” The university president connected the benefits derived from athletics in the Philippines to its positive benefits for American students as well. Games developed team work, inspired wholesome rivalry, represented imagination, aided in social relationships, created discipline, and trained athletes in taking responsibility amidst a certain amount of liberty provided in the rules of the game. According to Thwing, all of these factors in addition to the health benefits made physical education an important part of schooling in both the U.S. and the Philippines.⁷⁵

In 1919, Director of Education Walter Marquardt looked back on how the Philippines provided a strong example of how to develop systematic physical education. “For a number of years,” he noted, “the Philippine schools have had a better system of physical education than any other school system of the same size.” World War I alerted educators in the U.S. to the need to provide more extensive physical training because so many potential American soldiers demonstrated a “prevalence of physical defects.” As a result, many states began “passing progressive State laws with respect to physical education.” Marquardt highlighted that in the Philippines system, every primary school devoted at least one period a day to “supervised physical education.”⁷⁶ In his Presidential Address for the Physical Education Association in 1919, William H. Burdick praised the Philippines. “The reports from the Philippine Islands schools show a progress and a conception of physical training that do not seem to exist here in America,” he said. He embraced the proposal from the colony that students had to fulfill their

⁷⁵ Charles F. Thwing, “Play an Education,” *San Francisco Examiner* 2/15/16? (Date unclear) Box 7, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. (Diary Entries, Letters, and Newspaper Clippings) 1916, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁷⁶ Walter W. Marquardt, “Two Parting Thoughts” Manila, June 30, 1919, Box 7, Articles, Correspondence, Philippines, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

physical education requirements for promotion to the next grade and reported that he only knew of one example of such a mandate in the U.S. The emphasis on physical education in the Philippines was a “step in the direction in which we all ought to be very much interested,” the president told the conference.⁷⁷ As the U.S. started to look for ways to expand athletics and physical education after World War I, they already had an imperial model in the Philippines.⁷⁸

After returning to the U.S., Marquardt lectured at Columbia University on a topic he knew well: “The Philippines Schools.” In a section titled “An Example for the United States,” the former director summarized the school practices in the Philippines that he believed were especially useful for education in the U.S. Many items on his list included the high level of centralization, how elementary education was viewed as a “national obligation,” the more equalized funding coming from the insular government, and the cabinet level position of the Secretary of Public Instruction. The former director also described the widespread system of physical, agricultural, and industrial education. The extensive supervision in the islands warranted special mention. Marquardt referred to a visit by Dr. Russell, Dean of the College of Education of Iowa University, who had recently visited the Philippines. The dean had “marveled” at the system of supervision and became convinced that “in many places in America,

⁷⁷ William H. Burdick, “Presidential Address,” *Papers from the Twenty-Third Convention: American Physical Education Review*, vol. XXIV, no. 6, whole no. 151 (June 1919), 333.

⁷⁸ Robert Pruter, *The Rise of American High School Sports and the Search for Control: 1880-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 49 and Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 66. Though some states such as California and Ohio had passed laws mandating physical education in the nineteenth century, there was not a systematic push for physical education laws until the 1920s.

particularly in our rural and village schools, we could well take a leaf from the history of the success of supervision in the Philippine schools.”⁷⁹

Conclusion

These examples of American imperial education rhetoric demonstrate the version of Philippine schools that educators wanted to publicize. No doubt visitors such as Monroe and Russell visited model schools, exhibitions displayed ideal practices, and officials highlighted what they considered their best work. Yet, whatever the reality, the school system of the Philippines was widely on display in the U.S. and held up as a model for mainland schools to emulate in numerous ways during the first two decades of the twentieth century. By 1917, the educational reform efforts surrounding practical education that had been discussed for decades became concrete and changed the direction of schooling in the U.S. Two major initiatives – The Smith-Hughes Bill and the NEA’s Cardinal Principles in Education – became emblematic of a new path for American education that would involve more vocational courses and differentiation in the curriculum – including more expansive programs of physical education for all students. In addition, in the 1920s while most efforts at federal control of education had fizzled repeatedly, school districts and states across the nation centralized at rapid rates.⁸⁰

The imperial school system in the Philippines did not initiate any of these Progressive Era trends in the U.S. As the evidence shows, officials in the Philippines were right in line with these ideas of efficiency and reform in schooling. However, it is also evident that the Philippines

⁷⁹ Walter W. Marquardt, “The Philippine Schools: Teachers’ College, Columbia University, about 1922,” Box 6, Scrapbook, Talks, and Papers, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁸⁰ David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 182-198.

provided a model for a strain of progressive educational ideals to be worked out in a system under federal American control. These experiments did not remain in the colonial archipelago thousands of miles away but taught American educators valuable lessons for how to develop their efforts in the mainland. These chains of the American education empire not only connected the territories of Puerto Rico and the Philippines back to the American metropole through this circulation of ideas and practices but also linked to each other and created networks of global school reforms in the early twentieth century.

Part 3

Chapter 6: Global Chains

The influence of educational experiments in Puerto Rico and the Philippines was not limited to the American empire. The chains between the island colonies and global education reforms developed in the first half of the twentieth century alongside the networks of ideas and people that flowed to the U.S. mainland. Director Walter Marquardt described the worldwide interest in Philippine schools by listing the places that had sent commissions and requested publications from the Bureau of Education. He explained that educators from Formosa (Taiwan) and Japan and “a large number of delegations from China who studied the school system thoroughly” had visited the Philippines between 1916 and 1918. The territory’s influence reached beyond the near east neighboring countries as well. “Constant requests were received for publications from such countries as China, Siam, India, Egypt, Burma, Hawaii, Japan, Chosen [Korea], French Indo-China, Ceylon, Cuba, Porto Rico, Hayti, Australia, Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, Papua, Java, Sumatra, Formosa, Newfoundland, Chile, New Zealand, and Fiji.”¹

In addition to the bulletins and written information that circled the globe, personnel also connected the American imperial educational experiments around the world. Marquardt described how Filipino teachers had spread their knowledge of industrial instruction to places like Guam and the Federated Malay States and “two Filipino teachers were employed as

¹ Walter W. Marquardt, “The Philippine Public School System” undated, Box 7, Articles 19-22 and Letters 01-06, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

instructors in English in the mission schools of Penang.”² Marquardt’s list demonstrates the wide reach of American schooling practices. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, ideas and people from both Puerto Rico and the Philippines influenced the development of school systems in Asia, Latin America, and around the world.

Gateway(s) to Latin America

From the beginning, American officials hoped to use Puerto Rico as a gateway to other Latin American countries. American educators touted the possibilities of education on the island opening doors to other former Spanish colonies. In 1901, Governor William H. Hunt discussed his vision of how American schools in Puerto Rico could help shape Latin America. “Thus we shall have in this island for the first time a new production in education, a system that is democratic in its entire genesis, and that will gradually be recast by the attempt of a free Republic to transform a tropical Latin race,” he explained.³

Because the island did not have the funding to fully develop its primary school system, the first Commissioner of Education, Martin G. Brumbaugh, exhorted universities in the United States to realize the commercial possibilities of opening up a preparatory school. According to Brumbaugh, “some farseeing and patriotic college or university” could open a preparatory school and turn a “steady stream of students” to their doors. “What great institution in America will,” he

² Walter W. Marquardt, “The Philippine Public School System” undated, Box 7, Articles 19-22 and Letters 01-06, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

³ “Address by Governor William H. Hunt,” *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 66.

asked, “will first recognize this open door, enter upon this work, and preempt the higher life of the islands of the West Indies and the South American republics?”⁴

Though Brumbaugh advocated delaying the direct establishment of higher education in Puerto Rico due to lack of funding, other administrators’ tones shifted in the next couple of years. They envisioned a university as the key connection between the U.S. and Latin America. In 1903, Dr. Charles de Garmo, an educational expert from Cornell University, visited the island and praised the establishment of the University of Puerto Rico that year. De Garmo imagined the new institution as a bridge to other Latin American countries. The new university “would contribute largely to making the island better known not only in the United States, but in Latin America and in Europe,” De Garmo wrote. “Students will flock to it from every land; its professors will contribute to the advancement of knowledge, and will, as you yourself have so ably shown, powerfully contribute to the solution of some of the most pressing problems of the New World.”⁵

Commissioner Samuel McCune Lindsay pushed for increased funding for the university in 1904 as he had done for the educational system as a whole. He urged U.S. federal lawmakers and private philanthropists to consider a larger investment in higher education in Puerto Rico. “This problem cannot be solved by the people of Porto Rico alone,” he wrote, “but there are few fields of private philanthropy that are more promising.” Lindsay’s aspirations for the university mirrored prior calls for an institution that would serve as a link between Spanish-speaking and English-speaking Americas. Increased funding was the key to make this dream a reality. “Such

⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 63.

⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 195.

an institution, adequately endowed, giving advanced instruction in both the English and Spanish languages, and uniting the best elements of American and Spanish-American scholarship, would exert a mighty influence for good upon the whole of Central and South America.”⁶

Lindsay’s vision connected the University of Puerto Rico directly to the imperial goals of the United States. The university was to bring in students from across Latin America, “spread American institutions, interpret and enforce the Monroe doctrine,” train bureaucrats for public service, mold political leaders, and “extend the sphere of American influence legitimately and promote friendly relations” with Mexico. All of these beneficial effects would do more good than five “American battle ships, and its complete endowment would not cost more than one battle ship,” according to Lindsay. As if imagining the institute as a precursor member to President Theodore Roosevelt’s Great White Fleet, Lindsay proclaimed the importance of a well-funded university on the island: “With the opening of the Isthmian Canal under the auspices of the United States, Porto Rico will be in a strategic position with respect to the route of the world’s commerce. This has already been recognized in the naval and military policy of the United States. It should not be forgotten as a factor in the educational policy of the United States.”⁷

Despite these appeals from administrators, the entire system of education – including the University of Puerto Rico - remained underfunded through the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1911, the new Commissioner, Edwin G. Dexter, repeated the call for more money to create an influential institute of higher education. Dexter reiterated Lindsay’s aspiration for the

⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 23-24.

⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 23-24.

University of Puerto Rico to become a “Pan American institution of learning.”⁸ He elaborated how UPR would bridge the cultural and language divide of the Americas. “From the north and the south people of the two languages might come to a spot more beautiful than either have known, to a climate more salubrious and, without cutting themselves entirely aloof from their own language, find a cultured environment within the other,” he exhorted. Unlike previous goals of this institute, Dexter imagined something unique rather than imitative. He explained, “To build up such a Pan American institution, we should not try to duplicate the universities either of Spanish or of English America, but to create something which supplements both.”⁹ His ideas for how to develop the University of Puerto Rico in this way included professorial exchanges, a School of Tropical medicine connected to the U.S. Department of War, and a law program specifically tied to Spanish speaking countries.¹⁰ But funding issues persistently hampered the ideals of a Pan-American institute in Puerto Rico.

Though the University of Puerto Rico eventually became more securely established by the middle of the 1920s, its role as the door to Latin America was never fully realized. Instead, the connections between the Philippines and the former Spanish colonies in Central and South America became more important in the early twentieth century. The circulation of ideas and educators between the Philippine islands and Latin America created the imperial gateway previous officials had envisioned for Puerto Rico.

⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 249.

⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 250.

¹⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, 1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 250.

The expanding textbook industry created the first foray of American imperial educators into Latin America. At the end of his tenure as Director of Education in the Philippines, David P. Barrows explored his future career options with publishers. Caspar Hodgson, a friend and colleague of Barrows in the Philippines, had founded the World Book Company in 1905 and worked closely with the Bureau of Education to supply textbooks for the American schools in the Philippines. Barrows wrote to Hodgson in 1909 about the prospects of entering the educational markets in the Western Hemisphere. "So far as I can judge, there is a great movement on foot now in South American countries to modernize their educational systems, and the country which is undoubtedly to have the greatest influence upon them is the United States," Barrows wrote. The Director of Education had read about the schooling movements in places like Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Barrows noted that Peru in particular was looking to the American imperial experiments to help reform its system along "American lines." Barrows told Hodgson that "Mr. H.E. Bard, who was formerly a Division Superintendent of Schools here with us, has just been appointed Superintendent of Primary Instruction in Peru." He planned on keeping in touch with Bard about his work in Peru and urged Hodgson to inquire about the need for textbooks there. Barrows also kept his career options open by explaining to his friend, "While I cannot talk business with you now or as long as I am Director of Education, should you later want somebody to do something in the authorship of schoolbooks, especially for South American countries or to visit South American countries in the interest of your business, I believe that I will be at liberty to make such an arrangement."¹¹

¹¹ David P. Barrows, Letter to Casper Hodgson, May 14th, 1909, Box 1, Folder: Jan.-June 1909, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

After retiring from the Philippines, Barrows did become an agent for Hodgson for a few years while he taught at the University of California-Berkeley. In 1911, the professor made trips to Guatemala, Peru, and Mexico on behalf of the World Book Company and regularly kept Hodgson apprised about the prospects of selling books to schools in the Canal Zone and Cuba.¹² Through this correspondence, Barrows also recounted the various educators connected to American imperial schooling in both the Philippines and Puerto Rico who had traveled to teach in Central and South America.¹³

The main purpose of Barrows' travels in 1911 focused on the prospects of selling textbooks to Mexico. He met with the head of education who strongly supported the idea to "publish a series of school texts of an excellence never before realized by 'the collaboration of scholars and educational experts of all America.'" According to Barrows, the Mexican official was very enthusiastic and was particularly interested in ideas from the Philippines regarding agricultural education. Barrows advocated that Hodgson edit the original *Philippine Agriculture* book into "Spanish American form" to push it into the Mexican school system for the "purpose of developing the small proprietor and building up the class of fruit growers and diversified farming along side the great haciendas."¹⁴ The circulation of texts and people from the Philippines demonstrates the wide reach of American imperial ideas to places such as Mexico and other Latin American countries in the 1910s.

¹² David P. Barrows, Letter to Casper, May 29, 1911, Letter to Hodgson, July 2, 1911 and Letter to Hodgson, July 7, 1911, July 21, 1911, Box 2, Folder: Jan. 1911-Dec. 1912, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹³ David P. Barrows, Letter to Hodgson, July 2, 1911, Box 2, Folder: Jan. 1911-Dec. 1912, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹⁴ David P. Barrows, Letter to Hodgson, Aug. 5, 1911, Box 2, Folder: Jan. 1911-Dec. 1912, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

These connections between the Philippines and South America became even more pronounced in the 1920s. Recall that Barrows had encountered a group of American educators who worked for the Peruvian government. Bard had led this cohort, but he left Peru in 1912 to pursue his doctorate at Columbia.¹⁵ However, in 1919 the Peruvian government re-employed Bard to once again help develop their educational structure, and he drew upon his American imperial network in 1920 to complete his administrative team in South America.

Bard reached out to a mutual acquaintance to inquire about former Director of Education Frank L. Crone's suitability to join him in reforming the school system in Peru. Crone's work in the Philippines made him particularly useful since he was "thus equipped as regards the use of the Spanish language and as regards an extended experience in organizing and supervising public school work." The same practices and ideas that Crone had highlighted at the Pan-Pacific International Exhibition in 1915 were credited to him as evidence of his capabilities as an educational administrator. "It seemed to me that in many particulars the system had been planned and developed in a way superior to anything that I had known in the United States or elsewhere," wrote Cornell professor Jeremiah W. Jenks to Bard. He praised the industrial and agricultural training he had observed on his visit to the Philippines and exclaimed that he had not "seen industrial work so thoroughly done and with apparently so excellent results." Because of Crone's efforts in the Philippines, Jenks declared that he would "recommend him without qualification" for Bard's position in South America.¹⁶

¹⁵ David P. Barrows, Letter to Hodgson, Jan. 1, 1912, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

¹⁶ Jeremiah W. Jenks, Letter to Bard, September 20, 1920, Box 8, Folder: Correspondence, Licenses, Certificates, Awards, Municipal Election, Notes 1891-1925, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Paul Monroe from Columbia also highly endorsed Crone. "Very much of the remarkable progress of the Philippine Schools was due to Mr. Crone's directorship," he wrote. Monroe touted Crone's bureaucratic qualification. "He is an efficient administrator, a skilled educational adviser. He knows how to deal with men and was very successful in his personal relations both with those under his direction and with his superiors as well as with the public."¹⁷ A letter to Bard from Henry Suzzallo, President of the University of Washington, echoed Monroe's recommendation based on imperial administrative experience. "He is a man of amazing executive ability who organizes and administers well. His experience in the Philippines from the barrio up to the top of the system has given him a flexible way of thinking about education." Suzzallo applauded the overall experience that imperial education service provided. "The striking thing about the American educators trained in the Philippines is that they seem to be able to go onto totally different situation and to adapt their methods, and that is essential for Peru."¹⁸

Bard brought Crone and twenty other school officials to Peru in 1921. Many of them, like Bard and Crone, had prior experience in the Philippines or Puerto Rico.¹⁹ The group began with a rocky start, however. Almost immediately, a few issues arose, including personality conflicts, funding crises, and political infighting among the American personnel. In his journal, Crone expressed doubts about Bard's abilities and intentions in Peru soon after he arrived in the

¹⁷ Paul Monroe, Letter to Harry E. Bard, September 22, 1920, Box 8, Folder: Correspondence, Licenses, Certificates, Awards, Municipal Election, Notes 1891-1925, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁸ Henry Suzzallo, Letter to Harry E. Bard, September 28, 1920, Box 8, Folder: Correspondence, Licenses, Certificates, Awards, Municipal Election, Notes 1891-1925, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

¹⁹ "Lo Que a Continuacion Se Expresa Es Una Declaracion de la Preparacion y Experiencia de los Profesores Americanos que se Encuentran Prestando Servicios en el Rano de Instruccion en el Peru." Lima, Julio 25, de 1922, Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

country.²⁰ Crone complained in letters to the President of Peru and the American Educational Mission about Bard's incompetency and unprofessionalism.²¹ "Dr. Bard is not by temperament or experience prepared for this work." Crone detailed one incident where "important and essential papers were held by Dr. Bard from July to October." The frustrated administrator asserted, "An important plan was found on the floor of the director's toilet. During this period he had constantly denied having any papers."²² Shortly before most of the Americans planned to quit due to lack of pay, Bard was ousted and Crone became Director General of Education and continued the work with a few other American educators until the middle of 1923.²³

Despite the debacle with Bard's leadership, Crone and the others received commendation for their efforts in Peru. One Peruvian news article reported on a conference speech given by Crone in 1923. They praised his Spanish language abilities and work with the school system. In particular, the press emphasized Crone's interest in developing vocational education in their country.²⁴ In that same speech and in a similar one that Crone recorded in his bound journal titled

²⁰ Frank L. Crone, Undated diary entry, page 3, Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²¹ Frank L. Crone, Letter to the President of the Republic of Peru, December 14, 1921, Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²² Frank L. Crone, Letter to the American Educational Mission, February 15, 1922, Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²³ History of the American Educational Group, Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²⁴ "En Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas: Interesante Conferencia Del Doctor F.L. Crone" "La Prensa" - Lima, Sabado 19 de Mayo de 1923, Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

“Problems of National Education,” the director referenced the connections to his experience in the Philippines. He explained how in the U.S., “the general government has little intervention in matters of education and in this sense there is no national education” and instead is controlled by the states and local municipalities. However, the Philippines provided a better model for Peru since schooling there had “taken a peculiar nationalistic trend although directed by American educators.” Crone also highlighted the efforts to provide manual training to primary and middle grades and an emphasis on physical education he was trying to enact in Peru.²⁵ The combination of American imperial schooling practices from the Philippines of centralization and practical education had expanded beyond the borders of the archipelago once again and reached South America. Crone and the other American imperial officials’ work in Peru demonstrate how ideas, practices, and people flowed across the globe beyond the American empire.

Far East Model

Just as American educators had visions of Puerto Rico’s role as the gateway to Latin America, imperial administrators also considered the Philippines as a model for American school practices in the Eastern Hemisphere. In the first few years of American control of the colony, officials related their experience to European imperial powers and their Asian colonies. Director of Education Barrows wrote to his superior Bernard Moses, “I have recently been showing our schools to Governor Lamothe, of Cambodia, a French gentleman who has been sixteen years in the colonial service of France, having served as governor in the colonies of America, Africa, and Asia.” Barrows was “greatly surprised and pleased” at the French colonialists’ positive reaction

²⁵ “Problems of National Education,” Box 8, Folder: Peruvian Experiences - Journal, Correspondence, Newspaper Articles, 1921-1923, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

to their educational work. “It occurs to me that we will find the strongest sympathizers with our policy here not among our English cousins, from whom we should expect sympathetic interest, but from the French whose democratic feeling leads them to an appreciation of such institutions in the administration of colonies, whatever may be their success in colonial enterprises themselves.”²⁶ From the beginning of the overseas imperial project, Americans attempted to differentiate their policies from other European powers. Schooling was one of the main avenues to demonstrate U.S. “benevolence” in the Philippines and provide a model for others.

Non-colonized countries such as China also reached out to leaders in the Philippines to learn about their school system there. In 1905, the Educational Association of China contacted Barrows to ask him to present a paper for their annual meeting. Barrows responded that he would love to attend but could probably not leave the islands at that time. However, he agreed to prepare a paper to be read to the organization. He also proposed another way to extend the influence of the Philippine schools to China. “There is another thing we would like to do, and that is place on view at Shanghai during the meeting an exhibition showing the progress of school work here in the Islands.”²⁷ Even at this early stage of development, American officials wanted to export their educational experiment to neighboring Asian countries. As educators in the Philippines solidified the focus on practical education in the second decade of the twentieth century, many other countries began to take notice. During a visit to Japan, Frank L. Crone wrote that the Japanese Minister of Education “expressed great interest in our Philippine experiment.”

²⁶ David P. Barrows, Letter to Bernard Moses, January 23, 1905, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - Dec. 1905, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

²⁷ David P. Barrows, March 18, 1905, Box 1, Folder: Jan. - Dec. 1905, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

He elaborated, “Industrial instruction was the particular feature of our educational work which appeared to be of most interest to him.”²⁸

During the 1910s, officials expanded their outreach to other countries to compare and spread the influence of their work in the Philippines. In a 1912 report, Director Frank White described how the bureau had sent surveys to about seventy different countries, “particularly those located in the Tropics and enjoying practically the same conditions” as the Philippines. He used the information from this correspondence to celebrate what he believed was the unique development of schooling that Americans had accomplished. He reported that the number of students in schools was lower in other countries and the schools in the Philippines concentrated on industrial instruction and physical education much more than these other countries.²⁹ As the Bureau of Education increased their publication of bulletins and circulars, they used this literature to spread their educational ideas and practices around the world. Crone reported in 1914, “The various publications of the bureau of education have received very favorable mention not only from educators in the United States, but from other parts of the world, particularly the oriental countries and dependencies, where conditions are similar to those found in the Philippines.” He predicted, “It is therefore probable that the effects of the school work in the Philippines will later be reflected somewhat in the system evolved in surrounding countries.”³⁰

²⁸ Frank L. Crone, letter to Director of Education, October 22nd, 1910, Box 3, Folder: Notes on Japanese Schools, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

²⁹ “Education in the Philippine Islands, 1910-1912,” Based upon annual reports of Frank R. White, Director of Education for the Philippine Islands, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1912*, Volume 1 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913), 428.

³⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 651.

The connection between Chinese and American officials in the Philippines remained into the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1914, Dr. Frank Gamewell of the Chinese educational administration visited to inspect the Filipino schools.³¹ Crone also visited China in 1916. During the trip, he met with the President of China and spoke about the educational work in the Philippines. Crone relayed that the Chinese leader “expressed surprise at the large percentage we have in school and interest in our plan.” Crone impressed the President enough to be told that he “might be called back some day to help work out China’s educational problems.”³² Though Crone’s future career took him to South America rather than China, the government of China continued to be interested in his work in the Philippines as they developed their own educational organization.³³

By the 1920s, the influence of the Philippine school system expanded even more. Director Walter W. Marquardt gave a speech at the Tiffin Club in Shanghai, China, touting the various aspects of education in the U.S. territory. He explained, “The influence of the public schools in the Islands is extending beyond the territorial limits of the Philippines. Commissions from Siam, China, Korea, Java, and Japan frequently come to the Islands for study of the public school system.” In addition, Marquardt told his audience that “Filipino teachers have been sent to

³¹ Frank L. Crone, Diary Entry Feb. 12th, 1914, Box 4, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. Jan.-June 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³² Frank L. Crone, Diary Entry July 14th, 1916, Box 7, Folder: Some Philippine Experiences and Misc. (Diary Entries, Letters, and Newspaper Clippings) 1916, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

³³ A letter from Julean Arnold to the American Minister in Peking in 1919 encouraged the Chinese government to hire Crone to help develop their system of elementary schools. Arnold referred to the Philippine schools as the “best system of public instruction anywhere in the world.” Julean Arnold, Letter to Paul S. Reinsch, Feb. 20, 1919. Box 8, Folder: Correspondence, Licenses, Certificates, Awards, Municipal Election, Notes 1891-1925, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Guam and to the Federated Malay States for the teaching of industrial instruction, and a number of Filipino teachers are employed as instructors in English in the Mission schools of Penang.”³⁴

Educators in India specifically looked toward the Philippines as a comparison to their system. One article in the periodical *United India and Indian States* applauded the focus on agricultural education in particular and insisted “well may we copy this aspect in remodeling our educational activities.” Contrasting the number of schools in the Philippines with their own, the author of the article decried, “Verily 138 Agricultural schools for a population about eight millions provides a glaring contrast with one Agricultural College and one Agricultural Middle school yet in the making for a population five times as large.”³⁵ In another issue, the writer praised agricultural education, the extensive supervision in the islands, specialized industrial courses, civics, and physical exercise in the school system.³⁶

The myriad bulletins that administrators had created in the 1910s became especially useful in spreading ideas to India. Sam Higginbottom, a British educational imperial official, explained how he convinced government officials to increase the emphasis on agricultural education in the subcontinent. Along with reports from the General Education Board and information from the Hawaiian Islands, Higginbottom used the Philippine school system as a model. At one educational conference, he received resistance from government personnel who “said that it couldn’t be done.” Higginbottom relayed his next actions, “I didn’t talk; I handed them the bulletin of what is being done for schools in the Philippine Islands. The next morning

³⁴ Marquardt, Undated speech given at the Tiffin Club, Shanghai, China, Box 7, Articles and Letters, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

³⁵ “Education in the Philippines II,” Oct. 1, 1919, *United India and Indian States*, Box 7, Articles and Letters, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

³⁶ “Education in the Philippines,” Oct. 24, 1919, *United India and Indian States*, Box 7, Articles and Letters, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

one of the men, who was an old canny Scot said: ‘Higginbottom, I will vote your way today,’ and he did.” Due to the influence from the Philippines, Higginbottom conveyed that there were “agricultural high schools in every province in India” and that the British promised to multiply that number even more.³⁷

Higginbottom’s account demonstrates how the major emphases of education in the Philippines – practical education and bureaucracy – combined to directly influence a neighboring school system in Asia. Though the influence may have been more indirect in other cases, the extensive networks of personnel and ideas that flowed between the Philippines and places like China and Japan demonstrate how the islands came to be an imperial educational gateway to the Far East.

The American Imperial Web

A final way that the global chains of connection are evident is through the flow of ideas between various American imperial endeavors around the world and inside the mainland U.S. Schooling for American Indians and Filipinos was strongly connected from the very beginning. As Anne Paulett describes, “American actions in the Philippines had a precedent in American actions at home with the American Indians.”³⁸ Educators viewed both native populations as inferior races in need of benevolent American tutelage. Though ideas about race, culture, and incorporation into the American polity differed between these two populations, many of the schooling techniques such as English instruction and vocational education sought to “refashion

³⁷ Sam Higginbottom, “The Ministry of Agriculture,” Reprinted from the Report of the Des Moines Conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement, *Southern Workman* vol. XLIX, no. 5 (May 1920).

³⁸ Anne Paulett, “To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines,” *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2 (May, 2007), 175.

Filipino culture just as education sought to ‘remake’ the Indians at home.”³⁹ The American Indian service also provided an early blueprint for how federal bureaucracies could be used to set up school systems abroad.⁴⁰ The renaming of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of Indians to include the additional phrase “And Other Dependent Peoples” in 1904 rhetorically solidified this connection and opened the conference to discuss topics related to the range of American imperial schooling projects including the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii.⁴¹

The direction of influence did not just flow one way, however. Even at the beginning of the American occupation of the Philippines and Puerto Rico, educators considered how lessons learned overseas might affect American Indian education in the U.S. In 1901, well-known manual training expert Calvin Woodward envisioned a similar path toward American citizenship through education for all colonial subjects. He argued for a “system of Indian education carefully devised to deal with Indian civilization as it now exists, and gradually to raise it to the plane of respectable American citizenship.” “In other words,” he insisted, “we should deal with the Indians just as we are going to deal with the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines Islands.”⁴² Woodward’s vision for training of “practical character” came to fruition for both American Indians and Filipinos.⁴³

³⁹ Paulet, “To Change the World,” 184.

⁴⁰ Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 262.

⁴¹ *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, 1904* (The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1904).

⁴² Calvin W. Woodward, “What Shall Be Taught in an Indian School?” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fortieth Annual Meeting Held at Detroit, Michigan, July 8-12, 1901* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901), 905.

⁴³ Calvin W. Woodward, “What Shall Be Taught in an Indian School?” *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fortieth Annual Meeting Held at Detroit, Michigan, July 8-12, 1901* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901), 906. For more about Woodward’s vision for manual training for the

The lessons that educators believed they could learn in overseas colonies extended to education for Black students, too. The *Southern Workman*, a periodical by Hampton Institute – which had its own imperial connections to schooling in Hawaii – published an article in 1904 titled “Filipinos and American Methods of Education.” The author conjectured, “It is probable that we shall receive considerable light on the problem of education of the Negro and Indian from our experiences with other races.” The developing systems of bureaucracy and statistics in the overseas colonies allowed school leaders to “compare notes with the workers in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines.”⁴⁴

After about a decade of American education in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, the hopes and predictions turned into more concrete exchanges as personnel and ideas traveled back to the U.S. In 1908, Moses Friedman, who had taught in the Philippines, was appointed Superintendent of Carlisle – the original American Indian boarding school in the U.S. Friedman brought his experience and ideas from overseas with him to his new position. In an article for *Southern Workman*, Friedman argued for modeling American Indian textbooks after those in the Philippine Islands. He described how teachers of Filipinos experienced the difficulty of teaching with books that “spoke of snow, wheat, apples, electric cars, and deserts - things which the Filipino never comes in contact with.” As a result, a new series of books contained details specific to the Philippines and their context. “Just so a special series of readers is necessary for the Indian service,” Friedman urged. He proposed textbooks that might include “Indian names in

broader population see: Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 112-114.

⁴⁴ “Filipinos and American Methods of Education,” *Southern Workman* vol. XXXIII, no. 2 (February 1904), 68.

the text” and other details adapted to their experience.⁴⁵ The Philippine experience of adapting curriculum to a population of students not familiar with mainstream U.S. culture became a model for American Indian education.

Through the first two decades of the twentieth century, teachers and administrators from the Philippines traveled back to the U.S. and entered the Indian service using their credentials and knowledge from their overseas imperial experience. Mary Helen Fee, who wrote *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines* in 1910, asked Director of Education Crone to help her transfer to the Indian Service in 1914. Administrators urged Fee to reconsider her choice because the Indian Service was “very under paid” and would waste “her talents.”⁴⁶ Fee aimed to transfer her skills obtained in the Philippines to American Indian education. A letter between former colleagues from 1927 identified that “Miss Fee is teaching in an Indian School farther up in the mountains.”⁴⁷ Another administrator from the Philippines, John De Huff, also made the switch by becoming the assistant superintendent of Carlisle and then continued his work at various American Indian schools in Arizona for the rest of his life.⁴⁸ Others followed a similar path and helped shape the schooling practices of American empire back in the U.S. mainland.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Moses Friedman, “Textbooks for Indian Schools,” *Southern Workman* vol. XXXVII, no. 4 (April 1908), 207.

⁴⁶ Frank L. Crone, Letter to Ms. Fee, November 11, 1914, Box 6, Folder: Index and Private Correspondence, Dec. 1914, Frank L. Crone Collection, Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections. University Library. California State University, Dominguez Hills.

⁴⁷ John Osborn, Letter to Barrows, November 14, 1927, Box 34, Folder: Letters from Various People and Organizations in the Philippines Islands, David P. Barrows papers, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

⁴⁸ John DeHuff to “Dear Brethren of the Apo-yao Clan,” March 28, 1918, Box 5, Personal Letters 1916-1918, Walter W. Marquardt papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁴⁹ For more information about individual educator who traveled between the Philippines and the Indian Service see Elisabeth Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and U.S. Imperial Education, 1879-1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019).

These examples demonstrate how the links of the American educational empire stretched across the globe and influenced various school systems. Tracing the paths of educators' travels to Latin America, Asia, and back to the U.S. illuminates one way that ideas and practices spread around the world. However, this history also makes clear the important role of reports and publications to teach lessons learned in the overseas colonies. Educational practices were never exactly replicated in places like Peru or China or Carlisle but the territories served as experimental spaces where new schooling ideas were developed and shared. American imperial schooling had a large impact beyond the borders of each island, which chained school systems together globally in the early twentieth century.

School Surveys Around the World

By the 1920s, school surveys represented another important linkage between American imperial schooling and global education efforts. One example was the 1925 survey of the Philippine school system by Professor Paul Monroe from Columbia's Teachers College. In his report, Monroe described the American school system in the Philippines as "one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of education." He also exclaimed how the "islands have served as a laboratory for an educational experiment of enormous magnitude and complexity" for twenty-five years. "To anyone interested in the technical problems of classroom instruction, in the general administration of education, in the relation of school to social conditions, in the effects flowing from the contacts of diverse culture, in the more abstruse problems of the ethnologist, or in the wider human problems of the adjustment of races this experiment will have

deep significance.”⁵⁰ Although he praised the efforts of American educators, the prominent professor also criticized many of the practices that officials had touted in the previous decade.

From Monroe’s perspective, the same elements that had made the Philippines a model for school back on the mainland in the 1910s were creating problems for the territory in the 1920s. The high level of centralization had stripped teachers of the ability to be flexible and make decisions about curriculum and teaching. Supervision had become nothing more than bureaucratic paperwork which had “crystalized into a formalized prescription of procedure.”⁵¹ He pointedly described the standardized bureaucratic preponderance of reports and bulletins as a situation where “supervision has not only generated inspection, but inspection degenerates into espionage.”⁵² Monroe also targeted practical education. While physical education had successfully been woven into the school system, he observed that standardized calisthenics rather than play was dominant in schools.⁵³ Monroe recognized the extent of vocational education in the lower grades but argued that the secondary schools were still too entirely focused on academics.⁵⁴ He predicted that if secondary schools continued in this way, “the results will be

⁵⁰ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 11.

⁵¹ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 51.

⁵² *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 65.

⁵³ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 91.

⁵⁴ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 59.

great social and political discontent as well as economic loss.”⁵⁵ Throughout the report, Monroe found fault with the very practices that others had held up as shining examples a decade earlier.

Monroe’s most scathing criticism was about the goals of universal education. He believed that the aim to extend education as broadly as possible over the last twenty-five years had spread the meager financial resources of the system too thin. Unqualified teachers and a curriculum that did not prepare students for the needs of the social and economic situation in the Philippines created a low-quality education for students. He favored a “policy of extending the privileges and opportunities of the public-school system, elementary and high school, as widely and as rapidly as possible.” Yet, Monroe countered that “to believe that the presence of children in school going through the forms of education is satisfying these demands is self-deception.”⁵⁶ Against the long-standing stated goals of American educators and Filipinos’ desires for universal education, Monroe advocated for leaders to “strive to make more effective the education already provided” rather than continue to expand.⁵⁷ Monroe and members of the Bureau of Education did agree upon the need for more solid funding to create a better school system. He estimated that it would take nearly 20,000,000 pesos or double their current (and already significantly expanded) expenditures to achieve their goals. Monroe suggested retaining the substantial funding from the insular government but also finding more local forms of support.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 35.

⁵⁶ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 37.

⁵⁷ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 79.

⁵⁸ *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands by the Board of Educational Survey* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), 79, 85.

Americans and Filipinos voiced strong objections to the report's conclusions. Lawmakers created a special committee to study the report and decide about how to move forward with its findings. Filipino leaders expressed concern that the members of the commission were not "familiar with the conditions in the islands."⁵⁹ Senator Camilo Osias had the most scathing critiques. Osias was a former student from the earliest days of American rule in the islands who had graduated from Teachers College at Columbia as a pensionado (government scholarship) student in the U.S. He had returned to the Philippines and worked his way up to Assistant Director of Education in the Bureau and now was an elected senator who sat as the Chairman of Public Instruction in the legislature. In a speech calling for further study of the report, Osias claimed that the nearly 700-page book had some portions that were "excellent, some mediocre, other poor." The report contained statements, "some correct, others misleading; observations, some scholarly, others hasty, indicative of ignorance of, or lack of insight into the true Philippine psychological and sociological background; facts, some true, others wrong; truths, some really true, others only half-truths; conclusions, some clear, others vague; recommendations or insinuations, some acceptable, others, we must and shall reject." He vowed to use his legislative committee to correct every misconception and error in the report.⁶⁰

Shortly after the release of the report, the Bureau of Education countered with a lengthy memorandum asserting that the claims about curriculum and bureaucracy were false and demonstrated a superficial examination of the work they had been doing for more than two

⁵⁹ "Monroe Report Still Stymied," *Bulletin*, August 5, 1925, Paul Monroe Archives, Series 1-8, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York.

⁶⁰ "Osias Scores School Probe as Incomplete," *Bulletin*, August 6, 1925, Paul Monroe Archives, Series 1-8, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York.

decades.⁶¹ Even former Director of Education Walter W. Marquardt produced a lengthy defense of the school system and denounced the undemocratic recommendation to curtail universal school expansion.⁶² For their part, Filipino legislators debated the recommendations of the report but mostly focused on the issue they had always held at the forefront: how to better fund and expand the public schools.⁶³

Filipinos and Americans came down on all different sides in this debate that the Monroe Survey Commission initiated. Yet the discussions centered on many of the same issues that had been central to the development of the school system for twenty-five years. What was the best way to expand schooling with limited financial resources? What type of curriculum would best fit the needs of the Philippines? Just as educators had debated in 1900, people wrestled with the role of centralization and bureaucracy and practical schooling in the islands more than two decades later. The Monroe Commission's findings and the differing opinions of American educational leaders such as Marquardt demonstrated the persistent conflict between various colonial officials and the lack of consensus even along the American imperial chains. However, in 1925, the dynamic of this debate had shifted to allow more representation and voice from Filipino educators, legislators, press, and citizens who had always advocated for expanding the system and focusing their limited budget on education for freedom and enhanced social mobility.

Monroe's survey of the Philippine school system was part of a much larger, global movement of school surveys that exploded in the 1910s and 20s. The school survey movement

⁶¹ "Educational Report Flayed," *Philippines Herald*, August 16, 1925, Paul Monroe Archives, Series 1-8, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York.

⁶² "Marquardt Attacks Monroe Report for Offending Filipinos," *The Sunday Tribune*, August 23, 1925, Paul Monroe Archives, Series 1-8, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York.

⁶³ "Financing Education to Be Hard Nut to Crack," *Times*, August 4, 1925, Paul Monroe Archives, Series 1-8, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York.

grew out of broader Progressive Era social science trends. With educational researchers such as Leonard P. Ayres, Ellwood Cubberley, and Paul Hanus leading the way, surveying became an established practice in the U.S. by 1920.⁶⁴ Through their work in comparative education at Teachers College, Monroe and his colleagues also performed dozens of school surveys around the globe. This included one of Puerto Rico in 1926, returning to the location where Falkner and Ayres had trialed their ideas about surveys and statistics two decades earlier. The popularity of school surveys in the 1920s demonstrated the global reach, influence, and significance of American imperial schooling practices that helped to shape the direction of education in the U.S. and around the globe in the twentieth century.

⁶⁴ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 72-87.

Conclusion: Colonial Hauntings

As described in the introduction, Louis Dalrymple's political cartoon *School Begins* depicts how the U.S. entered the world imperial stage in 1898 and placed its new island colonies under its tutelage. Many imperialists used schooling as a metaphor for the process of preparing territories for future self-rule. But schooling was also literal as officials built the American-style education systems supposedly from the ground up.¹ The colonial populations of Puerto Rico and the Philippines did not always embrace the curriculum and practices of the American schools, but consistently supported the ideals of spreading education as broadly as possible. Many Americans also supported the goals of universal education, but their plans contested with different economic and political desires of other imperialists. As a result, the U.S. federal government provided scant funding to the territories, and tariff and taxation schemes benefited American business interests rather than the public-school systems. Due to the limited budgets, educators in Puerto Rico and the Philippines gravitated toward Progressive Era efficiency-focused reforms. The top-down control in the colonies allowed school leaders to experiment with the use of surveys and statistics, centralization and bureaucratization, and practical education in ways that exceeded schools in the mainland U.S. Personnel and ideas circulated back to the U.S. and around the world along the chains of empire and held up these imperial educational experiments as models and inspiration for others interested in school reform to emulate.

¹ For more about the school system and practices that predated American rule see Erin Cantos, "Revolutionary Teachers: Colonial Schooling and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Philippines" (PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2021).

Educational Shifts Between 1890-1930

This intersection of American empire and education in the early twentieth century influenced the trajectory of schooling in the U.S. and around the world. As Leonard Ayres brought his ideas about statistics from Puerto Rico back to the mainland in 1907, the quantification movement became a dominant strain of reform in a few different ways. One was the use of surveys to assess school districts overall. School surveys from educational researchers like Paul Monroe emphasized efficiency reforms that had been trialed in the colonies. Vocationalization of the curriculum, centralizing control over school districts, using statistics and data for decision-making were all central elements found in these surveys that connected education professors and researchers to practitioners, school boards, and supervisors around the world. At the same time that surveys were becoming widespread in the 1910s and 20s, new ideas about psychology and measurement merged with the existing quantification movement. Researchers such as Edward Thorndike evaluated individuals through standardized tests. The statistics derived from such tests would then help schools differentiate their curriculum and fit different types of students for their supposed future position in the industrial economy.² Surveys and testing were closely related quantification efforts that shaped educational reforms aimed at both school systems and individuals throughout the twentieth century.

Centralization and bureaucratic efficiency also became hallmarks of American education in the 1920s and 1930s. Starting in the 1890s, just a few large urban school districts such as Cleveland, New York, and St. Louis had replaced smaller, ward-based school boards with superintendents with more expansive executive control. This process accelerated in the 1910s as

² See Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995) and Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

more districts followed suit.³ This move toward consolidation and professionalization was also accompanied by bureaucratic rationalization as in the Philippines.⁴ Local districts were not the only ones involved in these efficiency reforms. State departments of education also expanded their staff and supervision powers. Historian Tracy Steffes explains, “The average size of state departments of education grew from less than three people in 1890 (typically a state superintendent and one or two clerks) to almost thirty-four in 1920 to almost seventy by 1940.”⁵ This expansion mirrored the development of the centralized Philippines school system decades earlier by focusing on supervision of instruction and curriculum, vocational subjects, physical education, teacher training, and health standards.⁶

Practical education hit its stride by the 1920s in the U.S. and expanded for the next decades. Vocational education had been in the center of education discussions since the nineteenth century. By the 1910s, however, advocates focused on incorporating vocational subjects into the public-school curriculum rather than creating separate industrial schools.⁷ As Frank F. Bunker had described in Berkeley (Chapter 5), vocational education supporters also changed school organization by creating prevocational junior high schools partially based on the intermediate school model in the Philippines.⁸ The culmination of these practical curriculum

³ Sarah Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865-1905” (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 209. and David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 182-198.

⁴ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865-1905” (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 211-212.

⁵ Tracy Steffes, *School, Society, and State: A New Education to Govern Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 108.

⁶ Steffes, *School, Society, and State*, 109-110.

⁷ Herbert Kliebard, *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876-1946*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 31-32.

⁸ Steffes, *School, Society, and State*, 165.

efforts occurred in 1917 and 1918 with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act and the publication of the NEA's *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. The Smith-Hughes Act provided federal funding for agricultural, trade, and industrial education along with home economics – similar to the types of practical education already in the Philippines. A few years after the passage of the law, nearly every state had created practical courses with the federal money.⁹ The *Cardinal Principles*, published a year after the Smith-Hughes Act, similarly brought vocationalism and social efficiency in education to a national audience and reoriented the path of high schools toward practical subjects for the next few decades – a path that had already been trialed in the island territories.¹⁰

Finally, the colonies provided a model for the future financial constraints that public schools would face as their enrollment skyrocketed and budgets constricted during the Great Depression. Overall, school funding increased significantly between 1890 and 1940. Steffes argues that Americans generously funded public education rather than other social programs during this time.¹¹ Yet, budgets could not keep up with the expanding role that many envisioned for schools in society. Secondary schooling was nearly universal for youth in the 1930s as high schools became custodial institutions meant to keep children out of the collapsing job market.¹² School leaders found it necessary to regularly describe their financial constraints to the public because “they had never been asked to do so much for so many students with so little money,”

⁹ Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 132-133, 135.

¹⁰ Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 143.

¹¹ Steffes, *School, Society, and State*, 6.

¹² For data about the increase in school enrollment during the 1920s and 30s see Claudia Goldin, “America’s Graduation from High School: The Evolution and Spread of Secondary Schooling in the Twentieth Century,” *The Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 2 (June 1998) and David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School: 1890-1995* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999).

according to historian Kyle Steele, a sentiment that imperial educators could no doubt relate to.¹³ As Americans navigated each of these educational shifts in the middle of the twentieth century, they looked to the overseas imperial school systems as models.

Significance

Understanding how American imperial education contributed to school reform in the twentieth century is significant in a few different ways. First, American empire is often on the periphery of U.S. history narratives, but this study places it toward the center. It highlights how imperialism and its history had effects outside the borders of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. American imperial education was not something that happened “over there” but also had effects back on the continent. Historian Laura Briggs explains that the history of Puerto Rico “is inescapably tied to that of the mainland, so the mainland’s history is reciprocally tied to the island.”¹⁴ Yet Daniel Immerwahr argues that “one of the truly distinctive features of the United States’ empire is how persistently ignored it has been.”¹⁵ In *How to Hide an Empire*, Immerwahr asserts that the histories of the colonies is “highly relevant to mainlanders” and provides a “a full portrait of the country...as it actually is.”¹⁶ Similarly, my research demonstrates the relevancy of the educational experiments happening in the island colonies of Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

¹³ Kyle P. Steele, *Making a Mass Institution: Indianapolis and the American High School* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 71.

¹⁴ Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 206.

¹⁵ Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019), 18.

¹⁶ Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire*, 19.

Including all parts of the American empire paints a more complete portrait of school reform in the twentieth century.

Second, my arguments about the financial neglect of education also provide another avenue to critique the ideas of American exceptionalism and Benevolent Assimilation. Many scholars have examined how imperialists used education for different purposes in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Historians rightly explore the policies of Americanization and the use of the English language to understand how schools were used for assimilation.¹⁷ Other scholars note how education and the democratic rhetoric of tutelage for self-rule were used to solidify control and create an ambiguous calibrated colonialism which consistently moved the goalposts to attain independence.¹⁸ In addition to these purposes of American imperial schooling in the colonies, my research reveals that even these goals of education were hollow. Imperial officials used schools as a rhetorical justification for control and a sign of benevolence but never fully supported them financially. Imperialists held up the promise of American-style education systems as an example of how the U.S. was different than European imperial powers. Yet, my dissertation demonstrates how few resources Americans were willing to provide to create

¹⁷ For scholars who focus on the cultural domination and assimilation in American imperial schools see: Kimberly Alidio, "Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation: Racial Discourse, U.S. Colonial Education and Filipino Ethnicity, 1901-1946" (PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2001); A.J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Roland Coloma, "Empire and Education: Filipino Schooling Under United States Rule, 1900-1910" (PhD Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2004); Aida de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900-1930* (Barcelona: University of Puerto Rico, 1975); Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013); Anne Paulet, "To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2 (May, 2007).

¹⁸ Julian Go, "The Provinciality of American Empire: 'Liberal Exceptionalism' and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898-1912," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 49, no. 1 (Jan., 2007), 86, 101 and Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 191, 199.

universal education in their colonies. Instead, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos were the ones clamoring for and delivering expanded schooling when they were given more autonomy.

Third, this study provides a different genealogy of key educational practices in the U.S. Scholars have long explored the positive and negative effects of schooling. Rolando Coloma aptly describes “education as a contradictory apparatus for assistance, oppression, control, and empowerment.”¹⁹ The particular reforms examined in this research – quantification, centralization, and practical education – have ignited robust debates among historians about the intent behind and consequences of these practices. Scholars often categorize each reform based on the supposed democratic effects of the practices and the motivation of their advocates. Yet as David Gamson argues, when examined at the district-level of decision-making, the classification and evaluation of Progressive Era schooling efforts are not clear cut. Often educators described the purpose of reforms in terms of both social control and freedom. Just as school leaders in Denver or Oakland may have “believed that their new practices, such as testing and tracking, epitomized democratic education,” American imperial officials also had varying visions of the purposes of their educational efforts for control or liberation.²⁰

While this research does not aim to fully answer these questions about the evaluation of these reforms, it allows us to probe their effects more fully. For example, what does it mean that these common educational practices have a genealogy that can be traced back to a time of U.S. military, political, economic, and cultural domination in these islands? How were these reforms used similarly or differently with different populations throughout the American empire? This

¹⁹ Coloma, “Education and Empire,” 118.

²⁰ David P. Gamson, *The Importance of Being Urban: Designing the Progressive School District, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 10.

research and related questions allow citizens and educators today to continue to assess school practices both then and now.

Finally, this evidence allows us to see how we are “pierced by the persistent past,” as John Willinsky usefully suggests.²¹ One role of histories of education is to examine institutions, norms, customs, and values in our current system of schooling that we take for granted. There is a lot of history between these practices in the 1920s and how they exist today in our schools and each of these practices have been reshaped or reimaged over time. Yet the practices of quantification, centralization, and practical subjects are bedrocks of schooling in the U.S. and around the world. My research demonstrates some of the key imperial influences upon our current education system. I believe this genealogy represent Homi Babha’s idea of “colonial hauntings” and colonialism’s “lasting imprint” on education.²² Using this history, may enable us to uncover these legacies and understand the full path of how we got to where we are today. My hope is that this will help us envision a way to make our educational system more just, equitable, and emancipatory, free from its imperial chains.

²¹ John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire’s End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 264.

²² Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 18 and Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds., *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 7.

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