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**“A Great Army of Instruction”: American Teachers and the
Negotiation of Empire in the Philippines**

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Dedication

For Eric. Thank you.

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“A Great Army of Instruction”: American Teachers and the Negotiation of Empire in the Philippines

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In the summer of 1901, the United States government began a project of colonial education in the Philippines, sending close to one thousand teachers to the newly-acquired colony. These teachers, called “Thomasites,” were part of a wider justification of empire, which was intimately linked with notions of manly duty, masculine endeavor, and the innate superiority of whiteness. However, all of the American teachers headed for the Philippines, male and female, black and white, engaged with the idea of strenuous living and imperial duty, viewing themselves as personally adventurous, as well as integral members of the imperial project.

More so than any other group, these teachers were positioned between the colonial administration and the Filipino people. It was the teachers who were often responsible for implementing colonial policies on the ground and for representing American government and values to Filipinos. Their position as imperial mediators allowed the teachers to create roles for themselves that would not have been possible at home, which both complemented and challenged official visions of empire. Examining these teachers’ negotiations with American officials and Filipinos illuminates the gulf

between official policies and the day to day functioning of empire, demonstrating how the implementation of empire on the ground often deviated from the expectations of the colonial state.

Rather than construing their experiences as expressions of maternalism – which many scholars argue was the linchpin of women’s Progressive Era politics – white female teachers in the Philippines constructed identities as adventurers, imperial officials and professionals. African American teachers, on the other hand, used their positions within empire to disrupt the linking of civilization and modernity with whiteness. Black teachers argued that their racial sympathy with the Filipino people made them most fit to be benevolent colonizers, and linked racial oppression in the United States to the imperial mission in the Philippines. This dissertation examines how notions of race, gender, and national identity colored quotidian colonial interactions. I argue that these interactions nuance the narrative of American empire and provide deeper understanding of the processes of colonization.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	x
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: The Roots of Empire	27
Chapter Two: Imperial Visions and the Creation of Imperial Identities	71
Chapter Three: A Political Education.....	129
Chapter Four: Colonial Intimacy and the Paradox of Empire	170
Chapter Five: Not Just a White Man's Burden	230
Conclusion	277
Bibliography	292

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of the Philippines.....	26
Figure 2: <i>U.S.A.T. Thomas</i>	50
Figure 3: The Saleeby Family.....	84
Figure 4: Illustration of Children from <i>The First Year Book</i>	129
Figure 5: Frontispiece of the <i>Arnold Primer</i>	130
Figure 6: Frontispiece of <i>The First Year Book</i>	130
Figure 7: Illustration of Boys Playing from <i>The First Year Book</i>	131
Figure 8: Rand's Students in Silay	136
Figure 9: A "Bad" Filipino Market and a "Good" American Market.....	141
Figure 10: A Game of Indoor Baseball.....	143
Figure 11: An Indoor Baseball Game at Baguio.....	144
Figure 12: Mary Cole with American teacher and domestic servants	194
Figure 13: Philinda Rand being carried to a boat	207
Figure 14: Margaret Purcell, Philinda Rand, and Sofia Reyes	215
Figure 15: Susan Gladwin, Mary Cole and a Filipina woman.....	217
Figure 16: Theophilus Gould Steward.....	244
Figure 17: Frederick Douglass Bonner	246
Figure 18: Charlotte D. Bonner in 1916	247
Figure 19: John Henry Manning Butler	248
Figure 20: Carter G. Woodson.....	250
Figure 21: Map of Luzon	253
Figure 21: American Teachers at Baguio Teachers' Camp.....	257

Introduction

In the summer of 1901, the *United States Army Transport Thomas* traversed the Pacific Ocean, bearing over five hundred American teachers from San Francisco to Manila. In a panegyric written on board, journalist Adeline Knapp hailed the voyage of the “white ship in mid-ocean, her forefoot set toward the Philippines, her deck thronged with young men and women actuated for the most part by high ideals and a genuine desire to be helpful.”¹ The *Thomas* and its voyage became one of the most enduring icons of American colonization of the Philippines. Indeed, while the men and women who traveled to the Philippines on the *Thomas* styled themselves “Thomasites,” imbuing their own journey with missionary-style purpose, this moniker came to refer to all of the thousands of American teachers in the early years of colonization.² The reason why the *Thomas* loomed so large on the imperial horizon was twofold: first, as Knapp’s writing demonstrates, the colonial state and its employees engaged in a sustained propaganda campaign to promote the educational mission as the truest emblem of America’s engagement with the Philippines. Second, and equally as important, the American teachers were immediate points of contact between Filipinos and the colonial state. Individual interactions between American teachers and Filipinos deeply colored the

¹ Adeline Knapp, “A Notable Educational Expedition,” *The Log of the Thomas*, Ronald P. Gleason, ed. (Manila: N.A., 1901), 11.

² There is no definite count on the exact number of American teachers who worked in the Philippines. From looking at the annual reports of the General Superintendents of Public Instruction (later called Directors of Education) from 1901 to 1912, it appears that there were close to two thousand American teachers employed during this period, though the highest number of teachers employed at any one time was 926 in May of 1902. While the number of American teachers dropped from this point onward, it seems reasonable to estimate that during the American colonial period, there would have been several thousand teachers employed overall. See *Reports of the Director of Education, 1901-1912*, in Library Materials, Record Group 350, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.

experience and memory of colonialism, and contributed to the ambivalent legacy of colonialism in the Philippines.

My dissertation interrogates the myriad visions of empire which co-opted, circumvented, and challenged the narrative of the U.S. insular government in Manila and influenced the development of a colonial state in the islands. American teachers and schools were at the heart of this process. As imperial mediators, they negotiated with both the state and actors on the ground to enact a colonialism shaped by multiple and conflicting impulses and intentions. By focusing on the quotidian interactions and colonial intimacies of American teachers and Filipinos on the ground, my work reveals the ways in which a variety of actors asserted and negotiated their own understandings of colonial governance in the Philippines.

Previous histories of empire have examined how white men, amid growing fears of white racial degeneracy and overcivilization, looked to empire as a vehicle to reassert their virile masculinity and racial supremacy. However, the presence of white women and black men and women as government teachers, official agents of civilization, disrupts this narrative. Moreover, rather than construing their experiences as expressions of maternalism or domesticity – which many scholars argue was the linchpin of women’s Progressive Era politics – white female teachers in the Philippines constructed identities as adventurers, imperial officials and professionals. At the same time, African American teachers argued that their racial sympathy with the Filipino people made them most fit to be benevolent colonizers, and linked racial oppression in the United States to the imperial mission in the Philippines.

Finally, while most scholars have focused primarily on the perspective of government and educational officials and the imperial policies they created, my project is centered around the experiences of the teachers actually engaged in education. My

project intervenes in the scholarly discourse on imperial education, gender, and race by focusing on the teachers as mediators, negotiators, and implementers of empire on a day to day level. By focusing on those actually responsible for implementing a vital aspect of the American colonial state in the Philippines, the American teachers, my dissertation moves past traditional narratives of empire from the top down or bottom up to reveal the complex process of colonial state-building.

Project Overview

Employees of the United States, these teachers were part of a wider justification of empire, most notably articulated by Theodore Roosevelt in his 1899 address on “The Strenuous Life,” in which American men were honor-bound to lift the people of the Philippines out of savagery and into civilization. He and others intimately linked this work of empire with notions of manly duty, masculine endeavor, and the innate superiority of Anglo-Saxon whiteness. However, all of the American teachers headed for the Philippines, male and female, black and white, engaged with this idea of strenuous living and imperial duty in their writings, viewing themselves as personally adventurous, as well as integral members of the imperial project. Thomasite Mary Helen Fee recalled that the departure for Manila “was momentous. I was going to see the world, and I was one of an army of enthusiasts enlisted to instruct our little brown brother, and to pass the torch of Occidental knowledge several degrees east of the international date-line.”³

The establishment of an educational system in the Philippines created a model for colonial education that was used to justify America’s presence abroad and to demonstrate that American empire was inherently “benevolent.” The Thomasites, however, had their own set of imperial expectations and desires, which at different times led teachers to

³ Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 12.

uphold, adapt, circumvent, or entirely disregard colonial policy. For many, participation in empire meant the chance to have an adventure, to travel around the world, or to earn a better wage or advance professionally beyond what was possible at home. An imperial position also gave teachers the opportunity to construct new identities for themselves: the American teachers in the Philippines were not just teachers, they were social emissaries, health inspectors, imperial officials, anthropologists, and important members of the community in which they were stationed. In their day to day interactions with Filipinos, they represented American government and intentions. This official position enabled American teachers to act out their own imperial fantasies, and to make claims to power and authority that would not have been possible at home. At the same time, American teachers confronted local populations with their own fears and hopes regarding imperial education. As Filipino communities and the colonial state each articulated their own vision of what American education would mean, and asserted their own understandings of empire, they forced these teachers to negotiate between multiple visions of empire and imperial education, including their own.

Despite the language of white masculinity that imbued imperial discourse, white women and black men and women also gained positions as teachers. For them especially, an official position within empire offered new economic and social opportunities, and the chance to see themselves as a vital part of the extension of American power and civilization on the far side of the world. Teaching in the Philippines allowed single female teachers to live their lives in radically new ways. Unmarried women teachers in the Philippines often lived, traveled, and worked without the immediate oversight and protection of any men. Many had a home of their own and servants for the first time in their lives. Moreover, they wore this independence as a

badge of honor, and hoped that it would influence the Filipina teachers and students that surrounded them.

For African American teachers as well, participation in empire presented opportunities unavailable in the United States. Black teachers positioned themselves as representatives of America and official purveyors of civilization – roles that would have not been possible back home, as black Americans, especially in the Jim Crow South, were often denied not only the basic rights of citizens, but ideological inclusion within the body politic itself. This inclusion conflicted with the linking of whiteness with empire and the spread of civilization. Moreover, and perhaps most remarkably for black teachers, white American officials were forced to acknowledge black Americans' claims to inclusion in the civilizing mission, in order to counter Filipino concerns about American race prejudice. Finally, black teachers argued that, by virtue of racial sympathy, they were uniquely suited to uplift the Filipino. The experience of black teachers in the Philippines reveals most fully the ways in which notions of race, class, gender, and national identity were contested and redefined during this period.

More so than any other group, American teachers were positioned in between the colonial administration and the Filipino population. It was the teachers who were often responsible for implementing imperial policies on a daily basis, who represented American governance to the native population, and who interpreted the beliefs, capacities, and desires of Filipinos for the civil administration. While teachers often adopted and co-opted the official depiction of themselves as benevolent educators and agents of racial uplift, they also negotiated their identities and position within empire in order to assert their own understandings of empire and claims to power and authority.

Their positions as mediators, however, also forced the teachers to adapt to local conditions, negotiate their understanding of what an imperial role would mean, and

compromise with the Filipinos in their stations, especially elite members of the community. Civil officials might set colonial policy in Manila, but it was the teachers who were primarily responsible for achieving success in school work and convincing local populations to “Americanize.”

Filipinos also used the American educational system to articulate their own understandings of empire, which often challenged the narrative of benevolent tutelage cultivated by the colonial state and American teachers. The Filipino students and teachers who came into day to day contact with the Thomasites were also engaged in constructing their own understandings of empire and their place within it. Students were quick to defend their nationality against the aspersions of cynical teachers, and at times resorted to strikes to protest what they saw as bigoted or prejudicial attitudes on the part of their instructors. Historian Paul Kramer has argued that tutelage was one of the primary metaphors of the colonial state.⁴ Schools, then, were a microcosm for the colonial state. In this context, the politics of the schoolhouse were particularly fraught. When students launched strikes to protest the behavior or pronouncements of their teachers, the Bureau of Education labeled these strikes “illegal” and outside the accepted avenues of redress, just Filipinos who resorted to active resistance to American authority were branded “outlaws” by the colonial state. Both the colonial state and the Bureau of Education, however, took steps to minimize such resistance.

The colonial relationship caught teachers and students alike in the paradox of empire. In theory, what Kramer has termed a “politics of recognition” defined the colonial relationship. Filipinos were faced with either accepting the terms of “civilization” as outlined by the United States, or rejecting them and being branded as

⁴ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 201.

“savage” and therefore unworthy of self-government.⁵ If Filipinos accepted the terms of the colonial relationship, they would be granted inclusion within the notion of civilized citizenry, once they had achieved certain vague benchmarks. However, at the same time that teachers adopted the language of benevolent reform, therefore, they often used their roles as arbiters of Filipino progress to implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) deny Filipino capacity for self-rule and racial progress. Filipinos, then, were caught in cycle of inequality: if they rejected the goals of Americanization (couched in the language of modernity), or questioned the capacity of Americans to judge their progress, their teachers labeled them ungrateful children; if they did attempt to fully Americanize, they were inferior models of a superior civilization, much in the same way nonwhite immigrants to the United States were racialized. American teachers were also caught in this paradox: their position in empire was justified as carrying out racial uplift through suasion, even as it was predicated upon the supremacy of American civilization and whiteness. Both the colonial state and teachers, however, attempted to walk the fine line between withholding full recognition while not pushing their colonial charges into open opposition.

Historiography

My research adds to the work on gender and race during the Progressive Era, and within American empire, in several ways. While the historiographies of both the construction of manhood and womanhood in the Progressive Era are impressive, there are some important gaps in the literature. Historians have looked exhaustively at how women used the rhetoric of domesticity to enter the public sphere, and also at how men such as Theodore Roosevelt reconfigured masculinity, gendering (and racializing) ideas

⁵ For more on the politics of recognition, see Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 18.

about civilization, citizenship, and empire. Paula Baker has argued that on “one subject all of the nineteenth-century antisuffragists and many suffragists agreed: a woman belonged in the home. From this domain, as wife, as daughter, and especially as mother, she exercised moral influence and insured national virtue and social order.”⁶ Molly Ladd-Taylor has taken a similar position about a later period, arguing that: “Motherhood was a central organizing principle of Progressive-era politics.... Virtually every female activist used motherhood rhetoric, and virtually every male politician appealed to motherhood.”⁷ However, this rhetoric of domesticity was often disingenuous, justifying a public role for women or protecting themselves against accusations of impinging upon manly prerogatives. Many of the women who took up reform causes during this period never married at all, and many of those who did foregrounded their careers rather than their roles as wives and mothers. Ladd-Taylor notes that the lives of female reformers “often contrasted with the domestic image they were trying to convey,” and that maternalist rhetoric could be “at least in part a response to the widespread objections to women in public life.”⁸

In her foundational work *Manliness and Civilization*, Gail Bederman uses the idea of discourse to explain how ideas of masculinity, race, and civilization were constructed and contested.⁹ Choosing as her case studies Ida B. Wells, G. Stanley Hall, Charlotte

⁶ Paula Baker, “The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920,” in *Women, the State, and Welfare*, ed. Linda Gordon (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 55.

⁷ Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 43.

⁸ Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work*, 47-48, 81.

⁹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 24. The work of Martin Summers provides a useful understanding of the ways in which black masculinity was undergoing a similar reformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The context in which black teachers in the Philippines were operating was, of course, starkly different from that of black men and women in the United States, as I will discuss later, providing increased opportunities for African American men to vacillate between gendered notions of manliness and masculinity. Martin Summers, *Manliness and its Discontents: The Black Middle*

Perkins Gilman, and Theodore Roosevelt, Bederman argues that “they all labored to remake ideologies of manhood by revising and adapting discourses of civilization.”¹⁰ While she explicitly argues that her case studies are not meant to be representative, Bederman’s arguments about how these figures saw the intersections of race, gender, and civilization have come to be widely popular among succeeding scholars. This has brought a variety of interesting contributions to the field. Her discussion of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in which Bederman argues that focusing on racial fitness allowed women to justify their position as propagators of civilization, helped shape my approach to similar claims made by American women in empire.¹¹

Nevertheless, perhaps partly due to Bederman’s insistence that none “of these figures knew one another, and their work and concerns were entirely unconnected,” it seems that scholars have overlooked the topic of how these two discourses may have interacted, and specifically of how women thought of themselves within the discourse of the strenuous life. In *Fighting for American Manhood*, Kristin Hoganson argues that notions of masculinity explain an integral part of the motivation for America’s imperial wars in Cuba and the Philippines. Asserting that studies of gender and international relations have tended to focus almost exclusively on women, Hoganson focuses on how political leaders expressed ideas about gender and how this influenced the decision for war. While Hoganson’s study provides a useful perspective, bridging the too-often disparate fields of gender and foreign policy, perhaps as a result, the role of women as participants in empire is downplayed. While she argues that women are an integral part of her story, Hoganson includes them primarily as anti-imperialists who influenced the

Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 43.

¹¹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 134.

way jingoistic men thought about manhood and war. In addition, she argues that women who favored an imperial role were relatively silent on the subject, “lest they be seen as unsexed.”¹² On the contrary, however, the hundreds of women who became Thomasites were active and vocal participants in America’s imperial project. They did not view themselves as being excluded from vigorous and useful action simply because they could not appeal to manliness and masculinity.

In examining the ways in which gender functioned abroad, and particularly in the context of empire, the work of several scholars of the British Empire provides a useful comparison. The work of Antoinette Burton, Vron Ware, Tracey Jean Boisseau, and Louise Michele Newman demonstrates that elite white women, both married and single, traveled within and throughout empire, and provides a useful starting point for thinking about female identity in empire. In *Burdens of History*, Burton draws links between the mindset of reform and the belief in empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and argues that British feminists were fundamentally concerned with claiming a place for women within empire, using ideas about their racial and class status to do so.¹³ American women also used their racial (and national and class) status to claim a place within empire.

Vron Ware’s *Beyond the Pale* (1992) is also helpful in thinking about the way that women saw themselves as engaging with the “strenuous life.” Ware presents the British Empire as a frontier, a “physical and ideological space” in which categories of gender

¹² Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 203-204. Hoganson does argue in a later article that some suffragists, rather than identifying with the cause of Filipino independence, supported empire in order to make claims to racial equality and inclusion in the body politic. The article focuses, however, on the question of why anti-imperialist suffragists did not form a political alliance with anti-imperialist men. Hoganson, “‘As Badly Off As the Filipinos’: U.S. Women’s Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Women’s History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2001): 9-33.

¹³ Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

and race were less rigid, boundaries were more fluid, and in which an Englishwoman could be “a multifaceted figure.”¹⁴ Tracey Jean Boisseau makes a similar claim in her study of May French-Sheldon, a female British explorer in Africa, arguing that it was possible for white women in empire to straddle the gender divide, yielding neither “claims to masculine authority” nor “middle-class feminine charms.”¹⁵ French-Sheldon, Boisseau argues, used her race, class, and national affiliation to experience “gender as a malleable thing, not biologically determined but contextually situated.”¹⁶ Louise Michele Newman argues while that empire provided the space for elite white women to develop new identities against rigid Victorian gender norms, these opportunities were “dependent on asserting the racial inferiority and perpetuating the political subordination of nonwhite others.”¹⁷ The Philippines presented a frontier of opportunity as well: a space in which white women (and nonwhite Americans as well) were able to present themselves and their lives as both exceptional, by virtue of their race and nationality, and normal, representative of all Americans. On the periphery of American empire, they could embrace multiple roles at once, creating identities that would have been impossible at home.

A significant difference between the American and British contexts, however, is that American women were able to obtain official positions within empire, as government teachers. While Anne McClintock, writing about gender, race, and sexuality in the British Empire, argues that colonial women had to resort to “borrowed” power, as they were barred from “the corridors of formal power,” this was not true for female teachers in

¹⁴ Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History* (New York: Verso, 1992), 120.

¹⁵ Tracey Jean Boisseau, *White Queen: May French-Sheldon and the Imperial Origins of American Feminist Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 49.

¹⁶ Boisseau, *White Queen*, 50.

¹⁷ Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 19-20, 182.

the Philippines.¹⁸ Not restricted to being supplementary or voluntary participants, they were automatically endowed with more authority to implement American civilization, and did not need to justify their inclusion with reference to their special position as women. Moreover, while white women in the Philippines certainly did use their race to position themselves as purveyors of civilizations against supposedly “uncivilized” Filipinos, African American teachers, as will be discussed below, also engaged in a similar process of leveraging national, class, and racial identities to justify their inclusion in the imperial mission.

The work of scholars like Paul Kramer and Vicente Rafael has admirably laid out ways in which the project of empire was gendered. Kramer and Rafael, both writing about the Philippines, argue that white American women were presented as a domesticating force, in stark contrast with the hyper-masculine and violent military occupation. In *The Blood of Government*, Kramer argues that the government intended the teachers to be physical demonstrations of the benevolence of the American mission.¹⁹ Rafael, in *White Love*, argues that white women were expected to provide a “semblance of domesticity” in colonial sites.²⁰ Much of this work partially builds off Anne McClintock’s notion of imperial domesticity. In her study of the British Empire, McClintock links imperialism and domesticity, arguing that “as domestic space became racialized, colonial space became domesticated.”²¹ An important aspect of McClintock’s

¹⁸ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 6.

¹⁹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 178.

²⁰ Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 55. For another example of viewing white women as purveyors of the domestic, see Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000).

²¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 36.

domesticity, however, was that it was a domesticity without women.²² McClintock's work has influenced many American historians, who have taken up the notion of imperial domesticity, and also examined how women fit into the story of empire.

Indeed, many recent works on the presence of women in empire continue to focus on the reproduction of domesticity within a foreign space. Even in empire, women are still firmly tied to ideas about domesticity and motherhood. Like snails, they seem to carry "home" with them on their backs, so much so that the simple presence of women within empire, no matter how they saw themselves, indicates the domestication of a foreign space.²³ This is not entirely wrong-headed; indeed, much of the recent work on gender and empire has been insightful and important to understanding the ways in which gender, race, and class operate in empire. Wexler argues that Vron Ware and Ann Laura Stoler prove that "the sublimation of the entire background of colonial warfare into the furniture of domesticity," was "the cultural task especially appointed to white women in the age of empire."²⁴ In addition, it is true, as Paul Kramer argues, that the American government intended the American teachers in the Philippines to be physical demonstrations of the benevolence of American intentions. The arrival of women in the islands, as teachers, nurses, and wives, was meant to denote the "transformation of colonial politics from war to suasion."²⁵

My work demonstrates, however, that the teachers often represented themselves in ways that deviated from the intentions of the colonial government. While American women teachers did sometimes utilize the language of domesticity, much more frequently

²² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 32.

²³ Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, "'We Were All Robinson Crusoes': American Women Teachers in the Philippines," *Women's Studies: an Interdisciplinary Journal*, 41:4 (2012): 375.

²⁴ Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 47.

²⁵ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 178.

their self-representations diverged significantly from this official narrative. Rafael's argument, for example, that white American women's travel narratives did not contain "terms of epic undertakings," as men's writings did, is not borne out in the experience of the Thomasites.²⁶ Female teachers often described their experiences in just this language, borrowing from the established trope of the tropical or colonial odyssey. Locating themselves in between American notions of femininity and masculinity, white women's identities in empire fluctuated as they navigated different circumstances. Indeed, even presenting these two narratives as at different ends of a spectrum obscures the ways in which they were intertwined and informed each other. This is, perhaps, the most crucial point. Rather than having to choose between the ideas of maternalism and the strenuous life, it was possible for women to engage with and understand themselves through both discourses to varying degrees.²⁷

My notion of colonial intimacy, which is most fully explored in Chapter Four, has been shaped by Ann Stoler's exhortation in *Haunted by Empire* that historians focus on the "domains of the intimate" as "critical sites for the consolidation of colonial power." This study of intimacy, Stoler argues, reveals the structures of dominance in new ways.²⁸ This is because, as Stoler argues in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, the "domains of the intimate" became primary areas of concern for colonial officials and thus reveal the "microphysics of colonial rule."²⁹ Stoler defines the "intimate" as both a "marker of the

²⁶ Rafael, *White Love*, 58.

²⁷ As the work of Laurie B. Green demonstrates, women's appeals to universal notions of manhood were not limited to the context of American empire. In *Battling the Plantation Mentality*, Green argues that invoking manhood enabled black women to "assert their own courage, claim equality rather than subservience, and even challenge men." Laurie B. Green, *Battling the Plantation Mentality: Memphis and the Black Freedom Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 261.

²⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 4, 13.

²⁹ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7.

familiar and the essential,” and of “relations grounded in sex.” A wide variety of quotidian interactions, then, became an integral part of the “shaping of racialized colonial worlds.”³⁰ I use a similar notion of colonial intimacy to examine the clashes and negotiations that took place in the private realm of imperial interactions, from battles between masters and servants over the proper way to run a kitchen to the voyeuristic viewing of bodies. The realm of colonial intimacy, then, was the uneasy, chaotic ground on which teachers attempted to implement and enforce their own power, as well as a site in which Filipinos could contest and push back against the colonial state.

Focusing on the experience of black American teachers highlights the ways in which hierarchies of status and power evolved during and were changed by empire. This is a field which remains woefully understudied. The scholarship of Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., on black Americans in Cuba and the Philippines at the turn of the last century, though published over three decades ago, remains the most exhaustive and definitive work on African American participation in empire. This work was instrumental to recovering early black experiences of war and empire, and demonstrating that some black Americans saw colonization of the Philippines as a vehicle to their own claims to citizenship and civilization, and as an opportunity to acquire wealth and status, while others spoke out against empire, linking the domestic struggle for freedom with the anti-colonial struggle abroad.³¹

More recently, scholars such as Michele Mitchell, Scott Ngozi-Brown, and Steffi San Buenaventura have provided valuable additions to the study of black Americans in the Philippines, demonstrating how African American men concerned with pursuing

³⁰ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 9.

³¹ Williard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

masculinity and civil rights looked to a global context to further these goals, and the racism they confronted in empire. While Brown and Buenaventura do briefly discuss black teachers, however, much more attention is given to the experience of black soldiers.³² My research adds to this work by foregrounding the African American teachers, focusing on how their presence complicated racial hierarchies in the Philippines. African American teachers used their positions within empire to disrupt the linking of civilization and modernity with whiteness. As participants in colonial education, I argue, black Americans were able to claim American citizenship and positions as purveyors of civilization, and have this claim acknowledged by whites. Though their numbers were never large, the very presence of black teachers in the Philippines provides important insight into the ways in which the experience of empire interacted with domestic race relations. African American teachers argued that their racial sympathy with the Filipino people made them most fit to be benevolent colonizers, and linked racial oppression in the United States to the Filipino struggle for independence, presaging later transnational and transracial arguments forwarded by African Americans during World War II and the Cold War in order to advocate for civil rights. The experiences of black teachers in the Philippines, therefore, reframes the

³²See Gatewood, *“Smoked Yankees” and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers*; Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); George P. Marks III, *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)* (New York: Arno Press, 1971); Michael Robinson and Frank N. Schubert, “David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901,” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 44 (1975): 68-83; Scot Brown, “White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen’s Rebellion: The Fates of Three African-American Soldiers in the Philippines, 1901-1902,” *Contributions in Black Studies*, Vol 13, No 1, Article 5 (1995): 165-173; Scot Ngozi-Brown, “African-American Soldiers and Filipinos: Racial Imperialism, Jim Crow and Social Relations,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol 82, No 1 (Winter, 1997): 42-53; Steffi San Buenaventura, “The Colors of Manifest Destiny: Filipinos and the American Other(s),” *Amerasia Journal*, Vol 24, No 3 (1998): 1-26; Michele Mitchell, “‘The Black Man’s Burden’: African Americans, Imperialism, and Notions of Racial Manhood 190-1910,” *International Review of Social History*, Vol 44 (1999), Supplement, pp. 77-99.

histories of both black migration and activism, and illuminates the fractures in colonial hierarchies.

Most previous histories of American colonial education in the Philippines have focused primarily on the perspectives of government and educational officials, and the imperial policies they created, rather than on the viewpoint and experiences of the teachers actually engaged in education. However, in order to understand the way in which imperial education was carried out in the Philippines, it is necessary to look at the teachers actually charged with its implementation. Recent dissertations by Kimberly Alidio and Peter J. Tarr address the experiences of some of the teachers. While Alidio's "Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation" mainly focuses on the experiences of the *pensionados*, the Filipino students sent to the United States for education, she also demonstrates ways in which two American teachers in the Philippines, Harry and Mary Cole, contradicted the official discourse on American empire and its educational project, and belying the notion of benevolent uplift.³³ Journalist Peter J. Tarr's 2006 dissertation tracks the individual experiences of seven American teachers in order to explain the functioning of colonialism at the "micro" level. This work offers important context for the creation of a system of colonial education, and provides impressive depth on the lives of and backgrounds of these teachers. My project has a different aim, though using some of the same sources. While I focus on the experiences of teachers in the Philippines, I do so in order to draw out the ways in which they utilized and negotiated identities of gender, race, nationality and class in order to articulate understandings of empire and to make claims to colonial authority.

³³ Kimberly A. Alidio, "Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation: Racial Discourse, U.S. Colonial Education and Filipino Ethnicity, 1901-1946" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001).

Methodology

Drawing on multi-archival and transnational research, this dissertation uses a wide variety of sources to interrogate the negotiation of colonial intimacy, and to unearth understandings of empire asserted by a variety of imperial actors, including American and Filipino teachers, students, government bureaucrats, military officers, and municipal elites.³⁴ By juxtaposing the letters, diaries and articles of over two dozen teachers, scattered in archives across the United States, my work delves into the ways in which teachers experienced and understood their roles within empire, and the complex positions they held, in between war and peace, coercion and suasion. Foregrounding the teachers' own voices and the language they used to describe themselves, the people around them, and the events in which they participated, illuminates the ways in which colonial actors expressed, utilized and constructed notions of race and gender. In addition, comparing these sources to official records, periodicals, and the personal papers of imperial administrators reveals the gulf between official policies and the day-to-day functioning of empire, demonstrating how the implementation of empire on the ground often deviated from the expectations of the colonial state. Finally, I have read across these sources in order to understand the experiences, perspectives, and challenges of the Filipinos who came into contact with American teachers. This approach allows me to understand how and why the Thomasites' own visions of empire diverged from the views of those above and below their authority in crucial ways. As my dissertation centers on the experiences of the teachers themselves, rather than the educational administration, it has been integral

³⁴ My notion of colonial intimacy, which is explored in Chapter Four, is informed by Ann Stoler's *Haunted by Empire*. Stoler argues that intimate spheres are "critical sites for the consolidation of colonial power" and that "affairs of the intimate are strategic for empire-driven states." She argues, furthermore, that the study of intimacy reveals structures of dominance in new ways. Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 4, 13.

to my project to include as many of the teachers as possible in my research. The collections of the Bancroft Library, at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Bentley Library, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, were particularly important for my research, as these archives are treasure troves of papers belonging to teachers and colonial administrators. The records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, held at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, were also integral to my ability to understand the priorities of the colonial state, and to unearth the voices of teachers interacting with the colonial bureaucracy. The breadth of this research enables me to make generalizations that have not been possible in earlier works about the importance of the American educational system in the Philippines.

Background

The voyage of the Thomasites was foreshadowed by multiple changes in American domestic circumstances and foreign policy in the decades after the Civil War. The United States had undergone steady economic and territorial growth since the mid-nineteenth century. New technologies, government policies, and the discovery of gold in California had enabled and encouraged Americans to push the country's boundaries to the Pacific Ocean. New England whaling and trading ships had been sailing across the globe since the early 1800s, often stopping at the Hawaiian Islands, a convenient halfway point between China and the West Coast of the United States. American trade with Asia only increased after the U.S. Navy forced both Japan and Korea to open their borders to American sailors and missionaries in the 1850s and 1870s, respectively, and as Europe tightened its control over China in the late nineteenth century. By the 1890s, many in the U.S. were already scouting for potential colonies, as a combination of industrialization,

the expansion to Pacific Coast, and the extermination or concentration of Native American tribes had left Americans looking for both new frontiers and new markets.³⁵

The United States and Hawai'i were already set on the path that would end in Hawaiian colonization and an American empire in the Pacific even before the outbreak of war with Spain. Beginning in 1820, and as a result of the Second Great Awakening, American missionaries flooded to the islands hoping to save Hawaiian souls. By the late nineteenth century, missionary descendants and American businessmen came to control most of the privately-owned land, and dominated the Hawaiian economy as owners of large sugar plantations.³⁶ In 1893, a group of *haole* (white foreigner) businessmen, led by descendants of the early missionaries, staged a coup with the aid of the American minister to Hawaii and U.S. Marines, declared the Republic of Hawaii and asked to be annexed by the United States. President Grover Cleveland balked at the coup, refused the request, and demanded that Queen Liliuokalani be restored to the throne (she was not).³⁷ In 1898, William McKinley, looking forward to an established American presence in the Pacific, approved the annexation of Hawaii.

Shortly after Liliuokalani lost her throne, Spain became embroiled in a colonial revolt halfway across the world. Cuban revolutionaries rose against colonial rule in 1895. In early 1896, General Valeriano Weyler, the former Governor-General of the Philippines, was sent to quell the insurgency. Weyler instituted a policy of *reconcentrado*, forcing Cubans into camps where many died of disease or starvation.

³⁵ H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13, 16-19.

³⁶ By 1909, half of the privately owned land on Hawaii was controlled by white corporations. See J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 69.

³⁷ Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 27, and Sarah Vowel, *Unfamiliar Fishes* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2011), 187-210. A year later, the United States and Germany forged an agreement dividing Samoa into eastern and western territories. The eastern islands became American Samoa.

Tensions rose between the United States and Spain as sensationalist press accounts of the cruel treatment of Cubans were published in American papers. Responding to American outrage, President McKinley demanded that Spain implement meaningful reforms. Early in 1898, McKinley sent the U.S.S. *Maine* to Havana Harbor, ostensibly to protect American lives, but also as a demonstration of American power.³⁸

Colonizing the Philippines in the early sixteenth century, Spain had ruled the islands as a virtual extension of its empire in Latin America. A number of domestic and international changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, dramatically changed the face of Spanish global power. The wave of revolutions that rocked Latin America in the first half of the nineteenth century cost Spain nearly all of its colonies in the Western Hemisphere, with the exceptions of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and greatly weakened the mercantile system. At the same time, Spain was experiencing domestic turmoil, as liberal and reactionary regimes struggled for control of the country.³⁹

While most of the liberal reforms instituted in Spain failed to reach the Philippines, the colonial government did institute the Education Reform Law of 1863, which established compulsory primary education and expanded tertiary education, both of which were overseen by the religious orders. The expansion of higher education enabled the sons of the *principales*, or elites, to travel to Manila for instruction and to enter the professions.⁴⁰ These educated elites became known as *ilustrados*, and it was they who would drive the ex-patriot push for reform and, eventually, revolution.⁴¹ Ilustrados in Spain and Hong Kong, the most famous of who was José Rizal, began agitating for reform, especially for representation in the Spanish legislature, in the early

³⁸ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 82, and Brands, *Bound to Empire*, 20-21.

³⁹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 38.

⁴⁰ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 42.

⁴¹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 8-9, 28, 47-48.

1890s. At the same time that Filipino elites were pushing for reform from abroad, the push for revolution was beginning in the Philippines. In 1892, Andrés Bonifacio formed the Katipunan, a revolutionary society composed mainly of urban clerks and artisans. In 1896, Spanish authorities uncovered the conspiracy and took harsh action against suspected rebels, including executing José Rizal in December of 1896, which set off the revolt which would eventually become the Philippine Revolution. Despite inferior arms and internal divisions, the Katipunan managed to fight the Spanish to an impasse. In late 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Katipunan, agreed to disarm and go into exile in Hong Kong in return for amnesty, promises of colonial reform, and a cash indemnity. Despite the armistice, neither side honored their terms fully. Aguinaldo and his officers went to Hong Kong, but quickly began a hunt for arms and support from foreign governments, waiting for the day when they could resume the fight.⁴² They did not have long to wait.

For the exiled members of the Katipunan, the outbreak of war between Spain and the U.S. seemed to be a favorable turn of events for the Philippine independence movement. After the sinking of the *Maine*, the situation deteriorated rapidly, until McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war in April. By the end of that month, Admiral George Dewey steamed into Manila Bay and decimated the Spanish fleet.⁴³ Calling the American forces the Filipinos' "redeemers," Aguinaldo rhetorically extended America's professed motivations for its involvement in Cuba to the Philippines.⁴⁴ Around the same time, the American consul in Singapore, contacted Aguinaldo and suggested an alliance between U.S. and Katipunan forces. According to Aguinaldo, the

⁴² Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 73-77, 81.

⁴³ Brands, *Bound to Empire*, 23-24.

⁴⁴ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 84-85.

consul also gave his word (and Dewey's) that the U.S. would grant the Philippines independence, at least under protectorate status. Buoyed by these assurances, Aguinaldo returned home, arriving in Manila in May, reassembled his revolutionary forces, and joined the fighting. In June, Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines. By this point, however, the alliance was beginning to fray, as American commanders received instructions to distance themselves from their Filipino counterparts, and to make no promises regarding independence. On August 13, after keeping Filipino forces out of the battle for Manila, the U.S. Army accepted the Spanish surrender. That same month, Aguinaldo moved the seat of his government to Malolos, and convened a Philippine Congress, which began to draft a Constitution.⁴⁵ Before that Constitution could be proclaimed in January, 1899, however, Spain had already signed the Treaty of Paris, ceding Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States in exchange for a token payment of twenty million dollars.

The annexation of the Philippines was not unilaterally welcomed in the United States. In the fall of 1898, domestic anti-imperial forces had coalesced into the Anti-Imperialist League, which joined with congressional opponents of empire to protest America's new global ambitions. The anti-imperial movement made for strange bedfellows, linking northern "mugwumpish" progressives, who saw empire as a dramatic betrayal of the nation's founding principles, with Democrats and Populists from the South and West, who were primarily concerned with the racial threat posed by the inclusion of massive numbers of nonwhite subjects in the American body politic.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 94-99, and Brands, *Bound to Empire*, 45-47.

⁴⁶ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 156; and Mathew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill And Wang, 2000), 228-229.

Two years after the start of the Philippine-American War, and just months after the army had captured the leader of the Philippine Revolutionary Army, Emilio Aguinaldo, the United States government sent out a call for teachers to instruct the inhabitants of America's newest colonial possession. Throughout the summer of 1901, transports brought teachers to Manila, including the *Thomas*, which brought the largest group. By the next year, despite ongoing warfare, over 900 American teachers were working throughout the islands.

Chapter Synopsis

The body of my dissertation is composed of five central chapters. In Chapter One, I examine the precedents to U.S. colonial education in the Philippines, including educational programs aimed at African Americans and Native Americans. I argue that even as colonial officials looked to these domestic precedents in creating a system of colonial education, American teachers headed to the Philippines were creating a catalogue of colonial knowledge based on government reports, travelogues, newspaper accounts, and their experiences traveling to the islands. Chapter Two investigates the expectations of American teachers, and the realities they confronted in their stations. While teachers' imperial visions often confounded the expectations of the colonial state, teachers' own desires were often frustrated by a failure to take into account local expectations. In order to claim colonial authority and to take advantage of the opportunities of empire, teachers at various times appealed to racial superiority, appropriated gendered identities, and utilized national identities. Chapter Three examines the politics of the schoolhouse. Even as teachers attempted to remake their charges, students and teachers pushed back against the teachers' assessments of them. Chapter Four looks at the intimate relations of American teachers and Filipino communities. While teachers often used their position to exercise power over the

Filipinos with whom they lived, they also found themselves drawn into local political conflicts, as well as relationships of reciprocity. Chapter Five specifically addresses the experiences of African American teachers in the Philippines, and the ways in which they negotiated the complex racial dynamic of the islands. I argue that these teachers used their official positions within empire to argue that they were the most fit to carry out a mission of civilization and uplift. In addition, black teachers linked the racial destinies of African Americans and Filipinos, advocating the notion of a global colored community with a common cause.

Examining the way American teachers negotiated their way through empire, attempting to stake claims to colonial power while forced to take the expectations of the colonial state as well as varied Filipino actors into account, reveal the contested nature of colonization on the ground. The ways in which a variety of state and local, civilian and military, American and Filipino actors asserted and negotiated their own understandings of colonial governance in the Philippines is significant for scholars beyond the history of the United States and the Philippines. My work reveals the processes by which imperial mediators negotiated with both the state and actors on the ground to enact a colonialism shaped by multiple and conflicting impulses and intentions.

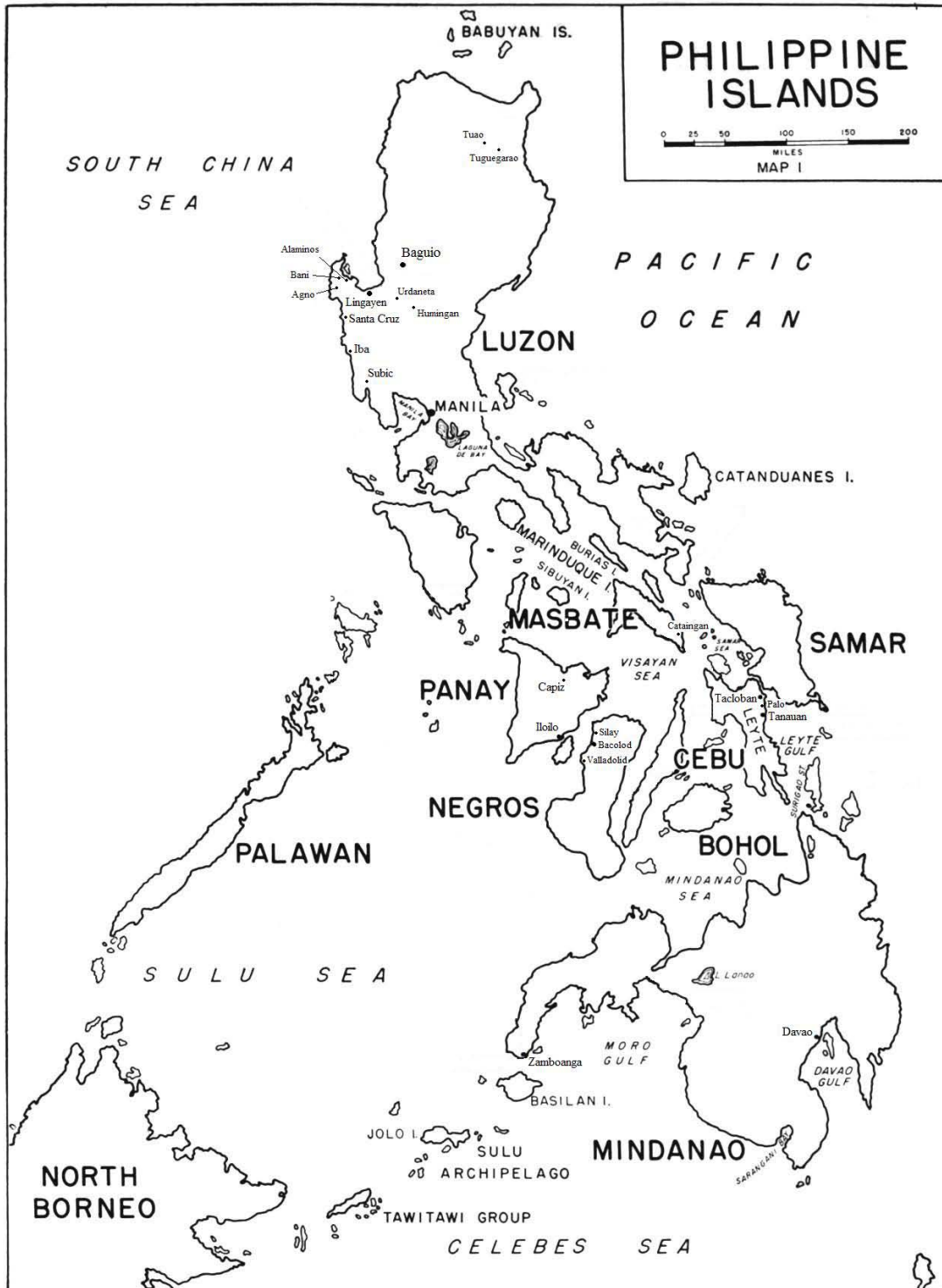


Figure 1: Map of the Philippines

Chapter One
The Roots of Empire:
Creating a Catalogue of Colonial Knowledge

Leaving his home in New York in July 1901, Benjamin E. Neal began a long journey west that would end in a small town in central Luzon, the main island of the Philippines. Neal, a newly-appointed teacher in the colonial school system, first stopped off in Buffalo to see the Pan American Exposition on July 15, and visited the Filipino Village that was part of the Midway attractions. Taking a special interest in the children who were part of the exhibit, Neal noted that they seemed “extremely bright and active.”¹ Five days later, after traveling across the country by train, Neal reached San Francisco. After dinner, he visited Chinatown, where he saw “opium dens – Josh houses – stores – theatres, drug dens, etc.”² Both legs of this excursion were early steps in Neal’s psychological preparation for teaching. Situated among the broad swath of humanity represented on the Midway, the Filipino Village was, of course, a fabricated reality, focused on portraying the picturesque and exotic. Still, it was the first chance most Americans had to examine in person the denizens of America’s newest colonial possession, and Neal was naturally anxious to catch a glimpse of some of his new charges.³ During this time period, moreover, periodicals, travelogues, and missionary accounts depicted Chinatowns as foreign spaces within the nation, spaces belonging to an essentialized Oriental Other. Americans at the turn of the twentieth century had long

¹ Benjamin E. Neal, Diary entry, July 15, 1901, Folder 5, Benjamin E. Neal Papers [hereafter Neal Papers], Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library.

² Neal, Diary entry, July 20, 1901, Folder 5, Neal Papers. Neal meant “joss” houses, which were places of worship.

³ For an in-depth examination of world’s fairs, race, and empire, 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).

viewed Chinatowns as sites of both potential danger and voyeuristic pleasure.⁴ For teachers headed to Asia, most for the first time, touring San Francisco's Chinatown took on added meaning. Visits to Chinatown were, in this context, a first step on a long journey to, in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "that furthest West, which is the immemorial East."⁵

American teachers en route to the Philippines all engaged in some version of this process of building what I refer to as a catalogue of colonial knowledge. Many teachers sought information about America's new colonies by reading official reports and attending educational lectures. Yet they also drew upon popular sources of information, including the portrayal of these colonies in the press, travelogues, exhibitions at world's fairs, and even the presence of seemingly foreign populations within domestic borders.

On December 21, 1898, McKinley declared that the policy of the United States in the Philippines would be one of "benevolent assimilation." Education fulfilled a vital ideological component of this imperial project. Lieutenant-General Arthur MacArthur, who succeeded General Elwell Otis as Military Governor of the Philippines, saw the school work as part of the overall war effort. The appropriation of government funds for schools was, MacArthur declared, "recommended primarily and exclusively as an adjunct to military operations, calculated to pacify the people and procure and expedite the restoration of tranquility throughout the archipelago."⁶ Moreover, the United States government and the Philippine Commission (established as a civilian government in

⁴ For more on depictions of Chinatowns, see Nyan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (University of California Press, 2001).

⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, "Address at Waukesha, Wisconsin, April 3, 1903," *Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1904* (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1904), 124.

⁶ "Report of the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Army," Part 2, in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 258.

1900) clearly wanted the educational mission to serve as the primary representative of American intentions. As Fred Atkinson declared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, there was “no clearer expression of American purposes with regard to the Philippines than was presented in the reopening and organizing of schools by military commanders as soon as peace was restored at their posts.”⁷

The establishment of an American educational system in the Philippines created an American model for colonial education that was used to justify America’s presence abroad and to claim that American empire was inherently “benevolent.” Administrators argued that, by virtue of its pedagogical bent, the American imperial mission was “unique” in the history of the world. The institutions created in the Philippines, indeed the very fact of civilian governance reflected the desire to distinguish American colonization from all other empires. This is revealed in the name that early teachers chose for themselves, “Thomasites,” taken from the name of the ship which brought them and reminiscent of a missionary organization.

Presenting the educational mission as part of a mythic narrative helped the U.S. and insular governments to define the entire colonial state through the metaphor of tutelage and assimilation. As Paul Kramer has argued, the state was cast “in its entirety as a school and made its task the active transformation of Filipinos in an unsteady and necessarily indefinite movement toward ‘Americanism.’” Under this configuration, virtually every interaction between the colonial government and the Filipino people could be construed as part of a civilizing mission, paving the way for eventual self-government.⁸ Promoting the idea of colonial governance as a school allowed the insular

⁷ Fred Atkinson, “The Educational Problem in the Philippines,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXXIX, No. DXXXIII (March, 1902): 361.

⁸ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 201.

state not only to justify the colonial project as benevolent, but also deemphasized the coercive aspects of colonial “education.”

While widespread, public colonial education as a tool of overseas, formal empire may have been new, however, the roots of American colonial education lay in manual and vocational education at home. Preparing for their new roles in the Philippines, educational officials and teachers actively sought out the precedents of domestic examples of colonial instruction. On an institutional level, officials looked to schools for Native Americans and African Americans to provide models for colonial education. On an individual level, the American teachers’ traveling to the Philippines constructed their colonial expectations based on a variety of sources. By visiting Chinatown and Honolulu, by reading books and articles about the Philippines, by attending educational lectures, and even by socializing, teachers built for themselves a database of colonial knowledge. This catalog of ideas would begin to be tested as soon as the teachers arrived in the islands.

The Philippine-American War can be divided into three phases of warfare.⁹ The first phase of the Philippine-American War lasted from February to November, 1899, and was characterized by conventional warfare. Beginning in November, recognizing the impossibility of winning in pitched battles, Aguinaldo turned to guerilla warfare. Aguinaldo was eventually captured, and in April 1901 swore allegiance to the American government and called on his followers to surrender. From the beginning of guerilla warfare the U.S. Army attempted to end the war by fiat, simply declaring legitimate

⁹ For excellent discussions of the Philippine-American War, see Amy Blitz, *The Contested State: American Foreign Policy and Regime Change in the Philippines* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000); H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Kramer, *The Blood of Government*; Kramer, “Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War,” *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April 2006); and Samuel K. Tan, *The Filipino-American War, 1899-1913* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002).

resistance to be over.¹⁰ In the summer of 1902, Theodore Roosevelt issued a proclamation declaring the “insurrection against American authority and sovereignty” to be at an end, and granting amnesty to all combatants for acts of war committed before May 1, 1902. Yet armed resistance to American rule continued until 1913. In this third phase of warfare, however, the Philippine Commission refused to recognize the remnants of the Philippine Army as legitimate combatants, labeling them *ladrones*, or bandits, in the Brigandage Act passed in November 1902.¹¹

Whether the army or the Philippine Commission acknowledged that a war was ongoing, Americans and Filipinos continued to fight, and to die. American generals and soldiers, unused to tropical guerilla warfare, and increasingly frustrated with their inability to tell friend from foe, began to characterize guerilla tactics as “savage,” and Filipino people themselves as “uncivilized.”¹² This classification resulted in violent and merciless tactics, including torture, the burning of entire villages, and the adoption of the much-decried Spanish policy of “reconcentration.” In December 1901, General J. Franklin Bell authorized the concentration of rural populations in towns under U.S. control, announcing that civilians who failed to present themselves by a given day would be considered enemies and arrested or killed. During Bell’s Batangas campaigns, where this policy was first implemented, around 100,000 residents were relocated into the reconcentration zones.¹³ The upheaval, malnutrition and unsanitary conditions caused by reconcentration resulted in diseases which claimed tens of thousands, and possibly hundreds of thousands, of lives. Eventually, the civilian government instituted its own concentration camps. In the summer of 1903, the Philippine Commission passed the

¹⁰ Kramer, “Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire,” 194.

¹¹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 151-155.

¹² Kramer, “Race-Making,” 195-200.

¹³ Tan, *The Filipino-American War*, 86-87.

Reconcentration Act, which authorized the use of such camps in areas still “infested” with “ladrones.” By 1905, some of these areas had been returned to military control, as the civilian government had been unable to pacify the populations.¹⁴

Despite the ongoing violence, President McKinley began preparing for the transition to civilian governance, sending two delegations to the Philippines within a span of a year and a half. The first Philippine Commission, also called the Schurman Commission, was established in January, 1899, and arrived in the islands that March, just one month after the outbreak of hostilities. This committee, headed by Jacob Gould Schurman, the President of Cornell University, was given the task of investigating conditions in the Philippines in order to provide recommendations for the formulation of a civilian government. Despite resistance from the military, the commission met with and interviewed dozens of prominent Filipinos and foreigners, mostly Americans and Europeans. The commission never ventured outside of Manila, however, and primarily interviewed those who were already sympathetic (or at least resigned) to American authority.¹⁵

¹⁴ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 154-157. Concentration camps were used in Albay and Bicol in 1903, and Batangas and Cavite in 1905. By 1905, parts of Batangas, Cebu, Bohol, Samar, Cavite, and Albay had returned to military control. As Samuel K. Tan has noted, while formal rebellion was virtually over by 1902, after the capture or surrender of Aguinaldo and his senior officers, resistance continued in Luzon and the Visayas in the form of millenarian movements. The shift from elite-based to mass-based resistance included movements led by Papa Isio in Negros and the pulahan movement in Samar and Leyte. While these movements were largely repressed by 1906, smaller, aftershock uprisings continued for the next few years. Tan, *The Filipino-American War*, 66, 132-147. Mindanao and Sulu in the southern Philippines, which were largely populated by Muslims called “Moros” by the Spanish government, experienced a very different colonial conquest than the rest of the islands. These areas had never effectively been incorporated by the Spanish into the colonial state. At the beginning of the Philippine-American War, the U.S. Army made overtures to the Sultan of Sulu and to the datus of Mindanao, hoping to pre-empt or delay the outbreak of hostilities with the Moro provinces. Once the war with Christian Filipinos began to wind down, however, the military could focus on extending control to these areas. In 1903, the Moro Province was created, and was ruled by the U.S. Army until 1914. Outbreaks of violence between Moro and American forces lasted throughout this period. See Tan, *The Filipino-American War*, 151-206, and Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 217-220.

¹⁵ Blitz, *The Contested State*, 36-37.

The Second Philippine Commission, headed by federal circuit judge William Howard Taft, was given executive and legislative powers, and would become the foundation of the civilian colonial government.¹⁶ The Taft Commission arrived in Manila in June of 1900 with two holdovers from the first commission: Dean C. Worcester, an ornithologist, and the continued enmity of the U.S. military, now represented by General Arthur MacArthur. After briefly studying conditions in the islands, by August the commission issued a report advocating for the creation of a civilian-controlled constabulary, public works, a new tax system, judicial reforms, and a system of universal public instruction, to be conducted in English. McKinley granted the commission the power to levy taxes, enact laws, set tariffs, and establish courts of law. By December of that year, the Philippine Commission had passed fifty-five pieces of legislation.¹⁷

In January 1901, the commission passed Act 74, providing for the establishment of a system of public education. The United States and the Philippine Commission did not create the insular system of education from whole cloth, though it was sometimes presented in that way. While Atkinson acknowledged that there had been at least a limited system of education under the Spanish, others were inclined to create a heroic, exceptionalist narrative of the American educational mission.¹⁸ This myth-making began almost immediately. Traveling to the Philippines on the *Thomas*, journalist Adeline Knapp penned a glowing tribute of the teachers' purpose, declaring that there existed in the Philippines "no already established body of native teachers," prompting the American

¹⁶ For more on the creation and functioning of the Second Philippine Commission, see Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989), 168-177.

¹⁷ Blitz, *The Contested State*, 39-40.

¹⁸ Atkinson, "The Educational Problem in the Philippines," 360.

government, in a move unprecedented “in the history of the world,” to “send out an army, not of conquest, but of education.”¹⁹

The Transnational Links of Colonial Education

Rather than being a unique, unprecedented attempt, colonial officials and educators in the Philippines drew theoretical inspiration from a variety of sources, including previous educational attempts aimed at colonized, “foreign,” or immigrant populations. Before Fred Atkinson assumed his position as the first General Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Philippines, Governor Taft suggested that he prepare himself for his new position by reading Charles E. Trevelyan’s *On the Education of the People in India* (1838), and by visiting Hampton, Tuskegee and Carlisle, institutes which provided manual and agriculture education for African Americans and Native Americans.²⁰ Atkinson was deeply impressed by what he saw at Hampton and Tuskegee. After touring both institutions, Atkinson declared that the insular government “must beware the possibility of overdoing the matter of higher education and unfitting the Filipino for practical work.” Rather, he continued, the Bureau of Public Instruction “should heed the lesson taught us in our reconstruction period,” that the “education of the masses here must be an agricultural and industrial one, after the pattern of our Tuskegee Institute at home.”²¹ These precedents were useful to pedagogical initiatives in the Philippines precisely because they shared a common mission: to turn a perceived foreign and potentially subversive population into Americanized citizens, and productive

¹⁹ Adeline Knapp, “A Notable Educational Expedition,” *The Log of the Thomas*, Ronald P. Gleason, ed. (Manila: N.A., 1901), 11-12.

²⁰ Peter J. Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites: American School Teachers in Philippine Colonial Society, 1901-1913,” (PhD Diss, Cornell University, 2006), 157. As will be discussed later, Hampton Institute was founded in 1868 to educate freedmen and women. Tuskegee Institute was founded in 1881 by Hampton graduate Booker T. Washington, with largely the same mission. The Carlisle Indian School was founded in 1879 in order apply the Hampton model exclusively to Native American education (Hampton admitted a small number of Native American students).

²¹ Brands, *Bound to Empire*, 68.

workers. Education was the key ingredient for this process; the silver bullet that would transform the foreign into the familiar, the savage into the (second-class) citizen.

These pedagogical techniques aimed at Americanizing colonized peoples, moreover, had been moving around the globe for decades by the time the United States annexed the Philippines. Educational theories formulated by the Swiss pedagogue Johann Pestalozzi became popular in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, creating a new emphasis on manual and industrial education. These theories were implemented in schools as remote as Hawaii, Alaska, and Indian schools in the West.²²

The educational models pioneered by missionaries in Hawaii also had an enormous impact on industrial education in the United States. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the son of missionaries, had been raised in Hawaii. His father resigned as a missionary in the 1840s in order to be the Minister of Public Instruction, and Armstrong would travel around the islands to visit the schools his father supervised. When Armstrong was chosen to head Hampton Institute, he modeled it after the manual and industrial schools he had seen in Hawaii.²³

Of course, Hampton was not the first attempt to educate freedmen and women. During and after the Civil War, missionary societies sent thousands of northerners to teach freedpeople. These teachers went south for a variety of reasons, including a desire for adventure and travel, freedom from familial obligations, and from a deep sense of

²² For on the links between education in Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the United States, see C. Kalani Beyer, "The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong as Both Borrower and Architect of Education in Hawai'i," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (February 2007) and Sarah Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865-1905" (Ph.D. Diss: University of Pennsylvania, 2009). Manekin notes that educators used the "object method" to teach English in schools in Alaska, showing objects (or pictures of objects) to students and teaching them to say and write the word. Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education," 137. This object method would also be utilized in schools in the Philippines.

²³ Beyer, "The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong," 23-25.

spiritual mission.²⁴ Willie Lee Rose, in her study of early Reconstruction efforts in the South Carolina Sea Islands, argues that the northern teachers who went to South Carolina saw themselves as missionaries carrying the gospel of both God and John Brown. The teachers, labeled “Gideonites” by unfriendly soldiers, were instructed that their task would be not only to educate the freed slaves, but also to instill in them the habits of health and cleanliness in order to prepare them “for all the duties of American citizens.”²⁵

A number of changes after the Civil War, including the influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, the freeing of four million African Americans, and the “winning” of the West, made the ability of education to create Americanized citizens out of a foreign-yet-domestic population seem increasingly important. Lawrence Cremin has argued that progressivism influenced education by broadening the definition of schooling to include a concern for health, vocation, and quality of life, by applying pedagogies derived from contemporary social science research, and by tailoring instruction to different classes of children.²⁶ Progressive reformers and government officials viewed education as a tool of assimilation for those who were perceived to be foreign and potentially threatening to American values and institutions. Schools could be laboratories of Americanization, especially for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe.²⁷

²⁴ For more on early educational efforts aimed at freedpeople, see Edward J. Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), and Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

²⁵ Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 52-55.

²⁶ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), viii-ix. The Progressive Era, which spanned roughly from 1890 to 1920, and was characterized by a commitment to improving society through a combination of reforms focused on workplace conditions, recreation, and individual comportment. While progressive reformers embraced a dizzying array of causes, from the settlement house movement to campaigns to limit the power of big business, all progressives shared a faith in the ability to reform individuals through scientific investigation, government legislation, and individual training.

²⁷ Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 110.

Even as progressive reformers sought changes that would improve the lives of these new arrivals, they viewed these immigrants as a real problem in the late nineteenth century, an influx of alien values that might degrade the body politic. A vital function of public schooling, settlement houses and educational lectures, then, was to attempt to create American citizens out of those perceived to be religiously and culturally foreign.

Configured as a process of uplift and Americanization, creating good citizens out of immigrants was of necessity a patronizing project. The project of reform itself posited the idea that there was something “wrong” with immigrant communities, which were often configured as dirty, dangerous, and un-American. As Matthew Frye Jacobson has argued, popular portrayals of newly arrived immigrants in urban centers often mirrored the presentation of “natives” in other countries.²⁸ Immigrant communities, moreover, were conceived of as being “foreign” territory within the United States. Jacob Riis wrote in 1890 that “one may find for the asking an Italian, a German, a French, African, Spanish, Bohemian, Russian, Scandinavian, Jewish, and Chinese colony,” in lower Manhattan, but the “one thing you shall vainly ask for in the chief city of America is a distinctively American community.”²⁹ For progressives, education was the key to transforming these foreign spaces back into American neighborhoods, by reforming the residents within them. McGerr argues that many progressive campaigns “sprang from an optimistic belief that heredity’s power was not absolute, that people were malleable,” and that “people changed when their surroundings changed.”³⁰ This faith, however, was considerably complicated when the people to be uplifted were people of color, as many white progressives also possessed an equally foundational belief in the supremacy of the

²⁸ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill And Wang, 2000), 121.

²⁹ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 122.

³⁰ McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, 80.

white race.³¹ The tensions between the possibility of reform and nineteenth century beliefs in the innate inferiority of nonwhite peoples is clearly seen in educational efforts aimed at African Americans and Native Americans.

Shortly after the Civil War, in 1868, the American Missionary Association founded the Hampton Agricultural and Industrial School (later Hampton Institute). As mentioned above, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a former Union general, became the school's first president, and created a system of education based on manual and agricultural education inspired by Hawaiian schools. Booker T. Washington, a Hampton graduate, founded the Tuskegee Normal School for Colored Teachers in 1881. Beyond support from the AMA, such schools also profited from a partnership between education reformers and industrial philanthropists. These philanthropists were particularly interested in efforts such as Hampton and Tuskegee, which emphasized "agricultural training, political conservatism, and limited education aspirations."³² Even as Armstrong worked to educate and uplift African Americans, he firmly believed that they were a "backward" race, and that the purpose of education at Hampton should be to train students to be moral and industrious, rather than to put them on an equal footing with white Americans.³³

In contrast the underlying philosophies of Hampton and Tuskegee, which accepted the principle of social segregation of the races, Richard Pratt believed that if Native Americans were removed from reservations and Americanized, they could

³¹ Of course, as will be noted in Chapter Two, the question of what whiteness meant, and exactly who was "white" was fiercely contested during this period. It was possible, for example, for peoples to be considered "white" for the purposes of immigration and naturalization, while being denied full inclusion in the notion of whiteness by other, more securely "white" Americans. The definition of who was white also changed depending on geography, relations with other white and nonwhite communities, and perceived labor competition.

³² Sarah Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education," 219-220.

³³ Sarah Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education," 61.

assimilate into mainstream society.³⁴ Pratt, inspired by his experience with Native American prisoners at Fort Marion and by the example of Hampton Institute, founded the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1879. At Carlisle, instructors attempted to systematically stripped students of their culture in the attempt to remake them as Americans. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Carlisle became the success story of Native American education.

Shortly after the founding of Carlisle, the U.S. government, urged by a group of reformers who called themselves the Friends of the Indian, began serious attempts at Indian education and assimilation. In 1880, the Board of Indian Commissioners declared that it was “cheaper to feed than to fight the Indian,” and “cheaper to teach than to feed them.”³⁵ Katherine Iverson has argued that the same impulse that was created by the influx of European immigration also led policymakers to try to “Americanize” Native Americans.³⁶ In 1883, a group of reformers began meeting at Lake Mohonk for an annual conference to discuss issues related to Native Americans.³⁷ The attendees of the Lake Mohonk Conference stressed the importance of education to the survival of Indians. As David Wallace Adams argues, the education was viewed as the best method to assimilate Native Americans.³⁸

³⁴ Manekin, “Spreading the Empire of Free Education,” 73-74. Of course, to assimilate required the absolute sacrifice of Native American culture in order to become an “American.” As Pratt declared, his aim for his students was to “kill the Indian in him, and save the man.” 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), 173.

³⁵ Katherine Iverson, “Civilization and Assimilation in the Colonized Schooling of Native Americans,” *Education and Colonialism*, eds. Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (New York: Longman Inc., 1978), 161.

³⁶ Iverson, “Civilization and Assimilation,” 161.

³⁷ In the early twentieth century, the Lake Mohonk Conference also began addressing issues related to the Philippines.

³⁸ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 18.

The metaphor of an army of teachers to replace an actual army in spreading American civilization was not a new idea by the time the Thomasites set off across the Pacific. The president of the Lake Mohonk Conference, Merrill Gates, declared in 1891 that “the time for fighting the Indian tribes is passed,” and that what was needed at the present was an “army of Christian school-teachers.”³⁹ Iverson has claimed, moreover, that in Indian education special attention was given to systematic habits, self-directed work, day to day civilized living, and fervent patriotism.⁴⁰ These were also values stressed in Philippine education.

The example of Native American education was particularly influential on the creation of schools for non-Christian Filipinos. David Barrows, the first head of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, was inclined to view public instruction in the Philippines through the lens of Indian education.⁴¹ When he received an appointment as a teacher in the Philippines, Barrows wrote to Frederick Starr that he believed his training in anthropology would be useful and noted, “I hope to do something among the native races.”⁴² In another letter to Starr, Barrows conceded that he did not “know much about the position” he was to fill, but that he would try “to get transferred into the organization of a system controlling the wild tribes.” The insular government, Barrows opined, would “have to extend to much of the islands a reservation system similar to the Indian service

³⁹ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 27.

⁴⁰ Iverson, “Civilization and Assimilation,” 162.

⁴¹ Barrows received a Master’s in Political Science from the University of California in 1895, and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1897. Working with Frederick Starr, among others, Barrows wrote his thesis on the Coahuilla Indians of southern California. Frederick Starr was a famous professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago. Partly due to his relationships with officials in the Bureau of Education in Manila, including Barrows, Starr was invited to the Philippines to participate in the Teachers’ Camp at Baguio beginning in 1908. For biographical information on Barrows, see the finding aid for the David P. Barrows Papers, 1890-1954, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

⁴² David P. Barrows, Letter to Frederick Starr, July 27, 1900, Folder 1, Box 1, David P. Barrows Papers, 1890-1954 [hereafter Barrows Papers], Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

here at home.”⁴³ This belief appears to betray a gross ignorance about the population of the Philippines Islands. It is possible that Barrows was under the impression that the peoples of the “wild tribes,” as the government denominated them, were far more numerous than they actually were. It is also possible that he was carried away by his enthusiasm for creating and instituting policy for new “native races” that he did not bother to consider those whom the government considered to be “civilized.”⁴⁴ Clearly, however, Barrows was far more invested in pursuing a position as a sort of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Philippines than in building up the school system.

When Barrows arrived in the islands, he was appointed the city superintendent of schools for Manila. By October 1901, however, he had succeeded in his ambition; he was appointed the first chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.⁴⁵ Before assuming his new position, however, Barrows returned to the United States and made a tour of the West, visiting multiple reservations and Indian schools. In order to prepare to create an organization and legislation to govern “the great, wild tribes” of the interior of Luzon, Mindoro, Palauan and Mindanao, Barrows planned to examine recent Indian policies “to see what may be applicable in the Philippines,” and also to find workers and equipment for the “ethnological and geographical we hope to do in the Philippines this coming

⁴³ Barrows, Letter to Frederick Starr, August 18, 1900, Folder 1, Box 1, Barrows Papers.

⁴⁴ In the census conducted in 1903, the population was stated to be 7,635,426 persons, of whom 6,987,686 were “civilized,” and 647,740 were “wild.” While the terms “wild” and “civilized” were often used interchangeably with the terms “non-Christian” and “Christian,” persons of Asian descent, who may or may not have been Christians, were included in the “civilized” enumeration. Though as the census noted, the “civilized people, with the exception of those of foreign birth, were practically all adherents of the Catholic Church.” Of those classified as “wild,” it was estimated that two-fifths were Muslims, while the rest “belonged to various tribes differing from one another in degrees of barbarism.” At least in the early years of colonization, both “civilized” and “wild” peoples were referred to as belonging to “tribes.” *Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken Under the Director of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903*, Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905), 14-15.

⁴⁵ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 220.

year.”⁴⁶ Writing to W.A. Jones, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for help and advice, Barrows noted he would visit reservations in Arizona and also planned to visit the Carlisle Indian School, though Jones’s last report was “unfavorable to the boarding school for Indian pupils.”⁴⁷

A number of industrial boarding schools for Igorots were established on Luzon between 1902 and 1907. By 1908, Barrows, now the Director of Education, acknowledged that the boarding schools had not been “an unqualified success,” as neither parents nor children really liked the arrangement. While he defended the schools as necessary to educate children from small or remote villages, Barrows noted that they were “not ideal educational institutions,” and that “if carried too far” could “show all the objectionable features of Indian boarding schools in the United States.”⁴⁸ Perhaps learning the lessons of Native American education, boarding schools were never attempted for the mass of Christian Filipinos, though students wishing to attend high school did have to travel to a provincial capital in the early years of American education.

Beyond educational policies and tactics, the influence of African American and Native American education was brought to the Philippines by some of the teachers themselves. The Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) requested that Hampton appoint “two white men” as teachers, who were duly selected and sent to the islands.⁴⁹ There were

⁴⁶ Barrows, Letter to Charles F. Lummis, January 15, 1902, and Letter to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, January 15, 1902, Folder 3, Box 1, Barrows Papers. Lummis was an Indian rights activist and the editor of the periodical *Out West*.

⁴⁷ Barrows, Letter to W.A. Jones, January 20, 1902, Folder 3, Box 1, Barrows Papers. Indeed, by the turn of the century, boarding schools and the Carlisle model was losing favor among policymakers, the beginning of a larger shift toward gradual rather than immediate assimilation. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 308.

⁴⁸ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 587-588.

⁴⁹ “Memorandum,” Folder 1846, Box 226, and “February Appointments,” Folder 2717, Box 274, Classified Files, 1898-1914, Record Group 350, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park [hereafter RG 350, NARA].

also several teachers in Indian schools who decided to participate in the new colonial project.

The journey of Perry and Nina Sargent demonstrates the ability of teachers to move between colonial spaces. The Sargents, who had taught members of the Blackfeet tribe in Montana, traveled to the islands on the *Thomas*.⁵⁰ According to another teacher, Louis D. Baun, the Sargents did not like living in the Philippines and did “not take much stock in the natives, though the people have treated them nicely.”⁵¹ Less than a year later, Baun reported that the Sargents had returned to the United States, where they were teaching Zuni Indians in New Mexico.⁵² Teachers’ experience teaching one people considered to be savage or semi-civilized was seen as translatable to teaching another. Indeed, the way educational officials and teachers looked to the Indian schools for both inspiration and example in the early years of American rule in the Philippines indicates that the former was expected to provide a model for the latter. However, teachers themselves discovered the fallacy of this presumption.

If educational officials did not draw their educational theories from thin air, neither did they impose these pedagogies on a blank slate. The ideology of colonial education as derived from previous experiences could not be perfectly transplanted into the Philippines, but rather had to be adapted to the context of the Philippines. While in theory officials wanted colonial education to be thoroughly American in style, by importing American teachers, using American books, and building American schools, the exigencies of attempting to speedily construct colonial institutions made it necessary for

⁵⁰ Blaine Free Moore, Diary entry, August 14, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Blaine Free Moore Papers [hereafter Moore Papers], Library of Congress.

⁵¹ Louis D. Baun, Letter to Father, May 21, 1902, *Serving America’s First Peace Corps: Letters of Louis D. Baun, Written en route to; and from the Philippines, September 12, 1901 – March 30, 1903*, ed. A. Ruth Sayer (Wakefield, RI: A. Ruth Sayer, 1971), 456.

⁵² Baun, Letter to Mother, February 8, 1903, *Serving America’s First Peace Corps*, 65.

the colonial state to utilize existing structures and personnel. In addition, colonial officials in the Philippines were forced to address the desires and opinions of Filipinos themselves, especially elite Filipinos, who had a greater voice in the implementation of colonial education in many respects than did Native Americans or African Americans.⁵³

In many cases, American schools were literally established inside old Spanish school buildings, staffed by Filipino veterans of the Spanish educational system.⁵⁴ After the passage of the 1863 Reform Law, public schooling expanded considerably. By the 1890s, close to two hundred thousand students in the Philippines were receiving some primary education every year. In 1892, there were 2,137 public primary schools throughout the islands.⁵⁵ In 1898, the *Guia de Filipinas* listed 2,167 men and women

⁵³ This was largely a result of the colonial state's desire for elite Filipinos to collaborate with its projects, including education, as part of the depiction of empire as benevolent. One example of this influence, as discussed below, was the prohibition on teaching religion in schools and on teachers using their positions to proselytize. Even local communities could make their voices heard on issues that were important to them. Teachers often complained that they were thwarted in some object, whether co-education or discipline, because it was not the "costumbre."

⁵⁴ American officials and teachers often depicted both as inferior and not suited for American purposes. For a discussion on the varied ways in which the United States borrowed from Spanish colonial governance, see Paul A. Kramer, "Historias Transimperial: Raíces Españolas del Estado Colonial Estadounidense en Filipinas," in *Filipinas, Un País Entre Dos Imperios*, María Dolores Elizalde y Josep M. Delgado, eds., (Barcelona: Bellaterra Edicions, 2011).

⁵⁵ Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering: The Aims, Execution and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 78. May argues that these schools were not very good, and that only elites could afford to provide an education for their children that went beyond primary education. It is certainly true that the primary schools were under the direction of the friar orders, and as such focused on the catechism and religious instruction. T.G. Steward, the chaplain of the Twenty-fifth Infantry who was charged with opening and supervising schools in Zambales Province, presents a mixed picture. He declared many of the students he met to be bright and eager for education. However, he was critical of the teaching of the catechism, as he argued that the students did not display any real understanding of the words they were memorizing. T.G. Steward, Journal entry, December 5, 1900, Reel 4, Theophilus G. Steward Papers [hereafter Steward Papers], Schomberg Center for Research in Black History; and Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry from 1864 to 1914* (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1921), 318-330. However, as Michael Cullianane points out, the opportunities for elite Filipinos to obtain secondary and university educations during this period greatly expanded. Moreover, it was possible for poor but talented youths to have their education sponsored by a wealthy patron. Michael Cullianane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 29-32. Still, it is true that education beyond the most basic instruction was almost entirely restricted to elite and wealthy Filipinos.

employed as teachers in the public schools. As Andrew W. Cain, a teacher, noted, the Bureau of Education employed many of these teachers in the early years of American education.⁵⁶

To adjust to new American standards, Filipino teachers would have to rethink and adapt not only pedagogical strategies, but also traditional customs and behaviors. Even in the Spanish-sponsored public schools, students had been charged fees by the teachers to supplement their meager salaries. Bernard Moses, the Secretary of Education, reported that many Filipino teachers in Manila had complained to him that their salaries were too low, and that until they were raised, they ought to be allowed to receive “presents” from their students. This practice of *regalo* had been forbidden by the Philippine Commission, and one teacher had already been dismissed for selling textbooks and supplies, and for charging tuition. Moses reported that, beyond these small abuses, some Filipino teachers were supplementing their incomes by renting out parts of their schoolhouses to boarders, or even renting them for stables.⁵⁷

Well before the arrival of American teachers in the islands, and even well before the arrival of Fred Atkinson, the first General Superintendent of Public Instruction, U.S. Army officers had begun reopening schools. The first school was opened on Corregidor, an island in the mouth of Manila Bay, mere weeks after Dewey’s victory in Manila Bay. Soon after the American occupation of Manila began in September, 1898, Father William D. McKinnon supervised the opening of several more schools, all of which were provided with an American soldier to teach English.⁵⁸ In March 1900, the army’s role in

⁵⁶ Andrew W. Cain, “The Evolution of the Filipino Teacher,” pg 83, Vol. 4, Box 5, Walter W. Marquardt Papers, Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

⁵⁷ Bernard Moses, Diary entries, October 4 and October 8, 1900, “Philippine Diary,” Vol. 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁵⁸ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 127.

education was formalized with the creation of a Bureau of Public Instruction. General Elwell S. Otis named Captain Albert Todd the head of the new department, and authorized departmental commanders to detail officers to open schools in the provinces. Todd sent questionnaires on school work to the departmental commanders; while only about half responded, those who did reported that a thousand schools were in operation, with an enrollment of about 100,000 children.⁵⁹

“A Notable Educational Expedition”

In January 1901, the Philippine Commission passed Act 74, establishing a civilian-led Bureau of Public Instruction and creating a centralized system of public schools divided into ten divisions, to be overseen by division superintendents. The act authorized Fred Atkinson, the first General Superintendent of Public Instruction, to hire one thousand American teachers. It also allowed division superintendents to hire Filipino teachers, whose salaries would be paid for by municipal governments, which would also be responsible for building and maintaining schoolhouses. The insular government committed to covering the transportation and salaries of the American teachers, as well as purchasing textbooks, and opening and running normal, agricultural and trade schools.⁶⁰ The American teachers would be paid between \$900 and \$1500 per year, though most were paid between \$900 and \$1200. This was a better salary than most teachers could expect to earn in the United States.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 131-132.

⁶⁰ May, *Social Engineering*, 81. As it was discovered that ten division superintendents could not effectively supervise all of the public schools in the islands, the number of divisions was raised to eighteen, and eventually, thirty-six.

⁶¹ As discussed in Chapter Two, this salary was more than twice the average salary for teachers in the United States. It was also an astronomically higher salary than Filipino teachers could expect. As Bernard Moses noted, the Manila teachers who came to see him to complain about their salaries were making “twenty dollars Mexican” a month (silver pesos were used exclusively in Spanish colonies during this period, and the United States would not attempt to institute currency reform until 1903). In contrast, teachers making the lowest base salary on \$900, or ₱1800, per year, would be making over seven times this amount. Beginning in 1903, some Filipino teachers were hired by the insular government, though the

The language of instruction would be English. This decision, as Glenn May has noted, was a marked departure from European colonial practice in Asia, where fluency in Western languages was restricted to a small, elite class.⁶² The choice of English as the language of instruction was a conscious political decision. Paul Kramer argues that instruction in English was “central to the metaphor of colonialism as tutelage,” as language itself was invested with the transformative power of uplift.⁶³

Perhaps the most controversial decree of Act 74 related to religion. Section 16 of the act forbade teachers from teaching or criticizing “the doctrines of any church, religious sect or denomination,” or attempting to “influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect in any public school established under this act.” Any teacher found violating this provision would be dismissed.⁶⁴ This section had more to do with Catholic political influence in the United States than with concern for respecting religion in the Philippines. Catholic leaders at home worried that the U.S. government would use its power to promote Protestantism. These fears were not entirely unreasonable, given William McKinley’s private declaration that God had directed him to “uplift and civilize and Christianize” the Filipinos.⁶⁵ Catholics in the United States were particularly wary of the system of public education being created in the Philippines, especially after a series of alarmist articles came out in Catholic newspapers and journals alleging that school teachers were using their positions to proselytize, and that some officials in the Bureau of

highest paid insular Filipino teacher, Pilar Zamora, was only making \$600 a year, while most insular teachers made between \$240 and \$360. See Moses, Diary entry, October 4, 1900, “Philippine Diary,” Vol. 1, and *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, 1902-1905*, in Library Materials, RG 350, NARA.

⁶² May, *Social Engineering*, 83.

⁶³ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 203-204.

⁶⁴ *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the United States Philippine Commission*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 126.

⁶⁵ James Rusling, “Interview with President William McKinley,” *The Christian Advocate*, January 22, 1903.

Public Instruction were secretly pastors.⁶⁶ As a result of the political pressure brought to bear on the government, the Bureau of Public Instruction reached out to representatives of the Catholic Church in the U.S. in the fall of 1901, asking them to compile lists of Catholic teachers who would be willing to teach in the Philippines.⁶⁷ By the end of 1902, two hundred Catholic teachers had been appointed.⁶⁸

Responsible for finding one thousand suitable teachers, Atkinson chose about half of the teachers himself, and empowered presidents of normal schools and colleges across the United States, as well as some state superintendents of education, to appoint the other half.⁶⁹ Atkinson began appointing teachers well before the official passing of Act 74. *The Kansas City Star* declared in August 1900 that some of the first teachers for the Philippines had been appointed.⁷⁰ While most of the teachers were appointed in the United States, a small number of those hired were already living in the Philippines, including some discharged soldiers and the wives or relatives of civilians and military

⁶⁶ Judith Raftery, "Textbook Wars: Governor-General James Francis Smith and the Protestant-Catholic Conflict in Public Education in the Philippines, 1904-1907," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer, 1998):143, 150-151, and Memorandum on Letter from Henry M. Hoyt, July 24, 1901, in Folder 3263, Box 330, Classified Files, 1989-1914, RG 350, NARA. For more on the political ramifications of allegations about teachers proselytizing, see Folder 1534, Box 201, Classified Files, 1989-1914, RG 350, NARA; and Tarr, "The Education of the Thomasites," 168-172.

⁶⁷ "Report of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Period From May 27, 1901, to October 1, 1902," in *Annual School Reports* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 143.

⁶⁸ Raftery, "Textbook Wars," 151.

⁶⁹ The Philippine Commission, in one of its first legislative actions in September of 1900, established a civil service board to govern insular and provincial appointments. Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 166. However, teachers were not put under civil service designation immediately. It seems that the teachers may have been classified as civil service employees in October of 1901, though it does not appear that they were required to take civil service exams to qualify for appointments until 1903. See Moses, Diary entry, October 19, 1901, Vol. 6, "Philippine Diary," and Marquardt, "The Selection of Teachers," pg 198, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. See also, Moore, Letter to Sister, May 5, 1902, Folder 2, Box 1, Moore Papers, and Herbert Priestley, Letter to Mother, October 4, 1903, Folder 26, Herbert Ingram Priestley Letters, 1901-1904 [hereafter Priestley Letters], Bancroft Library.

⁷⁰ "American Teachers for the Philippines," *The Kansas City Star*, August 15, 1900, pg. 10.

officers.⁷¹ Some of the teachers hired in the U.S. declined the appointment for various reasons, while some of the educational institutions empowered to choose teachers neglected to do so. As a result, Atkinson did not reach his established quota of one thousand teachers. Between January 1901 and September 1902, 1,074 teachers were connected with the Bureau of Education in Manila. The highest number on the employment roll at any one time, however, was 926 teachers in May 1902. There were also 2,700 Filipinos hired as teachers, though these teachers were paid by municipal governments, and records of their employment were not maintained by the insular government.⁷²

Once they received their appointment, teachers were wired the date of their departure. After hiring hundreds of American teachers, however, the War Department faced the logistical challenge of transporting such a large number of pedagogues to the Philippines. Army transports traveled between San Francisco and Manila twice each month, but could often not carry many teachers with them, owing to the need to transport military officials and soldiers, as well as civilian professionals, including engineers. Although small numbers of teachers began to depart for the Philippines as early as June 1901, on the regularly scheduled transports, the Bureau of Insular Affairs made plans to convey over half of the teachers on the *United States Army Transport Thomas*, which left San Francisco in July and arrived in Manila in late August.⁷³

⁷¹ *Official Handbook: Description of the Philippines, Part I, Compiled in the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, Washington, D.C.* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1903), 217.

⁷² Fred Atkinson, "Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902," in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905*, 142-144.

⁷³ Files relating to the transport of teachers to the Philippines, Folder 2717, Box 274, Classified Files, 1898-1914, RG 350, NARA. Smaller numbers of teachers were transported to the Philippines on a variety of ships, including the *Buford*, the *McClellan*, and the *Sheridan*.



Figure 2: *U.S.A.T. Thomas* (Philinda Parsons Rand Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute)

The teachers headed to the Philippines were, for the most part, young and well-educated, often recent college graduates. Almost all of the teachers on the *Thomas* had degrees from normal schools or colleges. Of the 509 teachers listed in *The Log of the Thomas*, only a third had over five years of teaching experience. Over forty percent of the teachers had less than two years of teaching experience; twenty percent had none at all.⁷⁴ They came from all over the country, including forty-three out of the forty-five

⁷⁴ May, *Social Engineering*, 85. This was contrary to the impressions of Blaine Free Moore, who noted in his diary that the majority of the teachers were “not fresh from college or normal schools as I supposed they would be,” but had “considerable teaching experience.” However, Moore himself acknowledged that he had as yet “become acquainted with but few of the passengers.” Blaine Free Moore, Diary entry, July 25, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

states, as well as the District of Columbia. There were even a few teachers who came from Hawaii, Nova Scotia, and Turkey, though most of these men and women originally hailed from the continental U.S. and had traveled abroad to teach. The states which sent the largest contingents of teachers were New York, with sixty-three, California, with forty-one, Massachusetts, with thirty-five, and Michigan, with thirty.⁷⁵ Some of the female teachers were married and coming to the Philippines with their husbands, though most of the teachers in the early colonial period were single. Of the over 500 teachers who were included in the list of teachers in *The Log of the Thomas*, over one-third were women. Of those women, only about a quarter were married women traveling to the islands with their husbands.⁷⁶

While racial diversity was not a marked feature of those selected to teach, a small number of black men and women were appointed as teachers. At least eight African American men and three women were appointed as teachers in the Philippines, though there were almost certainly more.⁷⁷ All but two were from the South. There were at least two discharged soldiers among them; those appointed in the U.S. seem to all have had

⁷⁵ Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*. The teachers coming from Hawaii and Turkey, at least, were American citizens. It is not clear if the teacher from Nova Scotia, Bradford K. Daniels, was actually a Canadian, though Bernard Moses thought he was. Moses, Diary entry, December 20, 1901, "Philippine Diary," Vol. 7. In the Log of the Thomas, Daniels is listed as being from Massachusetts, and being a graduate of Harvard University, though the cryptic term, "Acadia," appears next to his name, after "Cambridge." Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*, 66.

⁷⁶ Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*, 61-75.

⁷⁷ The confirmed black teachers include: Frederick Douglas Bonner, Charlotte Drucilla Stokes Bonner, John Henry Manning Butler, J.F. Hart, W. H. Holder, Thomas Shaffer, W.A. Caldwell, Bedford B. Hunter, and Carter G. Woodson. I have also found references to two more African American women teachers, Mary E. Dickerson and May Fitzbutler. I have only been able to find Charlotte Bonner on the rosters of teachers employed by the insular government, however, and there is little information available about her life. For the names of black teachers in the Philippines, see "John Henry Manning Butler," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol 30, No 2 (April, 1945): 243-244; "Thompson's Weekly Review," *Indianapolis Freeman*, October 27, 1906, pg 1; T. Thomas Fortune, "The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip Through the Island of Luzon," *Voice of the Negro*, Vol 1, No 6 (June, 1904): 245; and Thomas Yenser, editor, *Who's Who in Colored America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America*, Third Edition (Brooklyn: Thomas Yenser, 1932), 43.

college degrees and experience teaching. In addition, black teachers seem to have stayed longer in the islands, on average, than did white teachers. Most stayed longer than five years, and several spent the rest of their lives in the Philippines. Given the rhetoric of white supremacy which suffused the ideological underpinnings of American colonization, the hiring of any black teachers to represent and propagate American civilization is remarkable.

A Catalogue of Colonial Knowledge

The teachers' journey to the Philippines was a complex mixture of enjoyment and preparation. From the moment they received their assignments (indeed, arguably from the moment they chose to apply for a position in the islands), teachers began building a catalogue of information about the Philippines and the colonial project. Informed by newspaper and periodical articles, stories from acquaintances who had been in the islands, travel writing, colonial and racial fiction, and their own experiences visiting domestic "colonies" (like San Francisco's Chinatown) and domesticated foreign spaces (especially Hawaii), this archive of colonial knowledge enabled teachers to build a universe of expectations about what their own experience of empire would be like. This catalogue drew from multiple older discourses, and was predicated on the supremacy of white, Anglo-Saxon civilization, received wisdom from European colonial experiences, and on American discourses on race and the history of conflict between those defined as white and those defined as nonwhite, including internal efforts to colonize, control, and reform domestic populations of color, as well as early forays into foreign colonization.

Most Americans knew very little about the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century. As satirist Finley Peter Dunne's character Mr. Dooley put it, when Mr. Hennessey advocated seizing the Spanish colony, "tis not more thin two months since ye

larned whether they were islands or canned goods.”⁷⁸ Even President McKinley claimed that when Dewey defeated the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay he “could not have told where those darned islands were within 2,000 miles!”⁷⁹ Of course, it is ridiculous to assume that McKinley really had no idea where the islands were, but both quotes highlight the extent to which Americans were ignorant about the Philippines, their history, and their people.

The American teachers appointed to the Philippine Service recognized their own ignorance and strove to rectify it in a number of ways. Herbert D. Fisher was so ashamed of bringing a pair of ice skates with him that he smuggled them from his luggage and dropped them in the ocean.⁸⁰ This was a fairly extreme display of ignorance about the Philippines. While most teachers had a basic grasp of the environment that they were about to encounter (enough, in any rate, to leave behind winter sporting goods), the level of eagerness with which they sought information that might prepare them for their experience demonstrates their own sense of their ignorance about America’s newest colony.

Nearly all of the teachers first had to travel to San Francisco to embark for the Philippines. Once they arrived in that city, many of the teachers, like Benjamin Neal, sought out an infamous representative of a foreign space within the nation: Chinatown. Teachers descended upon Chinatown, expecting to see evidences of the vices that

⁷⁸ Finley Peter Dunne, “On the Philippines,” *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1899), 43.

⁷⁹ H.H. Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of Our Presidents* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1923), 68. Kohlsaat was the editor of the *Chicago Evening Post* and the *Times-Herald*. As he wrote this memoir over twenty years after the incident, it is entirely possible that this oft-quoted story was entirely the product of Kohlsaat’s imagination. It is also possibly, however, that McKinley did make the statement for rhetorical effect.

⁸⁰ Herbert D. Fisher, *Philippine Diary* (New York: Vantage Press, 2005), 39-40. Given that Fisher mentioned this episode in his memoir, it is of course possible that he exaggerated, or even made up, this story to highlight his own ignorance.

received so much attention in the press. John DeHuff reported that he and some other teachers hired a guide to tour the neighborhood. The group toured a drugstore, restaurant, theater and an opium den, and saw things “among both Chinese and Americans” which DeHuff had “never even dreamed could exist.”⁸¹ Not all of the teachers were so satisfied with their voyeurism. Both Walter W. Marquardt and Philinda Parsons Rand recorded disappointment with their excursion. Rand noted that she and Margaret Purcell, another teacher, went to Chinatown but did not “know where to go and the proper time to see it is at night.”⁸² Marquardt also made the mistake of visiting Chinatown without a guide, though he went at night, and got to witness the smoking of opium. He had “expected to find a far tougher place,” however, and declared his intention to find a “licensed guide” to “see the worst opium joints.”⁸³ It is possible that so many teachers visited Chinatown simply because of its status as an exotic and foreign space within the United States. However it seems likely that the teachers were drawn to Chinatown not merely as a tourist destination but as another step in their self-preparation for the journey to the Orient.⁸⁴

Visiting sites of exoticized tourism was only one source for teachers creating a colonial knowledge base. While sailing to the Philippines, new teachers learned from their fellow passengers, often ex-soldiers or military officers, particularly those who had been in Asia already. Ralph Kent Buckland, who traveled to the islands in 1903 on the

⁸¹ John D. DeHuff, Diary entry, July 22, 1901, Diary 1, Box 5, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Papers [hereafter Willis DeHuff Papers], Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

⁸² Philinda Rand, Letter to Dear Girls, July, 1901, Folder 8, Philinda Rand Anglemeyer Papers [hereafter PRA Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

⁸³ Marquardt, Letter, May 30, 1901, Vol. 2, Box 7, Marquardt Papers. The fact that there were “licensed guides” for touring the seedy side of Chinatown highlights the voyeuristic appeal of a space configured as foreign territory within the domestic.

⁸⁴ Nyan Shah argues that Chinatown was a site of “imperial domesticity,” in which white, middle-class women attempted to “manage and reform the ‘foreign’ within the nation.” Nyan Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 106-107.

Doric, recalled one fellow passenger, a doctor, who had a “remarkable” way of ordering things from the Chinese stewards: “He would say: ‘Now, Charlie’ (our stewards were all either Charlie or John), ‘you catchy me some fish,’ or, ‘You hook me a hunk of bread.’” Buckland noted that he soon picked up “the Americanized way of addressing Oriental servants.”⁸⁵ American teachers viewed modes of behavior towards Asians before they ever arrived in the islands, and mimicked the habits they saw. In this sense, the entirety of the teachers’ experiences in traveling to the islands – including socializing, networking, reading, lectures, entertainments – were all part of a larger process of knowledge production. The experience of traveling to the Philippines, in all its varied forms, contributed not only to building teachers’ expectations of what they would find, it prepared them to enter an imperial space as part of a colonizing force.

Once aboard their transports, the teachers immediately began planning entertainments and making connections. For those traveling with only a few other teachers, entertainments were largely confined to chatting with the teachers, officers and officers’ wives on board, though Philinda Rand, who sailed to the Philippines on the *Buford*, noted that some of the female teachers had made bean bags out of rice to throw for exercise.⁸⁶ The teachers who traveled on the *Thomas*, however, had a much wider range of social activities. Harry and Mary Cole reported that there were a variety of entertainments on board, including a dance, performances by teachers and sailors, minstrel songs sung in blackface, and an all-male comedic mock trial of a breach of promise case, all of which were “very enthusiastically received.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ralph Kent Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino* (New York: Everywhere Publishing Company, 1912), 7.

⁸⁶ Rand, Diary entry, July 15, 1901, Folder 15, PRA Papers.

⁸⁷ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, July 29, 1901, Folder 1, and Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, August 4, 1901, Folder 2, Box 1, Harry and Mary Cole Papers [hereafter Cole Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Harry Cole spelled his own name “Harrie,” and Mary seemed to vacillate between “Harry” and “Harrie.” However, the collection of papers written by the Coles and archived by the

The type of social activities shocked some of the teachers. Blaine Free Moore declared that the mock trial was “coarse,” and that there were some people aboard who could “see nothing funny unless it approach the vulgar.”⁸⁸ Herbert Ingram Priestley labeled the majority of male teachers “ill-mannered young college men from the east who are adventurers,” and the female teachers “vain, pampered would-be society belles.” There were some excellent people on board, Priestley noted, mostly toward the back of the boat, while the “hoodlums” were at the front, along with a few women who passed the time by “flirting with the officers in great style.”⁸⁹

Teachers also began to organize clubs based on state affiliation and alma mater. There were nineteen of these organizations formed, as well as a Youth Men’s Christian Association, and a group of Masons and Eastern Stars.⁹⁰ As will be addressed in Chapter Two, these organizations provided teachers not only with the opportunity to socialize and sing college songs, but also to build their first colonial networks.⁹¹

The diary of Benjamin E. Neal, a teacher from New York, illustrates how the quotidian activities on board the *Thomas*, from education to entertainment, all contributed to building a catalogue of colonial knowledge, a framework that informed the way teachers understood their experiences in the Philippines. Over the span of one week,

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, is titled the “Harry and Mary Cole” papers. I have therefore decided to spell his name with a “y,” in order to avoid confusion.

⁸⁸ Moore, Diary entry, August 10, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

⁸⁹ Priestley, Letter to Mother, August 16, 1901, Priestley Letters.

⁹⁰ For references to these organizations, see Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*, 43; Pattie Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” pg 2, Euphemia Paxton Hewitt Papers [hereafter Paxton Hewitt Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute; Mary Cole, Letter to Folks at Home, July 24, 1901, Folder 1, Box 1, Cole Papers; Blaine Free Moore, Diary entry, July 27, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

⁹¹ The fact that there were so many teachers from the University of California and the University of Michigan demonstrate that these networks were already being constructed well before the teachers before the *Thomas*. Of the forty-one teachers appointed from California, twenty-one had attended the University of California, where Bernard Moses, the Secretary of Education on the Philippines Commission, had been a professor. Fifteen of the thirty teachers sent from Michigan were graduates of the University of Michigan. Dean C. Worcester, an alumnus of and lecturer at the University of Michigan, was also a member of the Philippine Commission, serving as the Secretary of the Interior.

Neal attended a “vaudeville show” consisting of performances by teachers and sailors, read a book about Hawaiian history as well as a Philippine Commission report, attended educational lectures, studied Spanish, sang songs with other members of the Beta Theta Pi fraternity, and attended a dance. The show on August 7th included a selection of “Hawaiian songs” sung by Miss J. Maud Chase, a teacher who had been in Hawaii for six years, as well as the minstrel song, “I’ve Got a White Man Working for Me.” D.P. Sullivan, another teacher, performed his seasickness parody of the minstrel song “Just Because She Made Dem Goo Goo Eyes.” The educational lectures included a talk by Perry and Nina Sargent on their work in Indian schools and one by Harry S. Townsend, who had been a school superintendent in Honolulu.⁹² The reference to the experiences of teachers in Indian schools and Hawaii linked the present imperial mission with older efforts to Americanize nonwhite colonized populations. Even with the entertainments, such as the singing of coon songs, teachers reinforced white supremacy and prepared to encounter and understand their new charges under the terms of American racial hierarchy.

The teachers tended to compare the new peoples they met with races with which they were already familiar, most often African Americans, as though eager to know where to slot Hawaiians and Filipinos in a catalog of racial hierarchy. Upon seeing portraits of the Hawaiian royal family while visiting the palace in Honolulu, teacher Ralph K. Buckland declared that they “looked a coarse, dark-skinned, broad-nosed, greasy set, and the massive gilt moldings framing each painting made them all look cheap, like Chicago negroes.”⁹³ Blaine Free Moore, on the other hand, found Hawaiian

⁹² Neal, Diary entries, August 7, August 10, and August 14, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers. For more information on the voyage of the *Thomas*, see Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*.

⁹³ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 13.

teachers preferable to the first Filipino teachers he met in Manila, declaring the latter to be “not nearly so clever, well educated or intelligent” as the former, though he did allow that “they appeared at a disadvantage because they couldn’t talk English,” and were “very neatly dressed.”⁹⁴ Other teachers were more favorably impressed by their first impressions of Filipinos. When Mary Cole first arrived in the Philippines, she wrote home that the people were “a very bright intelligent race and nothing like the negro race. They have black straight hair like the Japs.”⁹⁵ A few weeks later, once Mary and her husband, Harry, had reached their new station, Mary again declared that the people of Palo, Leyte, were “much better looking than the negro,” as well as more intelligent and cleaner.⁹⁶

If teachers looked to periodicals, government reports and lectures for information on what the Philippines would be like, much of that knowledge was shaped by Spanish colonial discourse. Americans gathering information about the islands pulled from Spanish and elite Filipino sources, as demonstrated by the interviews conducted by the First Philippine Commission. Unsurprisingly, this information often reinforced colonial racial hierarchies. In the late nineteenth century, Spanish colonial rule was increasingly predicated on the racial inferiority of Filipinos, who were depicted as uncivilized, childish, and lazy.⁹⁷ In an interview with the Archbishop of Manila conducted by the Philippine Commission, the interviewer asked about the character of Tagalogs and other races in the Philippines, noting, “I find that through the priests, and the bishops of the church especially, I can get more accurate information as to the character of the inhabitants than through almost anyone else.” The Archbishop went on to describe

⁹⁴ Moore, Diary entry, August 26, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

⁹⁵ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, August 23, 1901, Folder 2, Box 1, Cole Papers.

⁹⁶ Mary Cole, Letter to Sister, October 3, 1901, Folder 3, Box 1, Cole Papers.

⁹⁷ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 28.

Filipinos as childlike; bright, and good at memorization and mimicry, but lacking depth of feeling and innate moral sense.⁹⁸ The American colonial discourse that took shape in the years after annexation, then, was a mixture of American and Spanish racial understandings.

Despite the use of the Spanish discourse and information, educational officials and teachers also tended to blame the Spanish for failing to uplift and civilize Filipinos. The Bureau of Public Instruction often held up the example of Spanish education to distinguish itself from the previous regime. A report by Mason S. Stone, the division superintendent for Negros, described the schools, especially those for girls, as held in inadequate spaces (often private homes), lacking in supplies, and staffed by teachers who were devoted but lacked “acquaintance with the common and fundamental principles of teaching and training” and who failed to understand “that observation, thinking, reasoning and concluding, are preferable to parrotism.”⁹⁹ The insular government was prepared to accept Spanish characterizations of Filipinos, especially those that complemented American racial views regarding nonwhite peoples. At the same time, however, the colonial state wanted to depict American governance as a dramatic departure (and marked improvement) from the Spanish administration.

From the moment of their arrival in the Philippines, the teachers began to compare their expectations to actual conditions in the islands. As the *Thomas* steamed past Corregidor island and into Manila Bay, Benjamin E. Neal noted that he had “read and dreamt” about the “place made famous by Dewey” but had “never hoped to see

⁹⁸ “Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippines,” in *Report from the Secretary of War to the President, transmitted to Senate, Senate Doc No. 190, 36th Congress, 2nd session*, in Folder 15, Box 1, Cole Papers.

⁹⁹ “Report of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Period From May 27, 1901, to October 1, 1901,” in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905*, 9.

it.”¹⁰⁰ All of the teachers had clearly defined imagined images of the Philippines, visions formed from the intense focus by newspapers and magazines since the beginning of the war. As Fee noted, the teachers “were familiar with the magazine illustrations of the Pasig long before our pedagogic invasion of Manila,” although they were surprised by “the additional charm lent to these familiar views by the play of color.”¹⁰¹ The newly-arrived teachers were taken to the Exposition Grounds in Manila, where temporary housing had been set up. While waiting for their assignments, teachers alternated their time between educational lectures on “what to expect in the provinces,” what their duties would be and how to take care of themselves and remain healthy, and shopping trips, touring around the city, and receptions of welcome hosted by American elites.¹⁰²

Atkinson made clear what the teachers’ duties would be. They would teach for five and a half hours every day, one hour of which would be devoted to instructing the Filipino teachers. If they could gather up enough older townspeople, teachers could hold night schools for which they would receive an extra fifteen dollars per month.¹⁰³ The division superintendents also lectured teachers on the conduct of their schools. Teachers were not to interfere with the work of the Filipino teachers “unless absolutely necessary,” though they were to oversee their work.¹⁰⁴

The real mission of the teachers went far beyond instruction in English. Teachers were expected to be both ambassadors of goodwill, models of modern civilization, and subtle diplomats. Philinda Rand declared that what her superintendent really wanted her

¹⁰⁰ Neal, Diary entry, August 21, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

¹⁰¹ Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 45.

¹⁰² Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 4-5, Paxton Hewitt Papers. See also Neal, Diary entries, August 27 and 28, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

¹⁰³ Neal, Diary entry, August 27, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

¹⁰⁴ Rand, Letter, undated, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers. See also Moore, Diary entry, August 28, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

and her fellow teacher, Margaret Purcell, to do was “the society act”: to “make friends with the leading citizens,” to “find out who are loyal to America and recommend two for school board,” to convince the Municipal Council to appropriate enough funds to support the schools and to pass a law making school attendance compulsory.¹⁰⁵

Despite the reassurance that they would not be sent anywhere dangerous, many of the teachers were surrounded by reminders of the ongoing fighting. Several teachers saw prisoners captured during skirmishes with the U.S. Army, while a few teachers even experienced raids on their towns. Atkinson told the teachers that, with the exception of Mindoro, Samar, and Batangas, there was “no fighting on the islands.”¹⁰⁶ While these areas were the sites of the fiercest resistance, however, other resistance movements would soon crop up across the islands. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, a small number of teachers were killed in the first years of colonial governance.¹⁰⁷ Others had run-ins with remnants of the Philippine Army still resisting U.S. authority.¹⁰⁸

For many of the teachers, the experience of the first weeks in Manila was extremely disappointing, as conflicts over their appointments, paychecks, expected privileges, comportment and freedom of speech demonstrated that employment in a colonial state might not be all they had envisioned. The teachers who arrived in the late summer of 1901 were assigned to their new stations in early September. Prior to making assignments, the Bureau of Public Instruction had attempted to gather information from district commanders, provincial governors, municipal officials and division

¹⁰⁵ Rand, Letter, undated, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

¹⁰⁶ Moore, Diary entry, August 28, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹⁰⁷ Marquardt, “American Teachers Killed in the Philippine Islands,” Vol. 2, pg. 23, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Marquardt, Letter, April 6, 1902, Vol. 2, pg. 47, Box 7, Marquardt Papers; Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 81-82; and George C. McKinley, Letter to Frank Crone, July 4, 1913, pgs. 316-317, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

superintendents as to population of towns, the attitude of the people towards education, and which towns were garrisoned and had suitable accommodations for women.¹⁰⁹ Fred Atkinson then made the appointments, though division superintendents were able to request specific teachers.¹¹⁰

Most of the teachers, Mary H. Fee reported, had engaged in an enormous “amount of wire-pulling” to get their desired stations, and the disappointment of the unsuccessful “was proportionate.”¹¹¹ Several of the male teachers, including Blaine Free Moore, expressed the belief, that “married men and women as was expected got the best places.”¹¹² The “best” stations, according to popular opinion, were those with prosperous residents and, preferably, an army station. Pattie Paxton, a teacher in Negros, noted that Valladolid, the town to which she was transferred in early 1902, was considered to be “one of the more desirable locations for women teachers” because it was an army post and therefore “considered eminently safe and socially desirable.”¹¹³ In contrast, Mary Fee noted that one female teacher, who had an M.A in mathematics and “who was supposed to know more about conic sections than any woman ought to know,” made “little less than a tragedy” of being assigned to teach the Macabebes, “who may in ten generations arrive at an elementary idea of what is meant by conic sections.”¹¹⁴ Not all

¹⁰⁹ “Report of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Period From May 27, 1901, to October 1, 1901,” in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905*, 3.

¹¹⁰ Unremarkably, division superintendents seem to have preferred teachers from their area of the country, or those who shared an alma mater or fraternal connection. Blaine Free Moore noted that graduates of the “Eastern colleges such as Yale and Harvard have a decided advantage since most of the division supts are from these schools and naturally feel an interest in the graduates of their alma mater. For instance, the Vermont delegation go as a body to Negros because Supt Stone of that island regarded as one of the best in the group, is from Vermont a graduate of Vermont University.” Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, August 31, 1901, Folder 1, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹¹¹ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 60.

¹¹² Moore, Diary entry, September 2, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹¹³ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” pg.16, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

¹¹⁴ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 60.

teachers, however, put a premium on being stationed in the “best” towns. Indeed, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, some teachers felt pride in their willingness to go to whatever part of the islands they were assigned, and even volunteered for remote stations.

Still, many of the teachers found themselves disappointed in their assignments. In his diary, Bernard Moses recorded that a number of teachers came to him complaining that their station was too isolated, or else jockeying for more desirable positions. He was surprised that so many teachers, some with impressive degrees, would have come to the Philippines to do what must be essentially basic work for the first few years. Moses assumed that the “disposition to move and wander off to an unknown country has been a powerful motive in causing many of them to break away from their ancient connections and join this company of educational missionaries.”¹¹⁵ After a few weeks of teaching, Harry Cole, a teacher stationed in Palo, Leyte, opined that it was ludicrous that the government had recruited only college educated and experienced teachers, given that the work was basic primary work.¹¹⁶ Many of the teachers recorded frustration that their professional training was almost entirely unnecessary and inapplicable to their positions as primary teachers.

Shortly after receiving their assignments, teachers found to their dismay that they would not have the privilege of buying food from military commissaries in the provinces. This prohibition was a result of conflict between the military and the Philippine Commission, which arose during the transfer from a military to a civilian government. The military seemed to feel that its jurisdiction was being unduly encroached upon, and retaliated in a number of ways, including the denial of commissary privileges to civilians. These commissaries were the only way to obtain imported goods in many parts of the

¹¹⁵ Moses, Diary entries, August 24 and 27, 1901, “Philippine Diary,” Vol. 5.

¹¹⁶ Harry Cole, Letter to Leon, October 27, 1901, Folder 3, Box 1, Cole Papers.

Philippines, and restricting access to them would prevent teachers from obtaining canned goods that they had depended on to supplement their diets (indeed, some teachers were so alarmed by the precautionary measures they had been counseled to take with regard to local fruits, vegetables and meat that they subsisted entirely on canned goods). In addition to this move, teachers were also not allowed to board in the soldiers' or officers' mess.¹¹⁷ Herbert Ingram Priestley and his wife, Bess, hoped to be able to buy commissary goods "on the sly." Priestley declared that it "would be impossible to sustain life" without them, as the "native food is unwholesome and gives little nourishment."¹¹⁸

Outraged and concerned, the teachers held a mass meeting in Manila to protest the withdrawal of commissary privileges. Not only were the teachers' salaries based on the belief that they would have access to commissaries, but the "native food" available in the provinces, Priestley declared, was "not of a kind or quality to support white people." The teachers were further incensed after some teachers stationed outside of Manila came back to the city, claiming that they had been "unable to find things to live on at any price." Many of the teachers, Priestley concluded, were talking of going home if they do not get some cheaper means of living."¹¹⁹ The teachers agreed to send a cablegram to President McKinley stating that the withdrawal of commissary privileges was "a violation of implied contract" and that "it would be impossible for the teachers to go into the provinces without this privilege." The teachers brought the cablegram to Governor Taft, who endorsed it and sent it to the President as an official message. The group also voted to send the message to the Associated Press, though Taft was able to convince them not to do so for the present.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Moore, Diary entry, September 4, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹¹⁸ Priestley, Letter to Ethel, August 29, 1901, Folder 1, Priestley Letters.

¹¹⁹ Priestley, Letter to Sissy, September 4, 1901, Folder 2, Priestley Letters.

¹²⁰ Moore, Diary entry, September 4, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

Shortly after the turmoil over the commissary privileges, the teachers received their salaries and discovered that they were to be paid in Mexican silver (the currency in use in the Philippines during the Spanish period) rather than in U.S. gold dollars. As the Mexican currency was on the decline, any teachers wishing to convert their salaries into American currency (often for the purpose of sending money home) would lose money with each transaction. Bernard Moses acknowledged the teachers' grievance, though declared it to be an inevitable inconvenience.¹²¹

A few of the teachers also discovered that their expectations about colonial deportment did not align with the standards of the Bureau of Public Instruction. Teachers who had been part of the "champagne party" on the voyage over quickly discovered that life as a civilian employee of the colonial state would not be quite so convivial.¹²² One of the teachers on the *Thomas*, T.J. Donovan, went on a bender shortly after arriving in Manila. After indulging "too freely in such stimulants as the country affords," Bernard Moses reported, Donovan proceeded to get into an argument with a carrmata driver, was arrested, and spent the night in jail. Moses and Atkinson agreed to request the man's resignation, though somewhat reluctantly, as the man had been appointed by Georgetown University and was one of the few Catholics in the first group of teachers.¹²³ Other teachers, women as well as men, were fired, refused appointment, or supervised closely

¹²¹ Moses, Diary entry, November 1, 1900, "Philippine Diary," Vol. 6.

¹²² Moses, Diary entry, September 2, 1901, "Philippine Diary," Vol. 5.

¹²³ Moses, Diary entry, August 26, 1901, "Philippine Diary," Vol. 5. See also Moore, Diary entry, August 28, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore papers, and Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, August 23, 1901, Folder 2, Box 1, Cole Papers. In a November 7 diary entry, Moses referred to another teacher, a Mr. Briggs, who was appointed by Georgetown and fired for drunkenness. However, according to *The Log of the Thomas* and the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, only two male teachers were appointed from Georgetown, T.J. Donovan and D.P. Sullivan. There was a G.N. Briggs on board the *Thomas*, though he was from Iowa, and a graduate of his state university. It seems likely that Moses merely confused the name of the teacher who had been fired. See Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*, pgs. 63 and 66, and "Teacher Appointments," Folder 2717, Box 274, Classified Files, 1898-1914, RG 350, NARA.

because of reports that they had imbibed too freely.¹²⁴ Atkinson declared that conditions in the Philippines tended to lower Americans' moral standards, especially the "temptation to indulge in alcoholic beverages." In face of this, he continued, the American teacher must be "the example of American civilization," and it would therefore be "manifestly absurd" to "place Americans and natives alike under the charge of a superintendent who is unable to control himself when first reporting for duty."¹²⁵ Whether a teacher was discharged for the consumption of alcohol seems to have depended on a number of factors, including the personality of the division superintendent. Some of the single male teachers certainly do seem to have imbibed regularly, especially those stationed near military regiments.¹²⁶ The crucial point seems to have been whether teachers' behavior would reflect poorly on the Bureau of Public Instruction more than any other factor.

Teachers also learned quickly that they were expected to be discreet in thought as well as in deed. Virtually all of the teachers wrote letters home to family and friends, describing their experiences in the islands. Some of these letters ended up in the hands of the editors of local newspapers, and were published. Other teachers wrote letters and articles explicitly intended for publication. Teachers quickly learned, however, to be careful about what they put in writing. In a letter home, Blaine Free Moore warned his parents not to publish his letters, as he wanted "to live here a while yet and that would be impossible if some these [sic] should ever show up in this country." Moore went on to tell of the experience of R.D. Epps, a teacher from South Carolina, who wrote letters for

¹²⁴ See Marquardt, Diary entry, September, 1904, Vol. 1, Box 6, Marquardt Papers, Moses, Diary entry, September 2, 1901, "Philippine Diary," Vol. 5, and Barrows, Letter to Atkinson, October 5, 1901, Folder 2, Box 1, Barrows Papers.

¹²⁵ Atkinson, "Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902," in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905*, 125.

¹²⁶ DeHuff, Diary 1, *passim*, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers. Philinda Rand also reported drinking beer with T.D. Anglemyer, a teacher she later married. Rand, Diary entry, January 7, 1904, Folder 15, PRA Papers.

publication in *The State*. While Moore had been told there was nothing in the letter but “the truth,” Epps was in “trouble now on this score.”¹²⁷

Epps’ early letters do not seem to be especially controversial, and Epps signed his name at the end of each.¹²⁸ However, in a letter published December 18, 1901, Epps described the “severe methods” being used in Samar, Letye, and Mindoro. The “water cure,” Epps claimed, was the “favorite torture of the Americans,” and was “said to be horrible.” He continued that a soldier under General Frederick Funston had told him that he had “helped to administer the ‘water cure’ to one hundred and sixty natives, all but twenty-six of whom died.” Epps does not seem to have been trying to criticize government or the treatment of Filipinos; indeed, he explicitly declares that “no Americans over here blame the army for such measures as these natives have no respect for anything short of torture.”¹²⁹ It is striking, though, that Epps signs himself simply as “Carolinian” in this article, breaking with his earlier practice of signing his name and signifying that he probably sensed that this letter would be much more controversial than his previous dispatches.

Epps was right. His letter, along with other letters, primarily written by soldiers, about the methods being used to interrogate Filipino prisoners, and the prosecution of the war generally, caused a furor in the United States. The Senate Committee on the Philippines launched an investigation into the allegations of torture. Epps’ letter was excerpted in a January 1902 article in *City and State*, an article that came to the attention

¹²⁷ Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, April 2, 1902, Folder 2, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹²⁸ R.D. Epps, “South Carolinians in Hawaii,” *The State*, August 20, 1901, pg 5, and “Carolina Teachers in the Philippines,” *The State*, October 23, 1901, pg. 3.

¹²⁹ “Cruel Treatment of the Filipinos,” *The State*, December 18, 1901, pg. 6.

of General Funston himself. Funston declared the story of the soldier who had claimed to participate in giving the water cure 160 times as “an atrocious lie” and “braggadocio.”¹³⁰

In spite of his use of a pseudonym, Epps’ identity was soon discovered. By March 1902, at least, the editor of *The State* had confirmed that Epps was the author of the letter, and Herbert Welsh, the anti-imperialist editor of *City and State*, had published this information in an open letter to the Attorney-General.¹³¹ In a letter home one year later, Blaine Free Moore indicated that Epps may have gotten into serious trouble over the letter. Reminding his family not to publish any of his letters, Moore included a circular from E.B. Bryan, the General Superintendent of Education, which warned teachers to be careful about what they put down in letters, as “any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it.”¹³² Moore concluded that this circular was why he wanted his letters kept private, and that “under the sedition law here some one is in trouble all the time because of something he wrote.” Referencing Epps, Moore noted, “he’ll be freed but I guess nothing more.”¹³³ It is not clear if Epps was ever in any legal trouble for his letter, but it does seem to have cost him his position. In June 1903, the *Anderson Intelligencer* reported that Epps had “been removed” as a teacher as a result of his writing for *The State*.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Frederick Funston, Letter to the Adjutant-General, February 2, 1902, Exhibit A, in “Charges of Cruelty, Etc., to the Native of the Philippines,” *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearing Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*, Senate Document 331, Part 2, 57th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 951.

¹³¹ Herbert Welsh, “An Open Letter to the Secretary of War, from the Editor of City and State,” *The Public*, March 29, 1902, 814-815. See also, “Mr. Welsh’s Letter,” *The Richmond-Dispatch*, March 25, 1902, pg. 6.

¹³² Moore, Letter to Brother, April 12, 1903, Folder 4, Box 1, and Circular to Division Superintendents and Teachers, No. 8, s. 1903, February 24, 1903, Folder 4, Box 2, Moore Papers.

¹³³ Moore, Letter to Brother, April 12, 1903, Folder 4, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹³⁴ “State News,” *The Anderson Intelligencer*, June 17, 1903, pg. 6.

Several other teachers also got in trouble over letters with negative assessments of the colonial state. Bradford K. Daniels, a teacher from Nova Scotia who came to the islands on the *Thomas*, wrote several letters between the fall of 1901 and the spring of 1902, criticizing the Bureau of Public Instruction and the management of the American teachers. Daniels claimed that the government had failed to properly inform the teachers as to living expenses and conditions, and that it was clear that “the authorities at Washington have blundered.”¹³⁵ A furious Bernard Moses wrote that Daniels had for some weeks been “writing letters for publication in American papers dealing with the work of establishing public schools in the Philippines,” and had made false statements and “persistently misrepresented affairs.” Both Taft and Moses had apparently suggested that Daniels be fired, though Atkinson seemed reluctant to take action.¹³⁶ It seems that Daniels retained his position, as he is listed as a teacher on the roster of employees for 1906.¹³⁷ He continued to criticize the administration and the Bureau of Education, however, writing in March of 1902 that the plan of teaching English to Filipinos was unsound, and that instruction should be in “Filipino.”¹³⁸ Daniels does not appear in the roster for 1907, though it is unclear whether he voluntarily resigned or was fired.¹³⁹ The

¹³⁵ Bradford K. Daniels, “Teachers in the Philippines,” *The Watchman and Southron*, October 30, 1901, pg 7, and “Teachers in the Philippines,” *The Typewriter and the Phonographic World*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1901), 338.

¹³⁶ Moses, Diary entry, December 20, 1901, “Philippine Diary,” Vol. 7.

¹³⁷ *Official Roster of the Bureau of Education, Corrected to March 1, 1906* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905), 7.

¹³⁸ Daniels, Letter to the *Boston Herald*, March 17, 1902, excerpted in C.B. Wilby, “Letters from the People,” *City and State*, March 27, 1902, pg. 201. Daniels claims that while the Philippines did not have a national language, that there was a “great similarity” in the dialects, and that “an Ilocano can converse with a Tagalog or a Macabebe and always make himself understood.” What Daniels might have proposed for those fluent of one of the other hundred or so languages spoken in the islands is unclear.

¹³⁹ *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1907), in *Official Rosters, 1902-1913*, Vol. 785, Library Materials, RG 350, NARA. Interestingly, in 1906 Daniels published an article in *The Canadian Magazine* titled “The Problem in the Philippines,” in which he declared that “the success of the Educational Department has been phenomenal.” Daniels, “The Problem in the Philippines,” *The Canadian Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (January, 1906): 216.

1903 circular, warning teachers that they would be held responsible if the content of private letters became public, indicates how seriously the Bureau of Education took leaks of this nature. The U.S. government and the Philippine Commission had self-consciously portrayed the teachers as the benevolent arm of American colonization, as uplifters and arbiters of Filipino progress. For teachers to publicly criticize the colonial project, therefore, was highly embarrassing to the colonial state. Teachers did not stop voicing adverse opinions about the government in Manila, however, after this crackdown. They merely stressed to friends and family that their letters were not for public consumption.

Conclusion

Attending a reception for the newly-arrived teachers in Manila in August 1901, Benjamin E. Neal recorded his surprise at hearing a native orchestra, noting, “We came here to teach the uncivilized and here was a native band playing classical music in wonderful style.”¹⁴⁰ Throughout their journey, teachers had self-consciously constructed a catalogue of colonial knowledge and built up expectations about what they would experience in the Philippines. From the moment they arrived, however, those expectations were challenged by the reality of conditions in the islands. Just as colonial officials would discover that they could not simply transplant Tuskegee to the Philippines, individuals teachers would be forced to adapt their ideas to meet new situations, as their experiences in the islands challenged their notions of their role as teachers, and at time very foundations of the colonial state.

¹⁴⁰ Neal, Diary entry, August 27, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

Chapter Two

Imperial Visions and the Creation of Imperial Identities¹

While sailing along the coast of Iloilo in September 1901, teacher Philinda Rand declared that at times she “might easily have imagined that we were taking a trip along the coast of Maine,” when suddenly the boat “would pass an island covered with cocoanut trees and a naked savage strolling along the sand and we were all Robinson Crusoes.”² This seemingly innocuous statement reveals much about the way that American teachers understood their experiences in the Philippines. Primed by journalistic and literary accounts of the tropics, teachers were able to insert themselves into a long-established narrative of colonization, and to articulate imperial visions and expectations of what their colonial role would be.

American teachers came to the Philippines with clear expectations of what it would mean to teach within empire. They anticipated opportunities to earn and save money, to advance professionally faster and further than they might at home, to have imperial adventures, and to create identities based on colonial tropes. Teachers used their racial, gender, and national identities to reinforce their claims to authority and to construct colonial identities which would not have been possible in the United States. At the center of a trifecta of colonial power based on race, gender, and imperial employment, white, male teachers used their position to assert identities as colonial

¹ Sections of this chapter have been published in the article, “‘We Were All Robinson Crusoes’: American Women Teachers in the Philippines,” *Women’s Studies: an Interdisciplinary Journal*, 41:4 (2012): 372-392.

² Rand, undated letter, 1901, Folder 8, Philinda Rand Anglemeyer Papers [hereafter PRA Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute. William Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* was extraordinarily popular during this period, and had been since its publication in 1719. Indeed, it had been reprinted and translated more than any other book by the end of the nineteenth century. See Iaw Watt, “Robinson Crusoe as a Myth,” *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 1951): 95-119.

professionals and adventurers, and to claim a special knowledge of Filipinos and conditions in the islands. White, female teachers used their race and nationality to push back against the notion that empire was a man's work, and to present themselves in much the same way that white men did, rather than resorting to tropes of maternalism or domesticity. Black, male teachers also used their position within empire to depict themselves as brave and effective colonizers, and to claim special status within the civilizing mission as the best suited to carry out racial uplift.³

Once they arrived in the islands, however, many of the teachers found that their imperial visions did not always match up with the reality of conditions on the ground. While some teachers advanced quickly, others concluded that their careers were stagnating, and felt frustrated by the high cost of living in the provinces. In addition, the ongoing warfare in some parts of the Philippines allowed some teachers to play out fantasies of colonial adventuring, while making other teachers feel trapped in their stations. Finally, both white female and black male and female teachers found that their window of opportunity was limited, as the colonial government began in 1903 to shift to a supervisory teaching force that was more exclusively male and white. Still, for those teachers who had managed to find a place within empire, there were chances to present themselves and live in ways that would not have been possible in the United States.

³ As noted in the previous chapter, I have found evidence that at least eleven black teachers were sent to the Philippines, though it is likely that there were more. As the Bureau of Insular Affairs did not keep consistent records of teachers' race, however, it is not possible to determine the exact number of African Americans who taught in the Philippines. In addition, while it appears that at least three black women taught in the islands, information on their lives is extremely limited. It is clear however, that at least for Charlotte D. Bonner, who taught with her husband, Fred D. Bonner, teaching in the Philippines was a profoundly important part of her life. In a short profile in *Who's Who in Colored America* in 1930, Charlotte lists her occupation as "Educator-Housewife," despite the fact that she had not taught since leaving the Philippines. In addition, Charlotte devoted half of her blurb to noting that she "was in the Philippines during the pioneer teaching period, from 1902 to 1914, and her work at all times was satisfactory," indicating that her experience remained one of the most significant events of her life. "Bonner, Charlotte Drucilla Stokes," *Who's Who in Colored America*, 3rd edition, 1930-32 (Brooklyn: Thomas Yenser, 1932), 43-44.

Imperial Expectations

In addition to the newspaper accounts, novels, travelogues, colonial literature, and photographs of the Philippines, many of the American teachers' imperial visions and expectations were based on the bulletins created by the government, first to lure teachers to the islands and then to prepare them for their assignments there. Oliver George Wolcott remembered seeing the posted notice announcing an examination for Philippine teachers during his senior year at Stanford, in the spring of 1904. As a boy, Wolcott noted, he had "reveled in the story of Robinson Crusoe" and the story of the Ancient Mariner and thought "this trip might be my chance to see an albatross, or the islands that Stevenson and Stoddard made so pleasant." An additional enticement was the knowledge that several "Stanford men had gone out that way" and some had "become famous," including Herbert Hoover.⁴ For Wolcott, then, teaching in the Philippines was the chance to experience these things for himself, to live out the fantasy of tropical adventure that had read and heard about since his childhood.

Most of the teachers also saw going to the Philippines as a shrewd professional move. Despite the lofty rhetoric surrounding the educational mission, for most of the teachers, the decision to embark for the Philippines was informed by multiple personal considerations. A large motivating factor was financial – teachers in the Philippines were earning salaries from nine to fifteen hundred dollars a year in 1901, though the higher salaries were reserved for those with advanced degrees and many years of experience. This was more than twice what teachers in the United States could expect to earn in a year.⁵ Some of the male teachers also recorded investing in burgeoning industries such

⁴ Oliver George Wolcott, "My Philippine Experiences, 1904-1907 and 1908-1909," pg. 1, unpublished manuscript, Folder 3, Oliver George Wolcott Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁵ According to the annual report of the Commissioner of Education for 1900 to 1901, the average monthly salary for teachers was about forty-seven dollars for male teachers and thirty-nine dollars for female teachers. "Report of the Commissioner for Education," in *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior*

as mining and hemp, buying plantations, or becoming involved in exporting goods such as embroidery.⁶ This sort of investment, of course, required some initial capital, which many of the teachers did not possess. “It makes me grit my teeth,” Priestley complained, “to see what I could do with a few hundred dollars if I only had it, so I think that when I learn more about hemp I will begin to make money in a small way.”⁷ Even if the teachers did have some money, many were leery of sinking precious savings into a venture which might never turn a profit. Most of the teachers focused on saving as much of their teaching salary as possible, in order to pay off debts or return home with substantial savings.

Philinda Rand noted that many of the male teachers were also ambitious young men, eager to rise in the world. “Most of the men here,” she asserted, “are either young college men who are teaching as a stepping stone or old men who have made failures of themselves at home.”⁸ While Rand’s comments were probably an exaggeration, it is true that many of the young men who came to the Philippines to teach looked to a future

for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902) LXXXV.

⁶ Many of the teachers seem to have cherished dreams of making their fortune in the Philippines. See Peter J. Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites: American School Teachers in Philippine Colonial Society, 1901-1913,” (PhD Diss, Cornell University, 2006), 327-328; Herbert Ingram Priestley, Letter to Mother, August 16, 1901, Folder 1, Herbert Ingram Priestley Letters, 1901-1904 [hereafter Priestley Letters], Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; and Blaine Free Moore, Diary entry, August 15, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Blaine Free Moore Papers [hereafter Moore Papers], Library of Congress. Most of the teachers do not seem to have followed through with plans to invest, and those who did make investments do not seem to have had much success. Blaine Free Moore tried to start a mining company with a miner he met in the islands, but he complained continually of setbacks. Herbert D. Fisher bought a plantation, which was later destroyed during a 1906 Pulajan uprising. By becoming involved in industrial and vocational education, however, Fisher did position himself well to transition to a commercial exporting firm later on. Theodosius D. Anglemyer, who married Philinda Rand, also bought property that he and Rand living on after their marriage, though it is not clear that the land ever provided much money. Women were also alive to the financial and professional opportunities of empire, though they did not often record a desire to invest financially in burgeoning industries, as many young male teachers did.

⁷ Priestley, Letter to Mommy, October 6, 1901, Folder 3, Priestley Letters.

⁸ Philinda Rand, Letter to Katie, July 31, 1904, Folder 18, Philinda Rand Anglemyer Papers [hereafter PRA Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

career beyond primary or secondary education. Some aspired to rise through the ranks of the Department of Education or hoped to transfer to another civil service position, while others sought positions in private firms and companies. Herbert Ingram Priestly recorded Frank Crone's conviction that the islands were "a crucible where the stuff in folks is going to show later on for something better," expressing his faith that his teaching positions would lead to profession and financial success down the road.⁹

Teaching in empire did allow teachers to build a network of colonial contacts. Almost as soon as the first large group of teachers boarded the *U.S.A.T. Thomas*, they began to create state and university organizations.¹⁰ Male teachers also utilized fraternal organizations to make connections with other teachers, civilian officials, and members of the military. Blaine Free Moore noted that the Masons, to which he belonged, and the Order of the Eastern Star were organizing on board the *Thomas* and in Manila.¹¹ Moore was assigned to Cataingan, on the island of Masbate, and reported that his new superintendent, H.G. Squier, was also a Mason, with "a great many Masons in his division." Squier promised to "do his very best" for Moore and Hemenway, another Mason stationed in the same town.¹² Teachers viewed such personal connections made en route to the Philippines as an important stepping stone to professional advancement. Connection with a particular university, fraternity, state or fraternal organization did not wholly determine a teacher's professional opportunity and advancement, of course, but it

⁹ Priestley, Letter to Mother, March 9, 1903, Folder 20, Priestley Letters. This certainly seemed to hold true for Crone himself, who rose to become Director of Education in 1913.

¹⁰ These organizations are listed in Ronald P. Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas* (Manila: N.A., 1901), 43-45.

¹¹ Moore, Diary entries, July 27, 1901, July 29, 1901, and September 4, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers. The Order of the Eastern Stars was an organization for Masons as well as women related to Masons, and was focused on charity work. Moore noted that there were forty-one Masons and ten Eastern Stars on board the *Thomas*, though he did not specify whether these latter were men or women. While several women mention joining state or university associations, I have not found evidence that sororal organizations were particularly important to the female teachers.

¹² Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, September 3, 1901, Folder 1, Box 1, Moore Papers.

did provide opportunities to meet and impress powerful and influential people within the civil administration and the military. These networks functioned similarly to a personal recommendation or letter of introduction – they presented an opportunity for a teacher to be noticed by, and hopefully to impress, a superior. Even once the teachers were brought into the civil service, both teachers and educational officials remained convinced that promotions were made (and ought to be made) at least partially based on personality and character; and that such qualities could not be measured by an exam. In that context, having well-placed acquaintances who were impressed with your enthusiasm and ability could make the difference between getting a promotion or being passed over.

For white female teachers as well, teaching in the Philippines offered financial and professional opportunities that were unavailable at home. For female teachers during this period, the opportunities for career advancement and earning capacity were still fairly limited. A position in the Philippine service offered the chance to develop professionally and to earn a salary that would have been unthinkable at home.¹³ Moreover, while in the United States women were expected to resign their positions after marriage, married women could receive appointments as teachers in the Philippines. Bess Priestley, who came to the islands with her husband Herbert Ingram Priestley, wrote home that she had been appointed a teacher, and asked: “Don’t you think it is nice that I can teach too, and help us to get rich faster?”¹⁴

¹³ Mary H. Fee made \$800 a year in 1894 as a teacher in the Missouri State Normal School. When she came to the Philippines, she immediately commanded a salary of \$1200. By 1916, she was receiving \$1800 as a teacher in the Philippine Normal School. When she attempted to be transferred to a position back in the United States, however, she was offered only \$600 a year as teacher in an Indian school. E-mail correspondence with archivist, Special Collections and Archives, Kent Library, Southeast Missouri State University, February 3, 2010. The record of Fee’s salary at the Missouri State Normal School is contained in the minutes of the Board of Regents meeting for that year. For information on Fee’s salary once in the Philippines and later, see “Mary Helen Fee,” Box 193, Personal Name Information Files, Record Group 350, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park [hereafter RG 350, NARA].

¹⁴ Bess Priestley, Letter to Mommy, September 29, 1901, Folder 2, Priestley Letters.

Teaching in the Philippines also allowed unmarried female teachers the chance to support themselves and make their own decisions free from familial expectations and obligations. Decades later, Philinda Rand's daughters opined that she went to the Philippines partly to get "free" from her elder sisters, whom she loved, but whose care and judgment Rand seems to have found something of a burden.¹⁵ In at least one instance, moreover, teaching in the Philippines allowed a married woman to escape her husband and step-children.¹⁶ Once in the islands, single women experienced a newfound sense of freedom and independence, as many were able to live and travel without the immediate supervision of male relatives for the first time in their lives. Female teachers who were stationed in towns by themselves or with other women were often almost entirely free of the oversight of male superintendents. Rand, stationed in Silay with her friend Margaret Purcell, reported that her deputy superintendent knew "less about teaching than an infant," and while it was his job to "visit the schools and report on the teachers," he had been in her school "for five minutes and in Margaret's not at all."¹⁷ Both women, therefore, had a great amount of freedom both in their teaching and their daily lives.

Perhaps equally as important as financial motivations, going to the Philippines provided the chance to travel, to have an adventure, and to take part in something greater than oneself. In a memoir written decades after her return, Philinda Rand recalled that she and Margaret Purcell, who received teaching appointments together, regarded the journey as "our great adventure."¹⁸ Going to the Philippines was also an opportunity for

¹⁵ Biographical Note, Folder 1, PRA Papers.

¹⁶ "To Teach in the Philippines: Nebraska Woman Accepts Government Appointment Despite Husband's Opposition," *New York Times*, August 14, 1901, pg 1.

¹⁷ Rand, Letter to Katie, August 31, 1902, Folder 17, PRA Papers.

¹⁸ Philinda Rand, Autobiographical Writings, Folder 14, PRA Papers.

women to demonstrate their fitness to participate in empire. Lizzette Seidensticker declared that she desired to accept a position to “refute the intimations of certain eminent professors that women are not fitted” for teaching in the new possessions.¹⁹

Finally, teaching in the Philippines allowed white, female teachers to portray themselves as living the “strenuous life.”²⁰ The Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) and the Philippine Commission intended the presence of white women to represent the benevolence of American intentions and, as Paul Kramer has argued, the “transformation of colonial politics from war to suasion.”²¹ Using maternalist rhetoric, colonial government depicted female teachers as holding a special place within the Filipino heart.²² White, female teachers, however, often represented themselves in ways that deviated from the intentions of the colonial state. Female teachers located themselves somewhere in between domesticity and the strenuous life, navigating between gendered visions and to present themselves in multiple, sometimes contradictory, ways.

For black male teachers, the pay and professional opportunities offered by teaching in the Philippines were even more enticing. Bedford B. Hunter, a soldier who was appointed as a teacher, claimed that he did not meet with the “poisonous prejudice” so common in the United States and that, in the Philippines, a “man has a chance to rise

¹⁹ “Likes Her Mission in Philippines,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 21, 1901, pg 6.

²⁰ The idea of the “strenuous life” was coined by Theodore Roosevelt in an 1899 address, which declared that American men were honor-bound to lift the people of the Philippines out of savagery and into civilization. The idea of the “strenuous life” took on a life of its own during this period. While the strenuous life meant different things to different people, it was emblematic of a life lived with vigor, courage, and hardiness. For teachers in the Philippines, strenuousness often involved the willingness to travel far from home (and to thrive in a foreign climate), to shoulder the work of “civilization,” and to demonstrate bravery in dangerous and life-threatening situations, whether a cholera outbreak, the threat of insurrection, or the perils of jungle adventures.

²¹ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 178.

²² Fred Atkinson, “Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902,” *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902, Part 2* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 952.

according to his ability.”²³ As with white teachers, black teachers eagerly embraced the opportunity to be part of a project of colonial uplift. John Henry Manning Butler, who sailed to the islands on the *McClellan* in February 1902, noted that his appointment “was somewhat widely circulated and commented on, as I was the first colored person from the South so honored.” Although some friends and acquaintances questioned whether he would be able to “withstand the hardships” of such work, for Butler “there were no hardships. I wanted to try the unknown and despite the advice of timorous friends to sign the contract.”²⁴

Claiming the White Man’s Burden

While Theodore Roosevelt and other imperialists presented empire as a vehicle to rejuvenate white (and Anglo-Saxon) masculinity, the very meaning of whiteness was challenged and recreated by the experience of empire. In the colonial Philippines, Americans hovering on the edge of whiteness could be recognized as fully white. Both national identity and colonial position or employment modified racial status in the islands, contributing to the process of whitening. Of course, exactly what whiteness meant, and who was included in the “white race,” was also being fiercely contested in the United States in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. Even immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, deemed to be “free white persons” under the 1790 Naturalization Act, were not considered unequivocally white. They were excluded from the mythical Anglo-Saxon, Protestant heritage that typified the highest form of whiteness for mainstream America at this point. As Matthew Frye Jacobson has argued, whiteness was a relational, contextual concept; not only could one be “both white

²³ “He Likes the Philippines!: Prof. B. B. Hunter Talks of the Island and Her Resources,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, June 2, 1905, pg. 1.

²⁴ John Henry Manning Butler, “Early Experiences as a Teacher in the Philippines,” pg. 233, Vol. 2, Box 6, Walter W. Marquardt Papers [hereafter Marquardt Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

and racially distinct from other whites,” one’s whiteness could change based on geographical location, class, association, and when measured against the presence of another, definitely nonwhite population.²⁵ While Irish immigrants in California could be whitened in the context of anti-Chinese campaigns, for example, Italian immigrants could lose their fragile status as white persons when they seemed to challenge the strict (and fictional) line between white and black by associating with African Americans.²⁶

Other immigrant groups were in more of a legal gray area regarding their whiteness. Sarah Gualtieri demonstrates that while Syrians had been allowed to naturalize before 1909, court cases challenging Syrian inclusion in whiteness began cropping up after that point.²⁷ These cases, as well as legal decisions denying Asian immigrants the right to naturalize, reveal, in Jacobson’s words, an “epistemological crisis” about the meaning of whiteness.²⁸ Some judges referred to anthropological classifications of race to determine whether Syrians were Caucasian, while others deferred to “common sense” notions of who was, and was not, white. Gualtieri notes that even after they had been legally classified as white in 1915, as a result of *Dow v. United States*, Syrians remained vulnerable to racially-motivated violence, especially in the South.²⁹

²⁵ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 4-6. For more scholarship on the history of race and whiteness, see: David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), Thomas Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), and Sarah Gualtieri, “Becoming ‘White’: Race, Religion and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Summer, 2001): 29-58.

²⁶ Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 56-57.

²⁷ Gualtieri, “Becoming ‘White’,” 32.

²⁸ Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 233.

²⁹ Gualtieri, “Becoming ‘White’,” 46.

American teachers, male and female, white and black, entering the Philippines for the first time were entering a radically different racial context than they had been used to in the United States. Accustomed to viewing race as a binary, Americans were surprised to find that in the Philippines, race was not a white and black issue. Racial classification in the islands recognized a variety of *mestizo* groups, creating a wide and multidimensional racial middle ground. While Americans tended to view race in the Philippines through an American lens, as a question of either white or nonwhite, Filipinos recognized a dizzying array of *mestizaje*, or racial mixtures, all of which could be modified by personal wealth, political influence, and social connections.³⁰ While Spanish blood does seem to have been a marker of distinction, there were certainly Filipinos of partial Chinese descent, called Chinese mestizos, who rose to the upper echelons of Filipino society by virtue of their wealth. Many Chinese mestizos were members of the provincial landed elite. Full-blooded Chinese living in the Philippines, moreover, capitalized on extensive trade networks stretching back to China, and became members of a wealthy merchant class.³¹

Reflecting this shift from one racial universe to another, teachers several recorded their shock upon arriving in their stations, at the breathtaking variety of racial mixtures among the native population. Blaine Free Moore wrote that he had begun teaching the sons of the *presidente*, or mayor, who was half Spanish, and whose wife was “half chino,” noting that he had not “had time yet to figure out what the kids are.”³² Even more curious, Filipinos of mixed race and Chinese descent were among the elite of

³⁰ Of course, the perception and experience of race in the United States could also be modified by wealth, education and social status, though in a much more limited fashion than in the Philippines.

³¹ Andrew R. Wilson, *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant Elites in Colonial Manila, 1880-1916* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

³² Moore, Diary entry, September 27, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

provincial towns. Shortly after arriving in his station, Walter W. Marquardt recalled that he would not have believed even two weeks ago that he would find himself taking tea with a “full blooded, pigtailed Chinaman,” the head of family belonging to the “swell society of Tanauan.”³³

Despite being forced to recognize and accommodate a racial hierarchy that was radically different from understandings of race in the United States, the imperial project was still predicated on the superiority of whiteness and a mythic Anglo-Saxon civilization. For Americans in the Philippines, the zenith of elite status was conferred by a mixture of race, nationality, and class, which were also self-reinforcing. To be white, American, and male in the Philippines meant to possess a combination of power, opportunity and status. Race, nationality, and gender intertwined to confer the ultimate marker of privilege. These identifiers could also reinforce and moderate each other, however, so that a loss or gain in one signifier of status could impact the perception of their others. For an American to seem to become less “American” or more “Filipinized” in the islands, then, meant simultaneously for him to be less “white,” and less “manly.” Conversely, those who seemed to be both manly and Americanized could also seem more white, and thereby enjoy the privileges associated with whiteness. This is especially true for those Americans who would have qualified as “provisionally white,” to use David Roediger’s phrase, in the United States.³⁴

³³ Marquardt, Letter, July 31, 1901, pg. 17, Vol. 2, Box 7, Marquardt Papers. While the population of Chinese immigrants and citizens in the United States during this period was largely confined to the West Coast, and to places like New York City, racist depictions of the Chinese had been common in national periodicals since the 1870s. This discourse, which cast Chinese men as devious and sinister, often fixated on the queue, the traditional hairstyle of Chinese men during the Qing dynasty. Even in articles not demonizing the Chinese, the queue was often visually depicted or described, as it was a distinguishing feature in which white Americans took a great deal of interest.

³⁴ Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, 243.

The experience of Najeeb Mitry Saleeby, is helpful to understand the ways that race and whiteness could operate for Americans (and those associated with the American government) in the Philippines. Saleeby was born in Syria in 1870, immigrated to the United States in 1896, and received his M.D. from the Bellevue Hospital Medical College in 1897.³⁵ In 1901 he volunteered for military service in the Philippines, and served as an Assistant Surgeon in Mindanao. Saleeby's real value to the military, however, lay in his knowledge of Arabic and his rapport with Muslim inhabitants of the island, known as Moros. David Barrows, head of the Bureau of non-Christian Tribes, declared that he could not "speak too highly of Dr. Saleeby's services at this very critical time."³⁶ After the Moro Province was created in 1903, Saleeby was appointed as Provincial Superintendent of the Schools and a member of the Legislative Council.³⁷

Beyond strong professional relationships, Saleeby enjoyed close social relationships with many important officials in the military and civil administration. He shared meals with men like Bernard Moses, David Barrows and his wife, as well as John D. DeHuff, a government teacher.³⁸ DeHuff met Saleeby in May 1905, on a visit to Zamboanga, and lunched with him at the Mindanao Club. DeHuff expressed his pleasure in his visit, declaring that the "Moro Province is a place where the white man rules." The Legislative Council, he continued, ruled as a "sort of benevolent oligarchy," which seemed "much better than what we have in the rest of the archipelago."³⁹ DeHuff's

³⁵ Franklin Harper, ed., *Who's Who on the Pacific Coast*, (Los Angeles: Harper Publishing Co., 1913), 495; Najeeb M. Saleeby Passport Application, Reel 1064, *Passport Applications, January 2, 1906–March 31, 1925*, RG 59, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

³⁶ David P. Barrows, Letter to the Governor of the Philippine Islands, March 31, 1903, Box 1, Folder 4, David P. Barrows Papers [hereafter Barrows Papers], Bancroft Library.

³⁷ *Who's Who on the Pacific Coast*, 495.

³⁸ Bernard Moses, diary entry, January 20, 1901, "Philippine Diary," Vol. 2, Bancroft Library; John D. DeHuff, diary entry, May 26, 1905, Diary 1, Box 5, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Papers [hereafter Willis DeHuff Papers], Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

³⁹ John D. DeHuff, diary entry, May 26, 1905, Diary 1, Willis DeHuff Papers.

comments, and Saleeby's social relationship with other government officials, indicate that Saleeby was considered "white" in the fullest sense of the term.⁴⁰



Figure 3: The Saleeby Family, with Najeeb Sitting at the left, with his brothers, sister-in-Law, and father (Personal Collection of Stephanie Byrd Wilson)

Americans who might have hovered on the edge of whiteness in the United States became more white in the Philippines by virtue of comparison with the native population, Whitening was also a result of national identity, class and social status acting upon racial

⁴⁰ Saleeby was not actually an American at this point – he had not completed the naturalization process before joining the military, and did not become a citizen until after World War I. In 1912, Saleeby married Elizabeth Gibson, a white nurse. See Harper, ed., *Who's Who on the Pacific Coast*, 495; and "Announcements Concerning the Missionaries," *The Spirit of Missions*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 11 (November, 1908): 968.

categorization, and a consequence of the need to adapt to a society in which racial hierarchy was tempered by religious affiliation, as well as social, economic, and political status. The process of large numbers of Americans traveling abroad and participating in empire, then, redefined whiteness, just as it broke down regional barriers in favor of national identity. The relatively small numbers, moreover, of “provisionally white” Americans in the Philippines, would have made their inclusion in the white population seem less threatening.

Herbert Fisher declared, referring to his friendship during World War I with a German manager of a tobacco company in Manila, “One must understand that it was my estimation in the islands that there were only two classes of people – white and natives. Socially I am a white man, first, last and always. My social equals are white people, and it mattered little to me what nationality they happened to be.”⁴¹ While status in the Philippines was often more nuanced than this, it is telling that Fisher breaks race down into a binary – white and native – that conflates race and nationality. To be “native” was to be nonwhite, while to be non-native was to be white. While Fisher would not have allowed that this meant that all Americans, including black soldiers and teachers, were white, it did define white more broadly than it would have been at home. In the Philippines, therefore, nationality and status could whiten those Americans whose racial status may have been suspect or at least up for debate in the United States. At the same time, it was also possible for white American men to behave in ways that could cost them the full privileges of whiteness, racially “degenerating” by indulging in liquor to excess or becoming too close to the Filipino community, especially through intermarriage with lower class Filipinas. While Americans attempted to maintain a strict line between white

⁴¹ Herbert D. Fisher, *Philippine Diary* (New York: Vantage Press, 2005), 394.

and nonwhite in the Philippines, therefore, these boundaries were not immutable and impervious, but were influenced by status, class, and comportment. Americans were often forced to acknowledge more complicated and nuanced racial algorithms than they were used to in the U.S., which acknowledged varying degrees of privilege and status. Even while Americans acknowledged a new and foreign racial matrix based on political power, religion, wealth, education, and social status, however, they also at times resorted to invoking familiar racial binaries to reassert white superiority over even the most refined, elite Filipinos.

As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the presence of black civilians, who were government employees, in the Philippines complicated the seemingly simple racial hierarchy of empire, which placed white colonizers above a nonwhite native population. In turn, seemingly straightforward race relations between blacks and whites were complicated by the project of empire – American race relations could not simply be pasted onto the context of the Philippines. The mixture of American and Philippine understandings of race created a complicated racial dynamic in the Philippines, one which offered black Americans the chance to achieve professional, class, and social positions that were often denied at home.

The Opportunities of Empire

Empire afforded opportunities for all teachers, male and female, white and black, to act out tropical fantasies, and to present themselves as hardy pioneers. White male teachers took great pleasure in exploring the country outside their own stations, using the opportunity to indulge in visions of white male penetration of virgin territory and isolation from civilization. For Herbert D. Fisher, this involved playing at being a Robinson Crusoe, a white man alone on a deserted island. While Fisher was obsessed with his status as a white man, referring constantly to his efforts to keep up his standards

of behavior and dress, he noted that he did occasionally allow himself “to become a real savage.” Calangaman, a small island in between Leyte and Cebu which was uninhabited except occasionally by fishermen, became Fisher’s refuge from civilized living. After trying unsuccessfully to buy the island, which was kept empty by the government for strategic reasons, Fisher simply “laid claim to it and erected a shelter on it, and put up a sign of privacy and everybody respected it.”⁴² Once, Fisher brought a friend, Walter Francis, to see the island, a fellow teacher who “fell into the abandonment,” stripping down to a g-string and racing “along that sandy beach yelling like a cannibal with a long spear he had fashioned out of a piece of driftwood.”⁴³ That same night, when the two men saw an “armada of fishing canoes” from Cebu heading toward the island, they decided to “arm the place and fight them off” by firing off a cannon made from bamboo, which they had been taught to make by Fisher’s servant. Francis kept an eye out for the “pirates” the rest of the night, but no one else appeared, and no one, Fisher noted in satisfaction, “from Leyte would dare trespass on that island.”⁴⁴

If a sojourn on his private island was a way for Fisher to descend into savagery, throwing off the burdens of civilization, he only had to don a crisp tuxedo to be fully restored to white, civilized status. Fisher made a point several times in his memoirs of mentioning that he would frequently “put on the dog” at dinner, and “come strutting into the dining room in stiff shirts and tuxedos, just as if the world of so-called high society was there with us. If there is anything that will pull one down to earth to realize who he is, against the rabble all about him, it is to pull off stunts like that. You are a white man again.”⁴⁵ Fisher bragged that he “never appeared at table, even for breakfast, without a

⁴² Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 246.

⁴³ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 249.

⁴⁴ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 249-250.

⁴⁵ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 187.

coat,” not intending to be “in any degree snobbish,” but as a way “for a white man to keep hold of himself, ‘lest he forget, lest he forget.’”⁴⁶ Fisher uses dress to create a narrative of civilization that is deeply imbricated with his racial and gender identity; a microcosm of the sort of civilization narrative favored by Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Jackson Turner. By virtue of his dress and surroundings, Fisher was able to seamlessly move between the roles of savage and civilized white man, degenerating and regenerating himself to embody a perfect balance between under- and over-civilization, and to depict himself as white masculinity perfected.

Not many teachers had access to a deserted island, of course, or the gumption to lay exclusive claim to one even if they had. Much more common was the exploration of *barrios* (villages, usually surrounding a central town) in the interiors of islands, away from the beaten path of the main roads. These expeditions allowed teachers to indulge in perhaps the most common of all imperial fantasies, the penetration of territory hitherto unexplored and unseen by white men. Ralph Kent Buckland claimed that when he was assigned to the supervision of barrios near Legatic on the island of Panay, many of “the barrios that lay in my district had never been entered or even approached by a white man.”⁴⁷ John C. Early, a teacher who rose to the position of Governor of the Mountain Province, Luzon, was equally invested in the portrayal of himself as the first white pioneer among potentially dangerous natives. Early wrote in his (unpublished) memoirs that he “received a round of applause” from his fellow teachers when he volunteered “to go among the Kalingas, then reputed the worst head-hunters in Northern Luzon.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 246.

⁴⁷ Ralph Kent Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino* (New York: Everywhere Publishing Company, 1912), 167.

⁴⁸ John C. Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” unpublished manuscript, pg. 6, John C. Early Papers [hereafter Early Papers], Bentley Library.

Describing his travels, Early depicts himself as having successfully “penetrated” into the interior of Kalinga territory, “at considerable risk,” where other, more cowardly colonial officials had been driven off.⁴⁹ After becoming “a veteran mountaineer,” Early traveled to places which, he declared, “had seldom been visited by white men.”⁵⁰ Early’s claim of being the first white man that many of the Kalingas had ever seen, Peter J. Tarr argues, was most likely a “rhetorical liberty,” intended to position himself within a longer literary and historical tradition of frontier pioneers.⁵¹ Certainly, Early was not the first, and would not be the last, American to metaphorically erase the history of Spanish-Filipino interactions in order to make his own exploration more impressive. This sort of historical amnesia was common among teachers and educational officials, who erased, or vastly underrated, the impact of the Spanish educational system in order to underscore the breadth and success of American primary education in the islands.⁵² While this rhetorical device does not convey an accurate picture of the lands and peoples being “discovered,” however, it does demonstrate that the participation in this pioneer myth was important to the self-portrayal of many of the American teachers. By claiming to be the first white men to penetrate into virgin territory and encounter strange new peoples, teachers like Buckland and Early were inserting themselves in a long literary and historical tradition, exemplified by writers like H. Rider Haggard and explorers like Henry Morton Stanley, which was particularly popular at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁴⁹ Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” 36-37.

⁵⁰ Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” 40.

⁵¹ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 530-531.

⁵² This act of historical erasure involved some complex mental maneuvering, as American teachers often relied on the networks and infrastructure created during the Spanish period in order to open their own schools, including the use of Filipino teachers employed before the war, and even using (and complaining about) the schoolhouses built and used prior to 1899.

For William B. Freer, a teacher stationed in Nueva Vizcaya, creating an imperial narrative meant cultivating a colonial family for himself that was reminiscent of Robinson Crusoe's. While most Americans, he declared, were "harassed by the general unreliability" of Filipino servants, Freer avoided this by employing Igorrotes, "who make excellent servants."⁵³ Freer had one servant, a one-eyed cook named Clemente, who brought home a "new caught" Igorrote, "a lithe young fellow" who had "adopted the name Domingo for the occasion," and who seemed embarrassed, not because he was only wearing a gee-string, but because "this was his first encounter with a white man." Freer's ran his eyes over the man's "satiny, chocolate-covered skin, and then met his own," and he hired him "then and there" and "thus was my family rounded out to three."⁵⁴ Freer depicted his Igorrote servants, particularly Domingo, as "faithful savages," in whom he placed implicit trust.⁵⁵ Indeed, he used Domingo as part of his imperial fantasy, a man Friday to Freer's Crusoe. Describing himself on a typical school inspection trip, Freer invited his readers to imagine "a man once white but now bronzed by the sun stepping briskly along a dusty tropical road in the fresh morning air," with "a big army revolver" at his belt "to retain the respect of possible head-hunters," with "faithful Domingo following a few paces behind."⁵⁶

Working in tandem with the fantasy of white pioneering was the trope of the power of whiteness. Many of the teachers related stories of their mastery (by virtue of their whiteness or status as an American, which were often conflated) over Filipinos.

⁵³ Igorrotes, also spelled Igorots, was the name used during both the Spanish and American colonial periods to refer to the non-Christian peoples living in the Cordillera region of Luzon. The names Ifugao or Ipugao are more commonly used today, though for the sake of consistency I have used Igorrote.

⁵⁴ William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in the Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 59-60.

⁵⁵ Freer, *Philippine Experiences*, 61.

⁵⁶ Freer, *Philippine Experiences*, 114.

When George N. Briggs went to his new station in Gigaquit, Mindanao, he and another teacher were sent with two policemen armed with shotguns and several porters. While waiting on the shore of one of the small islands to the northeast of Mindanao for the winds to change, the policemen and most of the porters went ashore, while Briggs and the other teachers enjoyed their beautiful surroundings for several hours. After it began to get dark, however, they became afraid, and became “thoroughly convinced” that their escort was “merely waiting in the woods until dark to put an end to us.” After some discussion, Briggs went to go find the men while the other teacher waited in the boat. After an hour’s search, Briggs was amazed to find the men forcing the inhabitants of a nearby barrio at gunpoint to catch chickens for them. As soon as they caught sight of Briggs, the men “presented such a shamefaced appearance that all my fear immediately departed as I saw they were more afraid of us than we of them.” Taking charge of the situation, Briggs “turned the chickens loose and marched the soldiers and *cargadores*, or porters, down to the boat and shoved off even with the adverse wind and contrary current.” Briggs concluded that there was no more protest from that point and that the men “faithfully rowed us the rest of the way.”⁵⁷ While Briggs confessed that he and his companion were afraid of the policemen and porters, as soon as he saw that the men were more scared of him than he was of them, Briggs underwent a sort of psychological transformation from potential victim to white master. He might be unarmed, but the fear of his escort at being caught in wrongdoing reminded him of his status as the lone white man and American, and gave him the authority to take command of the situation and the men.

⁵⁷ George N. Briggs, Letter to Frank Crone, August 21, 1913, pgs 226-227, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

Black teachers were more often invested in presenting themselves as civilized uplifters than protagonists in an adventure story. Nevertheless, Bedford B. Hunter depicted himself as fearless, willing to bravely face danger in the discharge of his duty, including swollen rivers, alligators, giant snakes, mosquitoes, and hostile townspeople. Hunter described one instance en route to the Normal School, in which a “maestro” saved the life of a “maestra” whose horse slipped off a ridge into a swollen river, thereby earning her gratitude and, two years later, her hand.⁵⁸ This episode seems to describe Hunter’s own courtship with Paz Montilla, whom he married in 1907.⁵⁹

Other teachers made a point of noting their lack of fear, whether from a possible attack by ladrones, on their town, or while traveling between towns or to visit barrio schools.⁶⁰ John D. DeHuff wrote in his diary that, while traveling at night by himself, he “was never molested in the least. Had 100 dollars with me, revolver, and 6 rounds of ammunition.”⁶¹ In September 1902, DeHuff recorded that a rock had been thrown at the house where he and another teacher lived, and their servant reported that he had met a stranger in the street that day who had threatened DeHuff. The Municipal Council

⁵⁸ Bedford B. Hunter, Letter to W.W. Marquardt, July 7, 1913, Marquardt Papers, 302-303.

⁵⁹ “A Kansan Weds in the Philippines,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, July 5, 1907, pg. 1

⁶⁰ In their letters and diaries, the teachers use the term “ladrone,” meaning bandit, most frequently to describe the bands of soldiers still operating in their provinces. On July 4, 1902, Theodore Roosevelt had proclaimed that the Philippine insurrection was over, put the islands under complete civilian control, and declared an amnesty for all Filipinos who fought in the war, except for acts of war committed after May 1, 1902. In November, the Brigandage Act of 1902 was passed, which declared all acts of armed resistance to American rule to be banditry. Those who continued to resist American authority therefore, were declared outlaws, and their connection to a legitimate army was denied, and linked them instead to fugitive bands that had operated in the mountainous regions of the islands since before the Philippine Revolution. The confusion over exactly what to call the guerilla bands is indicated by the teachers vacillating between the terms “ladrone” and “insurrecto,” though they chose the former more frequently. In a statement revealing the attempt to delegitimize Filipino soldiers, Harry Cole wrote home in March of 1902 that “many ‘ladrones’ (robbers), more truthfully called insurrectos” had been active in the southern end of Leyte. Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, March 16, 1902, Folder 5, Harry and Mary Cole Papers [hereafter the Cole Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. I use the term “ladrone,” because it is the term the teachers used themselves, though I do mean to demean those who were still engaged in armed resistance by so doing.

⁶¹ John D. DeHuff, Diary Entry, February 24, 1902, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

wanted him to move to a house that could be “more easily defended in case of attack,” but, DeHuff noted, “I am not afraid.” A few nights later, DeHuff thought the ladrones had come, but it turned out to be a cat among the chickens. Again, DeHuff maintained, “I am not afraid, although it seems that I have incurred the displeasure of the ladrone outfit. I sleep with two big revolvers where I can lay my hand on them without turning over in bed, and I am never without one of them night or day.”⁶² Even after he had to discontinue his night class for adults because his pupils were afraid to come out at night because of a possible ladrone attack, DeHuff wrote that he was still living in the same house. While DeHuff’s assertion that he was unafraid might be open to interpretation, he certainly wanted to present himself as fearless, and held up as evidence for this allegation his possession of the “two big revolvers” with which he could protect himself.

In contrast, Buckland depicted the dangers of travel as of much more concern than the possibility of an attack by the people in his district. While “the rivers and sea were not always to be depended on,” Buckland claimed that “there was never any danger from the people themselves. They were always friendly and easily managed,” a fact which made his travels “quite free from the slightest fear.” Buckland declared that he had traveled “on many a lonely mountain trail” without feeling “the least bit of fear,” though he went unarmed. The only possible danger to an American was from an “intoxicated Filipino with a bolo,” he concluded, though because of that remote possibility, “many of the Americans never went out anywhere unless armed to the teeth, a la pirate.”⁶³ In this passage, Buckland gives an interesting twist to the tradition of white male explorers. He claims to go where no white man has gone before, and to do so without fear of the native population, which is very much in line with the portrayal of white heroes in literary and

⁶² DeHuff, Diary Entry, September 7, 1902, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

⁶³ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 181-182.

travel writings about empire.⁶⁴ Instead of viewing a gun as a physical representation and extension of his power, however, Buckland proudly notes that he traveled unarmed, needing no protection from a people who were “friendly and easily managed.” Indeed, Buckland pokes fun at those Americans who felt sufficiently fearful to go about “a la pirate.”

Several other teachers also took pride in traveling about unarmed, and presented the willingness to do so as a mark of true white masculinity. Indeed, some male teachers even accused those who carried guns of being cowardly. After a ladrone raid near his station of Calapan, Mindoro, Blaine Free Moore wrote that the Provincial Treasurer “got a rifle from the military and always carries a big six shooter stuffed in his pants,” while the provincial doctor “won’t go out of the house without a six shooter strapped on him.” This behavior was nonsensical, Moore claimed, because ladrones would not attack a town where American soldiers and Constabulary were stationed, and where each civilian had guns in his home. “A man that carries a gun in sight in town in the day,” Moore concluded, only invited “ridicule from the natives.”⁶⁵ W.W. Marquardt viewed the carrying of arms in a similar light, noting that he traveled from Tacloban to Tanauan “along at night without even a revolver.” In contrast, “Major Pershine who cut loop

⁶⁴ Perhaps the best examples of this genre are the writings of H. Rider Haggard, a British author who created the enormously popular character of Allan Quatermain, the protagonist of *King Solomon’s Mines* (1885).

⁶⁵ Moore, Letter to Ma and Pa, February 15, 1903, Folder 4, Moore Papers. Inviting ridicule from the local population was of no small significance to Moore. He displayed a strong inclination to avoid playing the fool in front of Filipinos. After a trip to a barrio school during which Moore got so badly lost that the journey took twice as long as it normally would, he lied to the townspeople and told them he had left several hours later than he had, writing “I don’t like to have these people laugh at me.” On another occasion, Moore wrote home that he would enjoy the local parties much more if he knew how to dance, but “I hate to get up before these people and learn, for of course I would be laughed at, and that is one thing I can’t stand, to be laughed at by these people.” See Moore, Diary Entry, April 26, 1902, Folder 1, Box 2, and Letter to Ma and Pa, December 21, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Moore Papers. I think this latter letter was actually written in 1902, though it is dated 1903, as it was written from Calapan, Mindoro, rather than from Tarlac, where Moore was stationed in December of 1903.

holes in the doors and had a guard of 16 men sleep under his bed room and who was in continual dread lest his wife should be kidnapped, always carries a revolver around the streets of Tananan even in the day time.” Another colonel, who slept inside a circle of sandbags out of fear in Luzon, “also carries a revolver.” Marquardt declared that both men “ought to have a dishonorable discharge for cowardice.”⁶⁶ In an imperial setting, where carrying a gun might be seen as a primary marker of white male privilege and power, Buckland, Moore and Marquardt all portray being armed as evidence of weakness and cowardice. True masculine bravery, in this configuration, depended on bravely relying on one’s personal authority as a white American.

Not all teachers adopted this point of view, of course, especially those stationed in areas where remnants of the Philippine Army were especially active. Benjamin E. Neal carried a revolver when he rode from San Quintin to Umingan, in Pangasinan Province, noting that “everyone goes armed.”⁶⁷ Neal and his brother made sure to keep themselves well armed after hearing four revolver shots on the evening a nighttime raid of the town was expected.⁶⁸ A month later, on a visit to a neighboring town, Neal reported that he and Olin “were barricaded in last night as lots of insurrectos are around,” and that both men slept “with revolvers under our pillows.”⁶⁹ While there was still revolutionary activity on both Panay, where DeHuff and Buckland were stationed, and Leyte, which was Marquardt’s home, those islands had been largely pacified and were no longer as dangerous as some provinces in the southern interior of Luzon.

⁶⁶ Marquardt, Transcript of Letters, December 26, 1901, pg 35, Vol. 2, Box 7, Marquardt Papers.

⁶⁷ Benjamin E. Neal, Diary Entry, September 21, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Benjamin E. Neal Papers [hereafter Neal Papers]. Neal identifies his station, which he spells “San Quinten,” as being in Nueva Ecija. However, both his station and his brother’s station (which he spells “Humingan”) were located in Pangasinan Province.

⁶⁸ Neal, Diary Entry, February 15, 1902, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

⁶⁹ Neal, Diary Entry, March 9, 1902, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

For Herbert D. Fisher, the distinction between a brave and a cowardly man did not necessarily depend on his choice to carry a gun or not, but upon the manly self-control that dictated its use. Upon his arrival in Leyte, Fisher volunteered to go to Tanauan, a town where, he was informed, an American teacher had recently accidentally shot and killed the presidente's brother. The unfortunate teacher, Herald, had been badly frightened by soldiers' tales of *insurrectos*, or insurgents, and *pulahanes*, or religiously-inspired rebels. When the presidente's brother came late at night to the house in which Herald was sleeping (a house which belonged to the presidente), Herald shot and killed the man. In Herald's defense, Fisher noted that the "danger up there was not altogether imaginary as there were bands of renegades," or pulahans, "semi-religious fanatics, who swooped down on a town occasionally and robbed the native police of their guns and all the merchandise and money they could get away with. And they always killed some people, and they didn't hold back on Americans."⁷⁰ Fisher continued, however, that when American soldiers tried to scare him in a similar fashion, by taking him out hunting and staging an attack by fake pulahans, Fisher kept his cool and almost killed some of the soldiers.⁷¹ In Fisher's tale, both he and Herald had guns; while Herald's story ended tragically because of his fear, however, Fisher is able to teach the soldiers a lesson.⁷² Whether they believed that bravery was demonstrated by the possession and use of guns, or by the willingness to travel without any protection, these teachers were all engaged in

⁷⁰ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 52-56.

⁷¹ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 57.

⁷² W.W. Marquardt tells the same story in one of his scrapbooks, though he calls the man James Brookfield. "Teachers I Have Known," 41-42, Vol. 8, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. I have not been able to verify that a man named either Herald or Brookfield was ever employed by the Department of Education, but given that this man did not actually get to teach, that is not surprising. It is possible this story was an invention of teachers in Leyte, though it is also possible that both Marquardt and Fisher are simply using a pseudonym. Whether true or not, Fisher clearly uses the story to distinguish between his own bravery and the timidity of other teachers.

defining what it meant to be brave, and thereby constructing an ideal of colonial masculinity.

The White Woman's Burden

One of the most important opportunities that participation in empire afforded female teachers was the chance to present themselves in ways that would have been impossible at home. Against the portrayal of American women as too refined, too delicate for life in the tropics, American women in the Philippines presented themselves as eminently suited for life in the tropics and as fit participants for the imperial project. Unlike many of the teachers who came on the *Thomas*, Mary B. Crans wrote that she had hated her time on the transport and in Manila. However, she recalled, as soon as she caught sight of “the green rice fields, with their borders of waving bamboo” en route to her station of Baliuag, Bulacan Province, that “the horrible night mare of the preceding six weeks lifted and it has never come back.” Crans wrote that she had found “the enchanted land of which I had dreamed.” She endured hardships, had been “dangerously ill with malignant malaria,” had been the sole American woman, with only one American man, during a cholera epidemic, and had been summoned at midnight to the *comandancia* during a supposed uprising, but never, Crans declared, had she again “felt the discouragement and despair of those weeks of travel.”⁷³

Almost as soon as she arrived at her station, Philinda Rand began to depict herself as a capable participant in empire. When she and Margaret Purcell arrived at their assigned town, Silay, Rand noted that the presidente of their town seemed upset, writing, “It seems they had wanted men for teachers and I suppose they thought we were the helpless variety of women they had always been accustomed to.” Rand and Purcell

⁷³ Mary B. Crans, “My First Two Years in the Philippines,” pg 242, “Early Experiences of American Teachers,” Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

immediately set themselves “to dispel that illusion,” however, and Rand declared that “good fortune favored us.”⁷⁴ Less than two months after her arrival in Silay, Rand boasted that her and Purcell’s “fame has gone abroad even into Saravia. In Silay there are two Americans, one tall oh very tall, *demasiado* tall. They live in a house all alone and there is no policemen nor soldiers nor anybody at their door. Oh they are very *valliantes* just like hombres.”⁷⁵

Many of Rand’s stories in her letters and journals demonstrate her determination to prove her courage and hardiness. She described numerous trips in Negros and Luzon that were strenuous and often dangerous, and took obvious pleasure in the surprise and admiration of Americans and Filipinos at her bravery and hardiness. Rand delighted in confounding Filipino expectations about female behavior, and proudly described the “amazement” of the presidente’s family that she and Purcell intended to drive from Silay to Bacolod, a journey of about three hours, alone at night.⁷⁶ On a trip with other teachers to the hemp plantation of Juan Araneta, a prominent member of Silay society, she noted the astonishment she created in the Aranetas by riding astride with a little revolver at her waist, which, she “assured them in a most brazen faced way,” she could use “effectively.”⁷⁷ Pattie Paxton, a teacher stationed in Bacolod, just down the coast from Silay, also displayed pride in her ability to use a gun, recalling that on a picnic with army officers and civil employees, the men brought a gun along for target practice. Inviting her to try, and treating it as a “great joke,” one of the men “tossed his hat into the air for my target,” a move which “cost him his new Stetson hat.”⁷⁸ The possession and use of a

⁷⁴ Rand, Letter to Kathie, undated, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

⁷⁵ Rand, Letter to Auntie, November 21, 1901, Folder 16, PRA Papers.

⁷⁶ Rand, Letter to Kathie, May 2, 1902, Folder 17, PRA Papers.

⁷⁷ Rand, Letter to Marguerite, May 17, 1902, Folder 17, PRA Papers.

⁷⁸ Euphemia Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 15, unpublished manuscript, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

revolver was an important experience for Rand and Paxton, as it demonstrated their access to and ability to wield a traditionally masculine power, as well as their fitness to participate in empire. Unlike the debate among white men over the carrying of firearms, for women the ability to use a gun was a clear marker of courage and the power to wield masculine authority.⁷⁹

Rand also made a point of describing the admiration she engendered in white men as well. On the way home from their visit to the Araneta's plantation, it began to rain, and the other women and one of the men decided to stop for a night in a town on the way. Rand, however, chose to ride on with two of the men, despite the ferocity of the storm, and described a wild ride through a deadly storm that made her feel like she "was living part of a storybook." Rand noted, "I have had a lot of compliments since then, on that ride."⁸⁰ Through stories like these, Rand portrayed herself as hardy and brave, and as the equal of her white male counterparts.

Female teachers were in general invested in presenting themselves as acting bravely in the face of potential danger. Despite the fact that most women were living in towns in which either American or Filipino soldiers were stationed, the very presence of troops was a reminder that much of the islands were still a war zone. Rand, however, repeatedly denied feeling any fear of insurrectos from the first. She wrote that she felt "very well protected" and that when she and Purcell had "barred our doors and laid our little revolver between us, we sleep the sleep of the just."⁸¹ When a Filipino soldier who had been locked up for attempting to desert broke free of the guard house just across the

⁷⁹ One of the few times in which Mary H. Fee depicts herself as lacking authority was on a gold-mining expedition during which she failed to intimidate native workers by firing off a gun, denoting her inability to wield masculine power outside the purview of her own home. Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 213-214.

⁸⁰ Rand, Letter to Marguerite, May 17, 1902, Folder 17, PRA Papers.

⁸¹ Rand, Letter to Malcom, undated, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

street from her school, and ran shooting “at everything he saw,” Rand described the event as “quite an exciting time,” and proudly noted that while her students and native teachers were scared “nearly out of their senses,” she had remained calm.⁸² May Faurote claimed in 1913 that the danger added zest to the experience of the old “Days of Empire,” when “the glamor and strangeness of the unknown” abounded. When the commanding officer of her town asked her not to ride beyond the city without a military escort, she recalled, “it gave a delicious creepiness down our spinal column, that is altogether missing in these days of perfect safety.”⁸³

Although female teachers did admit to being afraid at times, they almost always depicted themselves as behaving courageously nonetheless. While Pattie Paxton and Stella Price were in Bacolod waiting to be sent to Talisay, American soldiers told them that the leader of a band of insurrectos in the Negros mountains lived in that town, and that “any superintendent who would send two women to such a place was guilty of murder.”⁸⁴ On their first night in their new station, Paxton heard “chanting in a weird minor key,” and stayed awake all night, determined to let Price sleep, but watching the window for intruders. Around dawn, she heard a “stealthy movement” above the ceiling. The next morning, upon asking their cook what the noises had been, he informed her that there had been a funeral for his nephew and that the ceiling was inhabited by a snake, intended to take care of the rats.⁸⁵ Soon, both women were recalled to Bacolod. Paxton did not know whether a new superintendent had decided that Talisay was too dangerous, or whether the army had intervened, but declared that she was “sorry to leave,” for she

⁸² Rand, Letter to Kathie, February 16, 1902, and Letter to Aunt, February 24, 1902, Folder 17, PRA Papers.

⁸³ May Faurote, Letter, undated [1913], pg 276, “Early Experiences of American Teachers,” Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁸⁴ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 11.

⁸⁵ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 12-13.

had “come to think of Talisay as a challenge.”⁸⁶ Later, stationed in La Carlota, Paxton claimed that, when required to travel to a neighboring town, she could “make the trip with no sense of fear or loneliness.” On one trip, after making arrangements in a shop to be taken upriver in a dugout paddled by two Filipinos, the shopkeeper asked if she was afraid to be traveling with “two strange men.” Paxton replied that she “felt no fear,” that she knew of no instance of an American teacher being “insulted by a Filipino,” and that she “traveled alone with perfect trust.” As she glided along the river, the rain misting pleasantly, her “hombres” working so contentedly that it would not have surprised her if “they had broken into song,” Paxton reflected that it “was a trip to enjoy alone.”⁸⁷ From fears of insurrection and violence, Paxton now depicted herself as being able to travel “alone” with Filipino men without fear or worry. Paxton’s lack of fear and her mastery over herself and her “hombres” demonstrated her sense of belonging in empire. As her fear receded, moreover, Filipino men were transformed from possible insurrectos into harmless, faithful servants, background characters who did not impose on her consciousness so far as to be an intruding presence on her solitary journey.

Employment in the Philippines also presented the chance for single women to be the master of their own home and servants. For women who had only ever lived with family members or in boarding houses, this was a dramatic change. Rand wrote of her pleasure at having servants at her beck and call.⁸⁸ Mary Helen Fee also felt the novelty and attraction of having a home of her own and native servants under her control. While life in the Philippines allowed women new freedoms, however, Fee did not believe that such a life was for everyone. The Philippines, she declared, were “no place for women or

⁸⁶ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 14.

⁸⁷ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 22.

⁸⁸ Rand, Letter to Dear People, October 20, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

men who cannot thrive and be happy on plain food, plenty of work, and isolation.” Unemployed, married women, she continued, were not suited for provincial life, as the “cheapness of native servants” left such women with nothing to do except to feel homesick and grow “fretful, and melancholy.” However, Fee concluded, for “a woman who loves her home and is employed, provincial life is a boon.”⁸⁹ For Fee, colonial life was a paradise for the single, working woman, and unlike life in the United States, empire was a place where unmarried women could thrive. In this way, Fee turned white, middle class social order on its head. If the purported object of a woman’s life was to find a husband, in empire marriage was not an unequivocal blessing, and could be a veritable evil. Fee draws a distinct line between married housewives and single, employed women. For her, mere homemakers could not thrive in the tropics, and soon lost health and happiness, while single, working women in the Philippines could prosper and create and rule a home of their own. Single women, therefore, were the fittest colonizers.

For some women, a position in empire offered the chance to engage in professional enterprises. Like their male counterparts, not all of the female teachers came primarily for the purpose of providing instruction. Teaching in the Philippines offered American women funds, legitimacy, and access to the Filipino people that they could not have gotten any other way. Adeline Knapp, who was appointed as a teacher in May 1901, traveled to the Philippines on the *Thomas*. In *The Log of the Thomas*, it was announced that “Miss Knapp will engage in literary work while in the islands, and will collect material for a school history of the Philippines, a work on which she has been engaged for over a year.”⁹⁰ A journalist for the *San Francisco Call*, Knapp had covered

⁸⁹ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 246-247.

⁹⁰ Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*, 50.

the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in the early 1890s, and now planned to write textbooks for Silver, Burdett & Company that could be used in the Philippines. Bernard Moses, the first Secretary of Education for the Philippine Commission, wrote in his diary that Knapp had been to see him to ask what changes would need to be made to school readers to adapt them for use in the islands.⁹¹ It does not seem that Knapp ever did much teaching, however. One month after her first visit, Knapp went to see Moses again, complaining that she had been “quite ill” since her arrival and had been advised by a doctor to return home.⁹² Despite her illness, Knapp was able to complete two books, *How to Live: A Manual of Hygiene for Use in the Schools of the Philippine Islands* and *The Story of the Philippines For Use in the Schools of the Philippine Islands*, both published in 1902. Whether or not Knapp ever intended to teach for very long in the islands, accepting an appointment as a teacher provided her with transportation to the Philippines, as well as intimate access to school officials, teachers, and Filipino children, which would have been extremely useful for an author intending to write a book that would be adopted in the schools there.

Teaching in the Philippines was also a path to scientific work for a small number of women. Laura Watson Benedict was one of the first professionally-trained female anthropologists, having completed a Master’s degree in Sociology at the University of Chicago in 1904. In 1906, she came to the Philippines primarily to study the Bagobo peoples of Mindanao, authorized by Dr. George A. Dorsey, the curator of the Field Museum of Natural History, to buy a collection for the museum worth up to two thousand dollars.⁹³

⁹¹ Moses, Diary entry, September 4, 1901, “Philippine Diary,” Vol. 5.

⁹² Moses, Diary entry, October 5, 1901, “Philippine Diary,” Vol. 5.

⁹³ Jay Bernstein, “The Perils of Laura Watson Benedict: A Forgotten Pioneer in Anthropology,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society*, Vol. 2 (1998): 172-175.

Arriving in Davao in August of 1906, Benedict was offered a teaching position to fill a temporary vacancy for six weeks, an opportunity she welcomed in order to have funds available to live and to purchase a collection of Bagobo artifacts.⁹⁴ When the permanent teacher arrived, Benedict was to go to Santa Cruz, where she would teach in a school for Bagobo children. For her teaching, she was to receive seventy-five dollars a month, which would provide “relief from financial anxiety, and ability to buy Bagobo material with a free hand.” More than this, Benedict expected that her position would allow her to “study child psychology among the Bagobo in way that only the teacher can do,” adding that “in these parts the *teacher* has the respect and confidence of the whole native community to an extent enjoyed by hardly anyone else.”⁹⁵

In her first few months in Mindanao, Benedict reported that she was learning “loads of new things,” including how “to ride a horse, to fire off a revolver, to make a holster, to be patient with oriental slowness and delays and neglectfulness”; in sum, she was learning to play the part of an imperial pioneer.⁹⁶ She noted that her first weeks in Santa Cruz had been “very strenuous,” but declared, “in spite of ants and centipedes and starving dogs that steal things, and skin diseases and lying natives and high prices, I love Mindanao beyond all expression. If one can meet bravely the conditions inherent in a tropical climate one quickly feels the charm of the Orient.”⁹⁷

Early in 1907, Benedict complained to Dorsey that her ethnological work was going slowly because of her school responsibilities. Still, she claimed that the experience had been worthwhile, because “the *maestra* gets into such close relations with the

⁹⁴ Laura Watson Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, August 5, 1906, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence, Cummings Expedition 1906-1909, Box 4, R.F. Cumming Expedition, 1906-1911, Field Museum, Chicago.

⁹⁵ Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, October 12, 1906, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence.

⁹⁶ Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, October 12, 1906, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence.

⁹⁷ Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, December 20, 1906, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence.

children, and secures bits of information that nobody else can get.”⁹⁸ By virtue of her position as a teacher and her training as an ethnologist, Benedict claimed a dual position that was self-reinforcing – the teacher-ethnologist. As a teacher she had greater access to the population and was able to win the confidence of the people more readily. As an ethnographer, she was able to make use of this intimacy to understand the Bagobo better than a mere teacher. Indeed, Benedict claimed that her children had “taught as much as they have learned,” as the “interest of the investigator” so far won out over the “spirit of the teacher” that her school was “just as far removed” as could be “from the up-to-date, proper school-room.”⁹⁹

While her training as an anthropologist helped Benedict go about her work as she could, unlike most teachers, communicate in the Bagobo language, her interests in anthropological work undoubtedly limited her effectiveness as a teacher of English and as an agent of American civilization. Rather than encouraging the Bagobo to abandon “savage” practices and embrace civilized modes of living, which would ordinarily include changes in language, dress, comportment, social and recreational activities, among other things, Benedict bemoaned the fact that the Bagobo were being ruined by modern agricultural practices. In a letter to Dorsey, she complained that the “need of American planters for labor is spoiling the normal life of these people,” as hemp planters enticed the Bagobo and other tribes to move from the mountains to plantations around Davao.¹⁰⁰ It is in this letter that the opposition inherent in the role of teacher-anthropologist emerges. In order to fulfill her role as a teacher, to promote both the learning of English and Americanization, Benedict was to do the very work that she

⁹⁸ Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, February 11, 1907, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence.

⁹⁹ Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, April 7, 1907, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence.

¹⁰⁰ Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, November 9, 1907, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence.

viewed to be so damaging to Bagobo culture. By foregrounding her role as an anthropologist, therefore, Benedict failed as a colonial teacher, viewing herself as in opposition to other Americans in the region, especially the owners of hemp plantations. Benedict saw herself as doing valuable work in the cataloging and preservation of a disappearing culture, they were merely hastening its demise.¹⁰¹

Both Knapp and Benedict came to the Philippines with the intention of doing work that was more important to them than teaching. However, it was their position as teachers that gave them access to the imperial opportunities they sought. For Knapp, teaching provided her with transportation and knowledge of the school system and its needs. For Benedict, her schoolwork gave her immediate access to the people she wanted to study, and allowed her to gain their trust. Equally as important, teaching supplied the funds necessary to support herself and build her collection of Bagobo artifacts.

The Limits of the Frontier

Some of the American teachers found the Philippines to be less a land of milk and honey than they had expected. Living expenses were higher than many anticipated

¹⁰¹ Benedict's story does not end happily. While colonial education provided Benedict with the opportunity to pursue anthropological work, it did not guarantee ultimate success in that field. She became convinced that an American planter was working to create a rival collection, and trying to undermine her own work. Eventually, destitute and in failing health, Benedict was persuaded to return home. Fay Cooper Cole, an anthropologist who arrived to study the Bagobo after Benedict, and who also kept up a correspondence with Dorsey, declared that Benedict's fears were the result of overwork and paranoia. Whether or not Benedict's fears were based on a rational assessment of the actions and motivations of those around her, however, it is clear that she viewed herself in opposition to the social and economic elite of Santa Clara. As Jay Bernstein has noted, while Cole's work was facilitated by local elites, including planters, Benedict was "isolated from the sources of power," and "felt that the greed of Westerners in the area was not only destroying the traditional societies but frustrating her own attempts at honest scholarship." Benedict did eventually return to the U.S., sold her collection to the American Museum of Natural History, and received her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1914. She did not succeed in the field of anthropology, however, and spent the remainder of her life as a teacher in social work and as a librarian. When she died in 1932, her obituary did not mention that she had been an anthropologist. See Benedict, Letter to Dorsey, November 12, 1907, and Letter to Dorsey, November 9, 1907, Benedict-Dorsey Correspondence; Barrows, Letter to Frederick Starr, April 11, 1908, Folder 9, Box 1, Barrows Papers; and Bernstein, "The Perils of Laura Watson Benedict," 182-187.

(partially because American teachers tended, especially during the cholera outbreak of 1902, to consume large quantities of canned goods imported from the United States), and they were being paid in Philippine currency (largely Mexican silver coins), which fluctuated in value during the early years of colonization. In addition, many of the white male teachers recorded disappointment at their failure to advance professionally. In November 1901, Harry Cole reported his aggravation with the living conditions, the ability to save money, and the work itself. “The more I see of things here,” he declared, “the more convinced I am that the bringing of us teachers over here was a huge political deal.” He continued, “it makes one smile to think that only college graduates and experienced teachers are wanted over here,” as the work was overwhelmingly primary language instruction.¹⁰²

Harry Cole also reported feeling increasingly frustrated with the stagnation in his chemistry work, and repeatedly wished to be back at the University of Michigan, if he could only earn there what he received in the Philippines.¹⁰³ Mary Cole wrote in early 1902 that Harry was trying to get into chemistry work in Manila, and that he “would be more content if he could be working in chemistry.”¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, however, she noted a month later that Atkinson was not accepting the resignation of any teacher for the purpose of accepting other civil employment.¹⁰⁵ In early 1904, Harry was again passed over for promotion to Acting Superintendent in favor of another teacher. Mary surmised that this snub was because Harry was not “popular enough with the natives and not

¹⁰² Harry Cole, Letter to Leon, Oct 21, 1901, Folder 3, Cole Papers.

¹⁰³ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, September 12, 1901, Folder 2, Letter to Mother, October 20, 1901, Folder 3, and Letter to Mother, November 18, 1901, Folder 3, Cole Papers. Despite his griping about his inability to save money, therefore, it seems that he was aware that he was earning more than he would back home.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, February 9, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers. By this point many other teachers had seized the opportunity to earn a good wage in cosmopolitan Manila rather than slogging away at teaching in the provinces.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, March 16, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers.

enough of a ‘Nigger Chaser’.”¹⁰⁶ The use of this phrase is telling. Frustrated with Harry’s failure to advance professionally, Mary attributed this failure to the fact that Harry refused to ingratiate himself to Filipinos, and even resorts to a crude but oft-used phrase from the United States to dismiss those who seemed disposed to view African Americans as, if not equals, then at least possessing rights. Harry’s lack of success, then, was the result of racial pride, not personal shortcomings. Blaine Free Moore also used this language to deprecate the goal of winning the support of Filipinos. Noting that Taft’s successor as Governor General, Luke Wright, was viewed with suspicion by Filipinos, Moore surmised that it was because he was from the South and therefore not a “nigger lover.”¹⁰⁷

Herbert Priestley also became disheartened with his lack of professional progress. While he wrote in November 1902 that he and Bess were both “quite well and hearty,” by July 1903, Priestley reported that he was the “only primary teacher in Caceres” (presumably he means the only American primary teacher), and that “all the rest have gone, or move up but me.” As a result, he was feeling “quite discouraged” and felt “little interest in the work.”¹⁰⁸ The next year, Priestley noted jealously that while he had “heard nothing of my application for a raise and transfer,” Frank Crone, another teacher, had been appointed superintendent of the division, and seemed to be “favored of the gods and men.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Mary Cole, Letter to Mother, February 22, 1904, Folder 11, Cole Papers. The Coles’ relationship with the Filipino community of Palo, and Harry Cole’s particular failure to win lasting respect and friendship, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁷ Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, October 20, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Priestley, Letter to Mommy, November 23, 1902, Folder 16, and Letter to Mother, July 5, 1903, Folder 24, Priestley Letters.

¹⁰⁹ Priestley, Letter to Mommy, March 6, 1904, Folder 31, Priestley Letters.

Even teachers with personal connections to educational officials were not guaranteed advancement. Moore was promised by H.G. Squier, his superintendent and fellow Mason, that he would be appointed the superintendent of Masbate and Tiraco. The position, however, was given to another man.¹¹⁰ Deservedly or not, many other teachers reported feeling badly treated by the Department of Education and discouraged with the project of education. Herbert Priestley reported in the fall of 1903 that the number of American teachers in the islands was lower than it had ever been before, as teachers chose to transfer into other departments, or “leave in disgust.”¹¹¹ All throughout November of that year, Priestley complained in his letters back home that he and Bess had not been able to save as much money as they had hoped, that the American teachers (himself included) were becoming disaffected with the government.¹¹² “The position of school teacher,” he reported, “grows more ridiculous every day.” Priestley continued that the Secretary of Public Instruction, James F. Smith, was a Catholic who “says it will be better when all American teachers are gone; so I guess he’ll fix it so they’ll all go well enough.”¹¹³

Of course, some white male teachers did receive promotions and advance to the positions of principals, superintendents, and to high positions within the Bureau of Education. Frank White, Frank L. Crone, and W.W. Marquardt, who arrived as teachers, all eventually became Directors of Education. Even teachers who advanced professionally, however, did at times register frustration with their positions and with the running of the Bureau of Education.

¹¹⁰ Moore, Letter to Brother, January 20, 1902, Folder 2, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹¹¹ Priestley, Letter to Mother, October 4, 1903, Folder 26, Priestley Letters.

¹¹² Priestley, Letter to Mother, November 1, 1903, Letter to Ethel, November 15, 1903, Letter to Mommy, November 16, 1903, and Letter to Mommy, November 19, 1903, Folder 27, Priestley Letters.

¹¹³ Priestley, Letter to Mother, November 1, 1903, Folder 27, Priestley Letters.

Significantly, white female teachers, particularly those who were single, recorded much less professional dissatisfaction in their letters and diaries. This may be partially due to the fact that there seems to have been less of an expectation of a meteoric rise within the civil service among female teachers, perhaps resulting from the limitations on women's professional advancement in the United States. Of course, some women did achieve high positions within the educational system, but the fact that they were less likely to expect such advancement probably accounts for the lower rate of griping about salary and promotions in the papers of female teachers. Most female teachers did not expect to become division superintendents or principals of their provincial high schools, and seemed happy to be valued members of their community, to be recognized as useful and effective by the townspeople and officials around them, and to be making a better salary and exercising more autonomy than they could at home.¹¹⁴

Teachers who were dissatisfied with their professional progress, and feeling betrayed by the willingness of civil officials to entertain the idea of Filipino capacity for self-government, often expressed their frustration by claiming a position of superior knowledge and perspective on the real prospects in the islands and the true Filipino character. Even teachers engaged solely as pedagogues often entered in quasi-ethnographic work, spending considerable time in their letters, diaries and published articles describing the traits and characteristics of "the Filipino." Teachers claimed that both government officials in the Philippines as well as people back home did not really know or understand the Filipino as they did after living amongst them. Ralph Kent

¹¹⁴ Some white, female teachers did rise to positions of authority within the Bureau of Education. Several women became principals of Intermediate Schools, especially in and around Manila. In addition, while most supervising teachers were men, a few women did rise to that position, including Lalla Rookh, Mary E. Polly, Alice M. Kelly, and Minnie E. Jessup. Finally, some women did earn salaries in the top-tier of the civil service. In 1908, of the 77 American teachers making ₱3000 or more, ten were women. *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908).

Buckland claimed that no “American occupying a high official position ever has the chance of seeing a Filipino town as it really is, or of seeing the native officials in their routine work, or of seeing the average native under the influence of his ordinary temperament,” because as soon as it was known (and it was always known) that officials were coming to visit a town, municipal officers put on an elaborate show.¹¹⁵

Teachers often portrayed themselves as the real experts on Filipinos, arguing that only those who had lived among them in the provinces, such as the American teachers, really knew their true nature, and really understood the national character. Harry Cole often wrote to his mother and brother of the rosy view that the civil government and Americans at home held of Filipinos.¹¹⁶ People at home, he declared, “can say all they please about our relations to these Filipinos, but they do not know the conditions nor the people.” Government officials also did not see “the best of the Filipinos as they are. To your face they bow and say ‘mucho amigo’ (very dear friend), but you never want to let him get behind you.” Only “the civilians who deal with all classes and not simply the best of what there is here,” he concluded, could really “learn these people.”¹¹⁷

At least for some of the teachers, the fear of being surrounded by danger enhanced their feelings of dissatisfaction with their imperial experience. Harry Cole especially, wrote of his frustration at feeling confined to the town in which he and Mary were stationed. His fear of the dangers present outside of Palo constricted his freedom and enhanced his feelings of stagnation and confinement; not only was he failing to advance professionally, he was also quite literally not going anywhere. “As peaceable as this town is,” Harry wrote to his mother, “we do not dare to go outside the limits without

¹¹⁵ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 216.

¹¹⁶ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, May 26, 1902, Folder 6, and Letter to Mother, April 30, 1903, Folder 10, Cole Papers.

¹¹⁷ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, April 30, 1903, Folder 10, Cole Papers.

an escort, and at night we do not go more than a block or two away from home.” While Harry acknowledged that it “might be perfectly safe to go anywhere around this part of the country,” they would not risk it, and so were “shut up” in a town that was considerably smaller than Ann Arbor. While the couple was only six or seven miles from Tacloban, the provincial capital, they did not dare go even that distance by themselves “for fear of some roving band.”¹¹⁸ Even a year later, when they had time to adjust to new conditions and surroundings, Harry still reported the same sense of insecurity and surrounding danger. “If we only felt safe to go anywhere over this country,” he complained, “I should be much more contented here, but sometimes I feel as tho’ we are in a cage.” He continued, “I guess it is safe all over this island now, but yet Americans do not go far from the roads. I want to get out and chase over the country and see what there is here, especially to go out into the mountains.”¹¹⁹

Harry’s fear was not a wholly irrational one; as he noted in a letter home, the day that he and Mary arrived in Palo, the town of Balangiga, only a few miles across the water on the island of Samar, had risen up against the American soldiers, and killed over half of the 74 men stationed there. This attack, coming just as it seemed that Filipino resistance to American rule was ending, shocked Americans in the Philippines and at home, and provoked a brutal retaliatory campaign by the military. There certainly were still Philippine Army forces as well as pulahanes in the mountains of Leyte. In March of 1902, insurrectos raided the town of Palompon, on the western end of Leyte, though they did not harm the two male teachers stationed there.¹²⁰ While the leader of that group, Jesus de Veyra, surrendered with 250 men in June of 1902, that same month four

¹¹⁸ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, October 22, 1901, Folder 3, Cole Papers.

¹¹⁹ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, October 12, 1902, Folder 9, Cole Papers.

¹²⁰ Marquardt, Transcript of Letters, April 6, 1902, Vol. 2, Box 7, Marquardt Papers, and “In the Philippines,” *Lafayette Gazette*, June 14, 1902, pg. 6.

teachers, who had just arrived on Cebu, and were waiting to attend a Teachers' Institute before being assigned to their stations, went for a hike in the mountains, despite being warned of the presence of "outlaws," and were killed.¹²¹ While no teachers were killed on Leyte itself, episodes of violence on islands to the east and west of Leyte served as grim reminders that the war was very much ongoing.

Still, feelings of security or danger were not necessarily based on the actual conditions or the degree of pacification of the islands. While Harry Cole was afraid to stir outside his own station without an armed guard, other teachers stationed close by the Coles, reported traveling along the eastern coast of Leyte without fear and even without arms. Moreover, teachers in the early years of empire were far more likely to die after contracting cholera or smallpox than to be murdered by *insurrectos* or *ladrones*.¹²² The difference in perception may be at least partially accounted for by the fact that Harry was worried about Mary's safety as well as his own, while most of the male teachers on the island were single, and by the differing levels of faith teachers placed in the Filipinos in their communities.

Whatever the reason, teachers who felt reasonably safe in their surroundings took considerable pleasure in going out into the country and visiting nearby towns and barrios, and recorded their satisfaction in these little adventures. Even Harry Cole, perhaps feeling more secure after a year and a half of residence, wrote home in February of 1903 that he had "dressed up regular soldier style," and went on a hike with one of his household servants. Harry and the unnamed servant "chased all over one side of the

¹²¹ Marquardt, Diary Entry, June 22, 1902, Vol. 1, Box 6, Marquardt Papers, and "Report of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Period From May 27, 1901, to October 1, 1902," in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 156.

¹²² Between 1901 and 1905, only forty-two teachers died untimely deaths in the Philippines. Of these, eighteen died from smallpox and cholera, while only six teachers were murdered. "Exhibit A: Report of the Superintendent of Education," in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1905*, Vol. XIII (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 425-426.

mountain on the other side of the river,” cutting his way through the tangled flora with a bolo knife, and coming home laden with wild fruit. The excursion, Harry noted, was “lots of fun.”¹²³

“A Man’s Work”: The Debate over Women in Empire

Despite the fact that the colonial government promoted the appointment of female teachers as a symbol of pacification, their inclusion in empire was contested from the beginning. Shortly after the arrival of the Thomasites, in September 1901, Fred Atkinson urged in a letter to the head of the BIA that men be given preference over women in the hiring of teachers.¹²⁴ Indeed, Blaine Free Moore claimed that H.G. Squier, who he identified as “second to Dr. Atkinson,” and who became the Division Superintendent of Schools for Romblon, Masbate, Marinduque and Mindoro, told him “that there would have been no women teachers brought over if it had not been for the demand of the Army officers who want the women here,” and that “no more women would be appointed.”¹²⁵

By April of the next year, this position had become official. In a circular from the Department of Public Instruction, it was stated that “No more women teachers will be appointed until the conditions as to food, lodgings and companions are more satisfactory than at present, except that where husband and wife are both qualified as teachers the chances for appointment are better.”¹²⁶ By 1904, the policy of the Philippine Civil Service was that only women who had qualified by examination, and were also the wife,

¹²³ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, February 22, 1903, Folder 10, Cole Papers.

¹²⁴ Fred Atkinson, Letter to Clarence R. Edwards, Chief of Division of Insular Affairs, Sept. 30, 1901, Folder 470, Box 84, RG 350, NARA.

¹²⁵ Blaine Free Moore, Diary Entry, August 31, 1901, Folder 9, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹²⁶ Circular, Office of the General Superintendent, Department of Public Instruction, April 2, 1902, Folder 470, Box 84, RG 350, NARA.

fiancé, or immediate relative of a male teacher employed in the Philippine service would be given appointments.¹²⁷

The increasing gendering of teaching work in the islands was due partly to a shift in organization and responsibilities of the teaching corps. Assigned initially as teachers of English and primary subjects, American teachers were being increasingly detailed as supervising teachers after 1904. This involved, Ralph Kent Buckland noted, building up schools not “only in the central towns, but in large districts composed of hundreds of square miles, with perhaps as many as forty barrios scattered over the area of each district.” The supervising teacher was “really a superintendent with anywhere from fifteen to fifty native teachers under him, some in the central towns, some buried alive out on some lonely mountain, or at the source of some little stream in barrios, with perhaps not more than three or four houses in sight.”¹²⁸

This new position of the supervising teacher was clearly gendered by the BIA and by male and female teachers as a masculine post. Fisher, who arrived in the early months of 1904, was almost immediately appointed as a supervising teacher, after going to the Bureau of Education to complain vociferously about his difficulty in getting back his gun, which had been taken away at customs. David Barrows, the General Superintendent of Education, was clearly impressed with Fisher’s gumption, telling him, “Fisher, we need men like you badly and I am sure you will fill the bill for the kind of work we are now just starting. We want men to assert themselves like you have done...”¹²⁹ In his report for that year, Barrows articulated the qualities he believed supervising teachers must possess, declaring it “obvious that to do this work successfully calls for a very high type

¹²⁷ W.S. Washburn, Letter to Chief, Bureau of Insular Affairs, January 27, 1904., Folder 470, Box 84, RG 350, NARA.

¹²⁸ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 146-147.

¹²⁹ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 41-42.

of young man – one who has youth, physical strength, endurance, courage, kindness of heart, and willingness to give freely of his time and strength.”¹³⁰ In an article published in 1914, Mary Helen Fee asserted that the life of a supervising teacher was “an arduous one,” as “he must know his district thoroughly, no matter how wild it may be, and must keep continually on the move; he must ford rivers, or swim them, must ride or walk over mountain trails as chance decrees, and must face danger from natural causes.” In addition, he must be “tactful, but firm,” must have “energy untiring, forethought, and initiative,” must learn all there is to know about the work which he oversees, and must keep the Filipinos under him “up to their tasks without antagonizing or discouraging them.” It was, Fee concluded, “a man’s work being a supervising teacher in the Philippines, and five or ten years’ work under the Bureau is an educative process that brings out all there is of capacity, character and endurance in the subject.”¹³¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that women comprised a tiny percentage of supervising teachers.¹³² One female supervising teacher, probably Minnie E. Jessup, acknowledged that the position was “not one which women can well fill,” although she “had the great privilege” of being assigned as supervising teacher of La Trinidad, Benguet Province, as she was informed, “until a man could be found for the place.”¹³³ Her work among the Benguet Igorots included “long horse-back rides,” as well as “the

¹³⁰ Barrows, “Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education, 1905,” in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905*, 751.

¹³¹ Fee, “The Educational Work of the United States in the Philippines,” in *Parents and Their Problems: Child Welfare in Home, School, Church and State*, ed. Mary Harmon Weeks (Washington, D.C.: The National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, 1914), 282-283.

¹³² For the academic year 1911-1912, there were 240 American men assigned as supervising teachers, and only fourteen women, seven of whom were stationed in Manila. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1912), 62-63.

¹³³ Camilo Osias, “The Philippine Supervising Teacher,” pg 226, Vol. 4, Box 5, Marquardt Papers. Osias’ article, which is reproduced in Marquardt’s scrapbook, includes the excerpt of a letter or report from the female supervising teacher, who would appear to be Minnie E. Jessup. Jessup was listed as the principal teacher for La Trinidad in the 1906 roster of the Bureau of Education.

fording of the rivers, at times as gentle as lowland brooks, at others swollen into roaring mountain torrents,” in order to visit her schools. These experiences, as well as recollections of Igorot councilmen “interested in doing all they could to help the schools” and Igorot schoolchildren eager to show off what they were learning “remain as treasured pictures in the memory of a woman who was for a short time a supervising teacher.”¹³⁴ Despite her allowance that women could not well fill the position of supervising teacher, Jessup describes herself as doing that work exactly, fording rivers and trekking on horseback to supervise her station. In addition, despite Fee’s description of the supervising teacher’s work as “a man’s work,” she also declared that “the initiative and utilitarian aptness” of both female and male supervising teachers were to credit for the creation of a broader industrial educational system than was originally conceived.¹³⁵

Regardless of the official ban on appointing single women, unmarried women continued to find ways to obtain positions teaching in the Philippines. Only a few months after the civil service policy was declared, David Barrows, the Director of Education, proposed readmitting women to the teacher examinations, and hiring three young women who had been highly recommended to him by personal acquaintances. While Barrows remained convinced that empire was “pretty largely a man’s work,” he was willing to modify official policy in favor of a few women with personal connections.¹³⁶ Other well-connected women also managed to get positions teaching in the Philippines. Elizabeth Willis was appointed as a teacher in 1910, probably because

¹³⁴ Camilo Osias, “The Philippine Supervising Teacher,” pg 226, Vol. 4, Box 5, Marquardt Papers.

¹³⁵ Fee, “The Educational Work of the United States in the Philippines,” 283-284.

¹³⁶ David P. Barrows, “Regarding appointment of Miss Florence Painter as teacher in the Bureau of Education,” Manila, June 9, 1904, and “Re application for appointment Misses Sallie and Emma Cotton, of Versailles, Kentucky.” July 1, 1904, in Folder 470, Box 84, RG 350, NARA; and Barrows, Letter to Sarah Rixley Smith, September 29, 1904, Folder 5, Box 1, David P. Barrows Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

her uncle, Fred Wilson, was the Treasurer for Iloilo Province and later in the Moro Province. Even women without connections to influential colonial officials, however, found ways to obtain appointments. W.W. Marquardt recalled an incident in which “Castile,” an American teacher, came to his office to inform him that two women he had known in the United States had written to him for permission to use his name in claiming that they were affianced to a teacher in the islands. According to Marquardt, the applications were received at different times, and both “received appointments and both came out, but neither one married Castile.”¹³⁷ While a small number of single female teachers were able to get around the restrictions on their appointment, either by virtue of being highly recommended by civil officials or close friends, or by hoodwinking the Civil Service, the government would never hire single women in the numbers that it had during the early years of American education.

The appointment of African Americans as teachers in the Philippines also seems to have been contested and debated during the formative years of colonial education. The official policy of the BIA, as stated frequently in letters to African Americans interested in working in the Philippines, was that there was “no bar to the examination and appointment of colored men in the Philippines.”¹³⁸ There does not appear, however, to have been a clear de facto policy for appointing nonwhite teachers. While a handful of black teachers were appointed, many of whom spent decades in the Philippines, it

¹³⁷ Marquardt, “Some Single, Some Married, Some Divorced, Some Neither Single, Married, Nor Divorced,” 73-74, Vol. 8, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. Marquardt does not indicate when this took place, though in his preface to the stories in the article, he does note that “many years have elapsed since the following events took place.” As the scrapbook holds papers written from 1922 to 1930, it seems reasonable to assume that it happened between 1901 and 1915.

¹³⁸ Frank McIntyre, Letter to William Greene, March 14, 1907, Folder 1846, Box 226, Classified Files, 1898-1914, RG 350, NARA. Folder 1846 contains numerous letters from potential applicants to the civil service in the Philippines, inquiring as to whether they would be considered for employment there.

appears that no new black teachers were appointed after the first decade of colonization.¹³⁹

White Man's Danger

Despite the opportunities to self-invent afforded by a position within colonial education, there were limits to the teachers' ability to behave as they liked. Teachers were vulnerable to the judgments of other Americans and Filipinos in their communities; adverse judgments could result not only in censure or being passed over for a raise in salary or promotion, but could even in extreme cases result in teachers being dismissed if they were perceived to be acting inappropriately for their position.

While being an official member of empire afforded opportunities for professional advancement and for the fulfillment of imperial fantasies, white male teachers were also aware of the supposed dangers of imperial life; the fear of racial and moral degeneracy as represented by indulging in previously taboo behavior like drinking alcoholic spirits, playing cards, and dancing on the Sabbath, losing one's vigorous work ethic and desire for self-improvement, and the ultimate imperial sin: falling in love with and marrying a native woman.

Many, though certainly not all, of the teachers came to the islands with fairly strict ideas about the impropriety of drinking alcohol, smoking, playing cards, and observing the Sabbath. Even before reaching the Philippines, however, these beliefs fell under fairly rigorous testing, as groups of teachers on the transports smoked and played cards. Social drinking was also fairly common among the elite classes of Filipinos. While giving advice to new teachers, W.W. Marquardt declared that the pedagogues had

¹³⁹ As mentioned previously, it is impossible to be sure whether black teachers were appointed after 1910, as no systematic records of the race of teachers were kept. However, I have not been able to find any evidence that black teachers were appointed after that period, and there is evidence to suggest that the BIA chose to stop appointing black teachers.

“doubtless been advised before reaching Tacloban that it is necessary to take a certain amount of alcoholic stimulant if you would enjoy good health in the tropic. Forget it. It is not true.” It was equally untrue, he continued, that teachers “must drink in order to have any standing among either Americans or natives,” though he warned teachers belonging to “the total prohibition class ... not to deride those who are not in your class” as they were in the minority in the islands and because “a man who can use liquor and not abuse it, is a stronger man than one who is afraid to use it at all.” Marquardt continued that teachers who drank in moderation must “be careful that you do not go to excess. Most of the restraints to which you were accustomed at home are now gone,” concluding that “it is mighty easy to slide down hill over here.”¹⁴⁰ True manly self-control, for Marquardt, was evidenced not from abstaining absolutely, but from being able to partake in moderation.

In the same vein, Marquardt warned the new teachers about the dangers of mental degeneracy, noting that the censure, “He has missed too many boats,” was more frequently applied to those Americans whose “mental powers” had deteriorated than to those who had suffered ill health. Many teachers, Marquardt continued, came to the Philippines firmly intending to continue studying outside of school hours, but “mighty few carry out their intentions.”¹⁴¹ The only preventative against “despondency and fear of imaginary ills” therefore, was for a teacher to throw himself into his work, to have “faith in the ultimate outcome of his efforts,” the ability to “meet all obstacles cheerfully,” and to “learn to consider broken promises, cholera, dysentery, and typhoons as part of the regular work.”¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Marquardt, “Advice to New Teachers,” pg 160, Vol. 6, Box 5, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁴¹ Marquardt, “Advice to New Teachers,” pg 161, Vol. 6, Box 5, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁴² Marquardt, “Advice to New Teachers,” pg 162, Vol. 6, Box 5, Marquardt Papers.

Herbert D. Fisher was especially concerned about the dangers that the tropics could hold for a white man. He became good friends with a British ex-patriot, W.D. Buxton, who became a stand-in for the classical trope of the imperial degenerate, a fairly heavy drinker who had become content to remain in the Philippines permanently and, even more damaging, had taken a Filipino *querida* (mistress).¹⁴³ Fisher evidently felt that he needed to continually remind himself of his status as a white man to avoid degenerating to the level of the Filipinos around him. The worst and final sin, for Fisher, would be to so far forget himself as to fall in love with or marry a native woman. As a single man, Fisher would often spend his evenings with Filipinos, dancing and playing games with the young women, though he notes that he was “pretty much a Southerner on the race question, and I first felt that I was slipping a little by accepting so much of their hospitality.”¹⁴⁴ At one point, Fisher was tempted to marry a young woman from Palompon, but, in his telling, she quoted the Kipling line, “East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet,” at him, ending the affair.¹⁴⁵

Nor was Fisher the only American to contemplate, despite racial prejudices, marrying a Filipina. Several of the teachers married women from the towns in which they were stationed, usually daughters of the local elite. American reactions to these unions varied widely from town to town, and often depended on the wealth and status of the Filipino family married into, as well as the personal feelings of the other Americans in the community, especially the teacher’s provincial superintendent. Louis Baun articulated the most common objection given to such matches, writing, “I do not fancy

¹⁴³ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, passim. Mary Helen Fee also uses a fictional degenerate Briton as a foil to her American hero in her novel, *The Locusts’ Years*. Fee, *The Locusts’ Years* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912).

¹⁴⁴ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 80.

¹⁴⁵ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 319.

the idea of Americans marrying Filipinas, though some of them are quite comely, fairly intelligent, and no doubt make good wives as far as bearing children and attending to the house is concerned. But it is much easier to get down to their level than to bring them up to our's."¹⁴⁶ Despite his role in civilizing and Americanizing Filipinos, Baun was skeptical that in a contest between Filipino and American habits, the latter would win out.

John D. DeHuff recorded his own efforts to dissuade a friend and fellow teacher, W.A. Buck, from marrying a native woman, without success. He traces out the declension narrative of his friend's time in the Philippines:

A victim of the inertia of the East, he lost his bearings completely. Next step, marriage to a 'damsel mahogany brown.' Then, gin – 'sandpaper gin', any kind of gin – at first a few 'shots' a day, then a pint, then double that amount, and often more.... I removed to another part of the islands and did not see him again until the other day at the Hospital. Tuberculosis and dysentery are finishing him off, but he whistles and sings the long days away and tells how he will soon be on his way back to 'God's Country' with S---- and his little daughter to begin life anew! All of which merely shows how a good man can slump.¹⁴⁷

DeHuff presents Buck's death as a narrative of racial degeneracy in empire; marriage to a native woman, the abuse of alcohol, and finally, death.

Even if men who married native women managed to avoid physical death, they often fell victim to a sort of social death in the narratives of American teachers. Louis H. Lisk, a teacher stationed in Iloilo, noted that, in the Philippines, an "American's house was virtually a hotel for travelling Americans." Even if the owner was not at home, "the stranger was expected to take possession of house and servants. It was really considered quite discourteous not to do so." This hospitality had limits, however. Lisk continued

¹⁴⁶ Louis D. Baun, Letter to Mother, February 9, 1902, *Serving America's First Peace Corps: Letters of Louis D. Baun, Written en route to; and from the Philippines, September 12, 1901 – March 30, 1903*, ed. A. Ruth Sayer (Wakefield, RI: A. Ruth Sayer, 1971), 22.

¹⁴⁷ DeHuff, "Memories of Orient Seas," 363-364, Willis DeHuff Papers. It is true that Buck did die around that time, as it is mentioned in another account by a Thomasite. Lewis S. Thomas, Letter, August 2, 1913, "Early Experiences of American Teachers," pg 341, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

that there “were a few ex-soldiers married to the low class of native scattered about the country who were not allowed these privileges,” and went on to describe one, “the lowest of the low,” who imposed on the hospitality of a teacher new to the town until Lisk and another American were able to ship him off to Cebu. Lisk concluded that the new teacher “learned that there are Americans and Americans.”¹⁴⁸ Those soldiers who married Filipinas without money or social status, therefore, were sometimes viewed as having degenerated so far that they lost the privileges of being white and American (since the two, as discussed above, were often conflated); they essentially lost their status as Americans. As teachers tended to marry the daughters of elite men, the social stigma of their marriages was not as extreme.¹⁴⁹ However, Philinda Rand did note the case of an American teacher, an ex-soldier, in her town, who had married a Filipina “for her money and hacienda.” Rand found him “harmless,” but as he was “not considered an addition to American society here,” it was up to her and Purcell “to freeze him.” Life was more difficult in the Philippines than anywhere else, Rand concluded, and it was “very strange to realize that every American in the place is a subject for discussion with every other American.”¹⁵⁰ Whatever Rand thought of the man, then, she was not willing to expose

¹⁴⁸ Louis H. Lisk, Letter, September 27, 1913, “Early Experiences of American Teachers,” 327-328, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. Several other teachers remarked on the presence of ex-soldiers in their towns, who lived with (and off) native women. Both Benjamin E. Neal and Blaine Free Moore advocated the forcible removal of such Americans from the islands, Neal noting that a “man degenerates rapidly in this country, away from all good influence, unless he goes to work and keeps at work.” Neal, Diary entry, January 2, 1903, Transcript of Diary, Folder 5, Neal Papers, and Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, September 28, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹⁴⁹ Pattie Paxton Hewitt claims in her memoir that N. Richmond Baugh lost his position as a result of his marriage to a native woman in Iloilo, but this does not appear to be true. She wrote that Baugh married his second wife shortly after the death of his first wife, but the first Mrs. Baugh died of cholera in August of 1903, and as of the 1908 roster, Baugh is still listed as a teacher. See John D. DeHuff, Diary entry, August 23, 1903, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers; Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 30; and *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), 63.

¹⁵⁰ Rand, Letter to Aunt, February 24, 1902, Folder 9, PRA Papers.

herself to censure for failing to snub an American who had been ostracized by other Americans.

Teaching in the Philippines offered white, American men professional, financial, and personal opportunities. Their status, however, was predicated on their successful enactment of civilization in the eyes of their community. While it was acceptable for white men to don gee strings and pretend to be savages, it was not acceptable to appear to choose the Filipino, and particularly the lower-class Filipino, way of living over the American. White men could act out fantasies of racial regression, but if they tried to transgress the bounds of American standards in reality, they risked losing their privileged status. If they failed to demonstrate proper civilized behavior in the eyes of the Department of Education, their superintendents, or the communities in which they lived, not only could the teachers lose their jobs and position within empire, their very status as a white American, and the attendant privileges of race and nationality, could be taken away.

Attitudes toward marriage with Filipinas were markedly different among African Americans in the Philippines. Benjamin E. Neal declared that while “white fellows” who married native women were “broken up” when their comrades went home without them, the “colored soldiers do not mind it so much to be married and live here.”¹⁵¹ This is not surprising, given the opportunity settlement in the Philippines offered to escape systematic oppression and, in some places, racial terror. During his travels in Luzon, T. Thomas Fortune recounted meeting a “coal black” trooper who was married to a Filipina, owned a small canteen and “cultivated a large rice plantation.” This man was happy and did not “expect to return to the United States,” and, Thomas concluded, “what black man

¹⁵¹ Neal, Diary entry, December 15, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

out of it and doing well, should?”¹⁵² Intermarriage was not viewed as a degradation, but rather as an opportunity for black men to do well for themselves. In noting the marriage of Bedford B. Hunter to Paz Montilla, “the daughter of a wealthy Filipino at Igiug,” the black periodical the *Topeka Plaindealer* boasted that Hunter was becoming “one of the big men in the province in which he resides.”¹⁵³

White Women’s Danger

While white women, especially single women, had unprecedented freedom in the Philippines, to live in their own home, to have their own servants, and to depict themselves as brave, capable, and independent, they were not entirely free of a supervisory gaze. Both white Americans and Filipinos watched white women, and limited the ways in which they could live. Especially for those stationed in a provincial capital, white women were always aware that their behavior was being monitored. While Pattie Paxton was stationed in Bacolod, one building was used for the schoolhouse, superintendent’s office, as well as the homes of the superintendent and American teachers. Because of this situation, she “suffered from a constant feeling of restraint, a fear of supervision.” In contrast, when she was later transferred to Valladolid, “there was no restraint, but a feeling of perfect freedom to which pupils and teachers responded well.”¹⁵⁴ When Rand was transferred to Lingayen in 1904, she underwent the reverse of Paxton’s experience. From a station in which she was largely independent and free from supervision, in Lingayen Rand appeared to be boarding with E.G. Turner, the Division Superintendent for Pangasinan. She reported that she did not “like accounting to Mr. Turner for every move I make,” and became angry when Turner presumed to lecture her

¹⁵² T. Thomas Fortune, “The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip Through the Island of Luzon,” *The Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (June, 1904): 243.

¹⁵³ “A Kansan Weds in the Philippines,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, July 5, 1907, pg. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Paxton, “Memoir,” 19.

on “the folly of going walking on a moonlight evening,” maintaining that she was the best judge of her own behavior, and was perfectly capable of preserving her reputation and the respect of the townspeople.¹⁵⁵

The feeling of being watched by both Americans and Filipinos was a real one. Anna M. Donaldson recalled that she and other female teachers felt “that every act, no matter how insignificant, was regarded as significant much beyond its due. Our ‘goings out and our comings in’, our entire ‘walk and conversation’ were watched most sedulously.” Donaldson concluded, “I am under the impression that the lives of us American women were subjected to a more exacting scrutiny than those of the men, for how could women go about freely as we did and take proper care of themselves and remain good?”¹⁵⁶ This concern about women’s behavior was evident among American men as well. May Faurote recalled an official in Manila who “gave us little private talks on various subjects among other things our department. The tender way in which he told us that if [we] really wished to go out evenings he would accompany us and the way in which he called us, ‘my dear girls,’ was touching in the extreme, especially the ‘dear girl’ part as most of us were on the wrong side of twenty five, and a large majority of thirty, and had long been initiated into the intricacies of taking care of ourselves.”¹⁵⁷

Despite the fact that single women depicted themselves as capable of taking care of themselves and being the best judges of the propriety of their behavior, there could be

¹⁵⁵ Rand, Letter to Katie, July 31, 1904, Folder 18, PRA Papers.

¹⁵⁶ Anna M. Donaldson, “Account of First Two Years of Work in the Philippines,” pg 258, “Early Experiences of American Teachers,” Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. This sense that female teachers were under close scrutiny may have been influenced by her own experience. Benjamin E. Neal noted that there had been a “great deal of talk about one of the lady teachers here,” and later that “Miss Donaldson,” a teacher from Minnesota, was leaving Dagupan because there had “been so much talk about her that she is going south to teach with her aunt.” The “Miss Donaldson” was probably Eleanor Donaldson, who is listed as an alumna of the University of Minnesota in the *Log of the Thomas*. Anna M. Donaldson, presumably her aunt, was teaching in Nueva Caceres at that time. Neal, Diary entries, October 24, 1902, July 13, 1903, and August 18, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers; and Gleason, ed., *The Log of the Thomas*, 68.

¹⁵⁷ Faurote, Letter, pg 265-266, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

real ramifications if a teacher were perceived as flaunting social mores or proper comportment. At least one female teacher, a Miss Maxwell, did lose her position as a result of perceived transgressions of standards of sexual behavior. Miss Maxwell, Bernard Moses, declared, had “established, almost immediately on her arrival in Dagupan, a questionable association with one of the clerks in the Commissary Department.” Her conduct was considered inappropriate to the point that she was asked to leave the home of the family with whom she had been staying. Maxwell married the commissary clerk, but the scandal did not abate, and she was eventually fired by Fred Atkinson. Moses reflected that even that step would not “restore the former state of things,” and that her conduct had “contributed to discrediting the American teacher and the stain will remain until it is gradually removed by the good conduct of her successors.” Teachers, especially female teachers, were expected to tailor their behavior so as not to arouse the disapprobation of the community in which they were stationed. The decorum and private conduct of teachers was thus linked to the overall success of the educational system and thereby the entire imperial project.¹⁵⁸ Just as white men could lose their full status as Americans if they were perceived to be racially degenerating, white women could lose their status if they were seen to be transgressing accepted codes of female sexual behavior.

Conclusion

All of the American teachers who traveled to the Philippines arrived with expectations about what their experience would be like and what opportunities would present themselves. These teachers, male and female, black and white, hoped to represent themselves in new ways, drawing on their position within the colonial

¹⁵⁸ Moses, Diary entry, August 2, 1901, “Philippine Diary, Vol. 4.

government as well as their status as Americans (and for some, their racial and gender identities) to depict themselves as “strenuous” adventurers and colonial professionals. They also expected, especially the male teachers, that their experience would benefit them both financially and professionally. Once in empire, the teachers found that they would have to adapt to conditions on the ground. Some found their imperial ambitions frustrated by a failure to save money or receive promotions, and left empire disillusioned. For those who looked to empire for the opportunity to enact a colonial narrative of adventure, however, teaching in the Philippines was a more satisfying experience. While the inclusion of white female and black male teachers was limited after the first few years of American education, those who found a place within the colonial bureaucracy were able to take advantage of both concrete and intangible opportunities. For white male teachers, the shift to using American teachers primarily as supervisors reinforced their ability to play the hero as they traveled from barrio to barrio.

Chapter Three

A Political Education:

Americans, Filipinos, and the Meanings of Instruction

Mary Helen Fee was teaching in Manila in 1907, when her first co-authored textbook, *The First Year Book*, came out. Upon receiving her copy, Fee eagerly showed it to one of her best students, who was living with her. To Fee's astonishment, the girl burst into tears after looking through the book, able only to repeat the phrase, "poor Filipino trash." Fee had previously taught the student that "poor white trash" was an expression used by "Southern negroes" as "a term of derision for those who fail to live up to the traditions of race and family." Fee finally realized that the girl was upset because of the illustrations in the book, in which Filipino boys and girls were either in *chinelas* (sandals) or barefoot and wearing *camisas* (loose shirts) instead of American-style dresses and suits.



Figure 4: Illustration of Children from *The First Year Book*

Fee “pointed out to her that not one Filipino child in a hundred dresses otherwise,” but this argument did not sway her distraught pupil. “The children in the American readers wore natty jackets and hats and high-heeled shoes, and winter wraps, even at play, and she wanted the Filipino children to look the same.”¹

This episode illuminates the gulf of understanding that lay between American teachers and their Filipino students. For Fee, the children in the book were depicted faithfully; that was how most Filipino children dressed. Furthermore, the children were not depicted as dirty or ugly – indeed, the frontispiece illustration even looks remarkably similar to the one used for the *Arnold Primer*, a standard primary textbook. For her student, however, the differentiation in dress must have seemed as though Filipino children were being relegated to lower status than white children, as being essentially and permanently seen as “less than” American children.



Figure 5: Frontispiece of the *Arnold Primer* Figure 6: Frontispiece of *The First Year Book*

¹ Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 93-94.

While Fee hoped that her students would learn American ways, she also wanted them to recognize their difference, to accept and thrive within their designated stations in life. This desire permeated the American educational system, which attempted to prepare students for lives as farmers or tradesmen, and was reflected in Fee's textbook. The book abounded with illustrations of little boys working in fields alongside *carabaos*, or water buffalos, or as carpenters and fishermen. In one, a boy was hitched to a little cart, pretending to be a carabao. This illustration was accompanied by the text, "You cannot play, Pedro. You are a little carabao. A carabao works."²



Figure 7: Illustration of Boys Playing from *The First Year Book*

For Fee, these lines were probably innocuous, merely children playing at being animals. For Filipino students, however, the lesson would have been clear: they, like the carabao, a beast of burden, must work. Teachers tried to Americanize their pupils, reshaping their minds and bodies according to U.S. standards. But at the same time, they often denied the ability of Filipino students to ever truly become civilized, or the equal of Americans.

² Mary H. Fee, Margaret A. Purcell, Parker H. Fillmore, and John W. Ritchie, *The First Year Book* (Manila: World Book Company, 1907), 25.

In turn, Filipinos refused to accept this permanent second class status, pushing back with their own understandings about civilization, Filipino capacity, and the meaning of colonial education.

Whatever imperial fantasies teachers brought with them to the Philippines, and however much they wished to be Robinson Crusoes, they still had to engage with the purpose for which they were sent to the islands – teaching. Within a few months of their arrival, most of the teachers had received their assignments and had arrived in their new stations. Encountering starkly different teaching conditions than most of them had known before, and faced with pupils and teachers who did not speak English, and who were used to very different pedagogical approaches, the Thomasites often responded with frustration and cynicism. Throughout the early years of colonial education, some American teachers expressed skepticism about the instruction they were providing and the good it was accomplishing. When teachers' pessimism about the efficacy of popular education became too apparent, however, their students proved willing to stand up in defense of their national and individual capacity. As time went on, Filipino students and teachers both became more willing to challenge the authority of American teachers as arbiters of their national progress, and articulate their own demands for personal dignity and national autonomy.

Examining the system of colonial education and the relationships created and negotiated by teachers and students illuminates the nuanced conversations and contestations about empire, Filipino capacity, and the future of the Philippine nation taking place during the early years of the twentieth century. The schoolhouse was an important site of imperial interactions, a primary arena in which the fate of the country and its citizens would be debated and fought out. As noted in Chapter One, public instruction was a central metaphor of the colonial state, used to demonstrate the

benevolence of the American government. Schools were seen as a microcosm for the tutelage provided to the Philippine nation as a whole.³ Thus, what was or was not taught in the schools, how students absorbed and reacted to this education, teacher-student relationships, and the ways in which Filipinos protested real or perceived injustices took on a significance that went well beyond the classroom.

The Old and the New

American teachers were not operating on an educational blank slate. As demonstrated in Chapter One, public education had been established by the Spanish government during the mid-nineteenth century, although Spanish schools did not reach out as far into the provinces as American schools eventually would. The Spanish system of education had been operated for the most part by friars and priests in the islands. The curriculum in these schools was heavily focused on religious instruction. After the 1863 educational reform, the Spanish colonial government began to employ lay teachers and to expand secular tuition. These reforms were not implemented evenly, however, and the friars largely maintained control over education.⁴ When American soldiers were detailed to reopen schools and begin teaching English, they often worked with a previously-established system of teachers and students. When American civilian teachers arrived in their new stations, therefore, they were often stepping into the husk of a Spanish educational system. Many of the first schoolhouses were those that had been used before the war, and many of the same teachers were employed. The task of the American teachers, then, was not always to build a school from the ground up (though some

³ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 201.

⁴ Judith Raftery, "Textbook Wars: Governor-General James Francis Smith and the Protestant-Catholic Conflict in Public Education in the Philippines, 1904-1907," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer, 1998): 147-148. Despite the ostensible secularization, parish priest still wielded considerable influence over the career of teachers. See Ma. Luisa Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 61-71.

teachers did face that challenge), but to reform existing schools according to American standards. In some ways, this was a more challenging task, as teachers had to contend with the expectations of the town as to what education meant. A common complaint by American teachers was that under the Spanish system, students had learned by rote, able to parrot back long passages of text, but understanding little of what they had memorized.⁵ In addition, Walter W. Marquardt declared that while most parents wanted their children to be educated, they expected that two or three years would be sufficient, noting that under the Spanish system a bachelor degree could be obtained in a total of seven years of schooling.⁶

Many of the teachers also faced covert or open resistance from the local *padre*, or priest. This was at times a reaction to the fear that American schools would teach Protestantism, or a reflection of anti-American nationalist fervor. Opposition could also be aroused by the simple fact that American teachers were displacing the religious orders from their control over education. George N. Briggs recalled that on the day his school opened, most of the children in the town were attending a school in the convent, which the town's priest had begun only the day before. The priest had declared the American schools to be "the school of the devil," and warned the townspeople not to enroll their children. Later, the priest staged a procession of the convent school students, marching in the streets around the American schools, to drive out the devil from the schools. Upon hearing this, Briggs told the presidente that they were sure the intervention had worked, and that the devil had been successfully eradicated. A *bandilla* (public announcement) was sent out letting the town know that the school was devil-free, and attendance rose

⁵ Theophilus G. Steward, Journal Entry, December 5, 1899, Reel 4, Theophilus G. Steward Papers [hereafter Steward Papers], Schomburg Library.

⁶ Walter W. Marquardt, "Philippine Primary Schools," pgs. 3-4, Folder 1, Box 6, Walter William Marquardt Papers [hereafter Marquardt Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

accordingly. Briggs concluded that once the local priests understood the real purpose of the schools, their hostility dissipated, and many even cooperated with American educational efforts.⁷ Despite initial opposition, many padres may have decided that it was in their interest to support the schools, in order to have more influence over the schools than they would have if they remained openly antagonistic.

The choice to shun the American schools in favor of private institutions may have been partly reflected class divisions. When Rand and Purcell arrived in Silay, they agreed that Margaret would teach the boys and that Philinda would teach the girls' school, located on the first floor of a private home. Rand wrote home during her first months that the room was a dirty and unpleasant place for a school, and that her students consisted mainly of "sets from the poorer families as none of the better class will send their girls to the public school," preferring instead the private religious schools begun under the Spanish.⁸ At least in the first years of American colonization, then, these private schools seem to have had more elite reputations, especially since the public schools enrolled students from all class backgrounds. Rand noted that some of her students were bright, but that they were mainly from the "better class," while those who wore "the red table cloth skirts" were "usually very stupid," and those who had "small pox marks are absolutely feeble minded."⁹ On the back of a photograph of her students, Rand noted the poorest students wore pieces of plaid cloth tied around their waists, while the richest students wore *camisas* and *sayas* (long skirts).¹⁰ Of course, choosing to attend a Spanish over an American school could also be a rejection of American authority.

⁷ George N. Briggs, Letter to Frank L. Crone, August 21, 1913, Vol. 2, pgs. 228-230, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁸ Rand, Letter to Malcolm, undated, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

⁹ Rand, Letter to Kathie, December 3, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

¹⁰ Rand, Photograph of students, Folder 5, PRA Papers.



Figure 8: Rand's Students in Silay (Philinda Parsons Rand Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute)

The wartime experience of a particular island, province or town often dictated its sentiment toward the American teachers and the schools. George C. Kindley recalled that he stayed in one town only ten weeks, as the people there were angry at their treatment by General Bell, and as a result “did not want the government, the school, or the teacher.” In his subsequent stations, however, while the townspeople did not wholeheartedly support the American government, they welcomed him warmly and supported the work of the schools.¹¹ When a town had a military regiment stationed

¹¹ George C. Kindley, Letter to Frank L. Crone, July 4, 1913, Vol. 2, pg. 318, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

nearby, it could also influence the support for the schools. Frank R. White, a teacher who became the Assistant Director of Education, admitted that some of the initial enthusiasm of Filipinos for school affairs may have been primarily due to the involvement of the military in setting up these schools and the fear that municipal officials who did not seem eager for a school might be singled out for investigation.¹² A town's reception of teachers could also be split along generational lines. Anna M. Donaldson reported that while the "younger generation seemed at all times to regard the government with friendliness," the older people in her station viewed the Americans with suspicion. Donaldson accounted for this difference through the fact that the older generation saw "their influence slipping away," while the young people of the town understood that "opportunity for influence lay in the new order."¹³

In order to combat sluggish enrollment, teachers often appealed to the presidente for help. In some towns, the municipal council would institute a fine for any parents who neglected to send their child to school.¹⁴ In other areas, local policemen were simply employed as truant officers. Philinda Rand reported that the presidente of Silay, her station, had ordered the native police to find all the absent children and bring them to school.¹⁵ In either case, the support of the presidente was crucial to compel attendance, as will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

¹² Peter J. Tarr, "The Education of the Thomasites: American School Teachers in Philippine Colonial Society, 1901-1913," (PhD Diss, Cornell University, 2006), 126-127.

¹³ Anna M. Donaldson, "Account of First Two Years of Work in the Philippines," Vol. 2, pgs. 257-258., Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁴ Marquardt, Diary entry, August 23, 1901, Vol. 1, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁵ Philinda Rand, letter to Kathie, December 3, 1901, Folder 8, Philinda Rand Anglemeyer Papers [hereafter PRA Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute. See also, Ralph Kent Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino* (New York: Everywhere Publishing Company, 1912), 168-169.

Reforming Bodies

Once the schoolrooms were full, the teachers' first lessons often focused on teaching American standards of behavior, which they viewed as an essential first step toward civilization. Many of the teachers described their first days teaching as a process of creating order out of chaos. On her first day in Capiz, the division superintendent sent Fee to the boys' school to take over for the American male teacher, who was needed to accompany the division superintendent to the stations further inland, as he spoke both Spanish and Visayan. Fee declared that teaching one hundred and eighty-nine vociferous Filipino boys was "the most strenuous five hours' labor I ever put in."¹⁶ After three days, the male teacher returned, and Fee prepared for the opening of her girls' school. Her own school was contained in one big room which the Division Superintendent hoped to divide into three rooms. In the meantime, Fee used the set up to teach her first and most important lessons in bodily comportment. Describing her struggles to get the students to walk as a group quietly from one end of the room to the other, and to remain quiet while reading, Fee exulted that slowly, "disorder and excitement" were overcome, and "the school began to show the organization and discipline to which Americans are accustomed."¹⁷

Rand also excoriated the lack of order in the classroom, remarking that the students wandered around the classroom freely, studied aloud, and spat on the floor.¹⁸ Combating this last, and worst, offense, Rand reported that after "snipping lips several times," the students began to go to the window to expectorate.¹⁹ Rand also posted a new

¹⁶ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 81.

¹⁷ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 85.

¹⁸ Rand, Letter to Malcolm, undated, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

¹⁹ Rand, Journal entry, October 2, 1901, Folder 15, PRA Papers. I have been unable to find out exactly what "snipping lips" entailed, although it sounds quite unpleasant.

list of rules that her students learned to follow, including no studying aloud, no chewing betel on the way to school, and no spitting on the floor.²⁰ Mary Cole, a teacher stationed in Palo, also struggled to break her students' habits of studying aloud, spitting on the floor, and standing up and shouting "good morning" and "good evening" as a class.²¹ To her great disgust, she discovered two weeks later that some of her girls had begun spitting in their desks, as they were no longer allowed to spit on the floor.²²

Teachers at times resorted to corporal punishment to discipline their students, at times prompting protest by parents and other community members. Walter W. Marquardt recorded that he "thrashed" some boys for writing on their desks, and beat eight students with a piece of rattan that he used for a riding crop, four for playing hook, and four for gambling.²³ The use of physical violence, however, varied greatly from place to place. Mary Cole noted that she and Harry never whipped their students, and that two other teachers who did do so had aroused ill will in the town and been transferred.²⁴ As time went on, moreover, Filipinos seemed to be more willing to speak out against corporal punishment. Blaine Free Moore declared that if he were given a free hand he could run a good school, but that whenever he would administer a punishment "that really amounts to something," the "whole community" would sign a petition stating that it was "contrary to their 'custombres' and that they can't stand for it."²⁵ While not all teachers utilized violence to enforce discipline, enough of them did so, and enough members of the community protested against this practice by 1903 that David Barrows,

²⁰ Rand, "Summary Written During World War II," Folder 14, PRA Papers.

²¹ Mary Cole, Letter to Brother and Sister, October 15, 1901, Folder 3, Harry and Mary Cole Papers [hereafter Cole Papers], Bentley Library.

²² Mary Cole, Diary entry, October 28, 1901, Folder 13, Cole Papers.

²³ Marquardt, Diary entries, August 23, 1901, and September 15, 1901, Vol. 1, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

²⁴ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, February 9, 1902, Folder 5, Box 1, Cole Papers.

²⁵ Blaine Free Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, September 16, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Blaine Free Moore Papers [hereafter Moore Papers], Library of Congress.

the Director of Education, issued a department circular forbidding the use of corporal punishment in secondary schools. This comprehended “not only whipping, but especially blows upon the face with the hand.”²⁶ An additional circular was issued under a year later, prohibiting the use of corporal punishment entirely, unless written permission was given by, and upon the request of, both parents.²⁷ The fact that not only one, but two circulars were issued regarding this sort of violence indicates both that it was not uncommon, and that students and parents had reacted sufficiently strongly against the practice to drive the Bureau of Education to ban it. It is not surprising that Barrows would focus first on corporal punishment against secondary school students first. The striking of students of high school age was treating them as children incapable of exercising reason and self-control. The 1903 circular reminded teachers that students in high school were “presumed to be no longer children but young men and women,” and therefore able to choose either to behave or to leave school.²⁸ Indeed, teachers seem to have difficulty regarding their students or any age as being adults in any meaningful sense. The failure of teachers to treat their students with physical or intellectual respect would be a main source of conflict in the years to come.

Beyond enforcing standards of behavior, teachers also functioned as regulators of health and hygiene, compiling a “health index” for each child and instructing students in principles of health.²⁹ Teachers also served as health inspectors for their towns, especially during outbreaks of diseases like cholera. During the cholera epidemic of

²⁶ Barrows, Circular No. 26, s. 1903, Nov 11, 1903, “General Circulars, 1903-1909,” unpublished manuscript, Bureau of Education, Philippine Islands, Herman B. Wells Library, Indiana University.

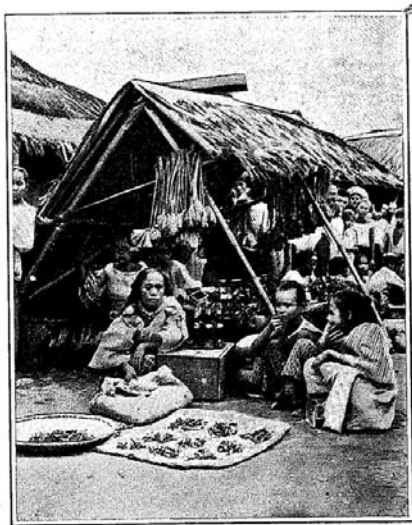
²⁷ Barrows, Circular No. 65, s. 1904, Sept 14, 1904, “General Circulars, 1903-1909.”

²⁸ Barrows, Circular No. 26, s. 1903, Nov 11, 1903, “General Circulars, 1903-1909,” unpublished manuscript, Bureau of Education, Philippine Islands, Herman B. Wells Library, Indiana University.

²⁹ Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 117.

1902, teachers were required to instruct the people in their town about the importance of boiling drinking water and the danger of eating uncooked fruits and vegetables.³⁰

These lessons in hygiene and behavior, however, were explicitly tied to the development of good citizens. The battle to teach American standards of hygiene and comportment in the schools was aided by such tools as Adeline Knapp's *How to Live: A Manual of Hygiene for Use in the Schools of the Philippine Islands*.³¹ *How to Live* taught just that: basic rules of health, cleanliness and comportment.



A BADLY ARRANGED MARKET.



A MARKET AS IT SHOULD BE.

Figure 9: Comparing a "Bad" Filipino Market with a "Good" American Market (Knapp, *How to Live*)

Being a good citizen, according to Knapp, meant everything from taking pride in keeping the school building and town neat and clean to keeping one's own body clean, eating wholesome food, and doing "nothing that will make our bodies less fit dwelling-places

³⁰ Fred Atkinson, "Circular to Teachers, No. 7," May 6, 1902, Folder 6, Cole Papers.

³¹ Atkinson, "Report of Fred Atkinson, Superintendent of Public Instruction," Appendix S, Exhibit H, in *Report of the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Army, in Four Parts, Part 2, in Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 379.

for our souls.”³² The book also linked proper behavior and cleanliness with whiteness. The illustrations in the book contrasted “wrong,” or Filipino, behaviors, with white Americans engaged in “proper” ways of doing things.

American teachers considered athletics to be an important tool in their campaign to reform Filipino bodies, as well as a vehicle of Americanization. Gerald Gems has argued that, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, progressive reformers viewed physical education and sport to be an effective way to teach newly-arrived immigrants “civic virtues, democratic values, and respect for authority.”³³ Baseball was introduced by American soldiers before the Thomasites arrived, and had been enthusiastically taken up by Filipinos. Fee reported that baseball was intensely popular in the Philippines, and that every “secondary school in the country has its nine and its school colors and yell, and the pupils go out and ‘root’ as enthusiastically as did ever freshmen of old Yale or Harvard. No Fourth of July can pass without its baseball game.”³⁴ As early as 1903, the school at Capiz had a team and played matches against schools from nearby towns. Fee was proud of the popularity of sports like baseball, basketball, and tennis, which she saw as important tools of assimilation, teaching American values. She recorded watching her young servants play a game of baseball in the street outside the house, and declared: “Thus are the beginnings of great movements in small things. Those children got more real Americanism out of that corrupted ball game than they did from singing ‘My Country, ‘t is of Thee’ every morning.”³⁵ Athletics in the schools had “raised standards” in Fee’s opinion, as demonstrated by the fact that

³² Adeline Knapp, *How to Live: A Manual of Hygiene for Use in the Schools of the Philippine Islands* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1902), 88-89.

³³ Gerald Gems, *The Athletic Crusade: Sports and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 10.

³⁴ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 283.

³⁵ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 286.

young Filipinos did not patronize the cock fighting pits. Fee declared that there “could be no higher testimonial to our educational work in the Philippines.”³⁶



Figure 10: A Game of Indoor Baseball, Probably in Tanauan, Leyte (Walter W. Marquardt Papers, Bentley Library, University of Michigan)

Sport was viewed as teaching not only of Americanization, but also important lessons about proper gender behavior. Both Filipino boys and girls were depicted as overly feminized and in need of vigorous activity. With the popularity of baseball, Walter W. Marquardt noted, one could now find boys and girls in “all parts of the

³⁶ Fee, “The Educational Work of the United States in the Philippines,” *Parents and Their Problems: Child Welfare in Home, School, Church and State*, ed. Mary Harmon Weeks (Washington, D.C.: National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, 1914), 285.

country, on vacant lots, in school yard, on little traveled streets ... playing this popular game and building up strength and muscle in this manner.”³⁷

Some teachers argued that athletics were a particularly important tool to teach Filipino girls. Mary Fee argued that before American colonization, “the Filipino girl had no outdoor life. Now she plays tennis, croquet, basketball, and golf, and at Baguio, the mountain capital, she is beginning to try horseback riding.”³⁸ Indeed, many schools had their own girls’ basketball and indoor baseball (softball) teams by the 1910s, a time when women’s participation in team sports was still in its infancy in the United States.



Figure 11: An Indoor Baseball Game at Baguio, 1912 (RG 350P, NARA)

³⁷ Marquardt, “Our Filipino Wards at School,” Vol. 4, Box 5, Marquardt Papers.

³⁸ Fee, “The Educational Work of the United States in the Philippines,” 285. Baguio, located in the mountains of northern Luzon, became a popular summer destination for Americans looking to escape the stifling heat of Manila. Governor Taft wanted it to become the summer capital of the government and asked Daniel Burnham, the famed architect, to create a plan for the mountain retreat. Eventually, Baguio boasted an American Teachers’ Camp, used as a combination summer camp and normal institute. See Karnow, *In Our Image*, 214-215; and Rebecca Tinio McKenna, “American Imperial Pastoral: The Baguio Scheme and the United States Design on the Philippines, 1898-1921” (Ph.D. Diss: Yale University, 2010).

While white, American girls had to fight against the idea that team sports promoted unfeminine and aggressive behavior, Filipinas were encouraged to play basketball or indoor baseball to help them become more civilized and Americanized.³⁹ Teachers often recorded their satisfaction that girls' participation in athletics forced them to wear clothes that were less restrictive than traditional Filipina dress.⁴⁰

Sport was so important for Filipino girls in the view of educational officials because Filipinas were seen as hyper-feminine and overly sheltered according to American standards. The rise of athletic culture was only one indication of changing understandings of gender during the American period. Louis Baun reported that since the arrival of his wife and him, many Filipinas had begun wearing American-style stockings, shoes, and skirts.⁴¹ Philinda Rand also reported meeting some Filipinas from Manila, who had not only American dress but also “a truly American manner.” When she went to shake their hands with “a limp paw after the fashion of these people,” she “was amazed to have it grabbed in a good grip, raised and shaken in regular theatre box style. Even more surprising, Rand saw two of these Americanized Filipinas out driving in a *calesa*, a two-wheeled carriage, which she declared must “have astounded the people of Bacolod.”⁴²

Rand credited these changes with the influence and example of American women. When she first arrived in Silay, Rand reported having a hard time organizing a night

³⁹ For more on the popularity of sport among women during the Progressive Era, and the efforts of college administrations to limit competition, see Margaret Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875 – 1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 47-49.

⁴⁰ By 1915, the Bureau of Education had introduced a “modern ‘hygenic skirt’” for girls to wear. Marquardt, “Standpoint,” pg. 172, Vol. 4, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁴¹ Louis D. Baun, letter to Mother, April 7, 1902, *Serving America's First Peace Corps: Letters of Louis D. Baun, Written en route to; and from the Philippines, September 12, 1901 – March 30, 1903*, ed. A. Ruth Baun Sayer (Wakefield, R.I.: A. Ruth Sayer, 1971), 35.

⁴² Rand, Letter to Auntie, April 12, 1903, Folder 10, PRA Papers.

school for women, because they would not go out in the evenings. She eventually arranged for them to come to her home for instruction from five to half past six o'clock.⁴³ Two years later, however, Rand took her highest division class out to a river for a lesson on rivers and soil. The eight female students, who had never been to the site before, went in *quilezes*, another type of two-wheeled carriage, while the boys walked and Rand and Purcell "policed the force on horseback." Rand reported that they all had "an awfully good time," and that it showed an amazing "change in ideas" on the part of the community. Rand compared the "horror of the people two years ago when I suggested that the girls come to the Casa Popular for evening school, and when there was some talk of putting the boys and girls in the same school," with their field trip of that day, in which her female and male students went together "as a matter of course, and not a mother nor an aunt among them. It looks encouraging."⁴⁴

By 1910, Fee, then teaching in Manila, had also noticed dramatic changes in gender relations. She noted that Filipino girls used to be accompanied everywhere by a large escort of family and friends, even when on business. The sight of American women going about alone was therefore both novel and shocking. In Manila, however, conditions were quickly changing. Fee reported that women could now walk about alone without having to endure comments from passing men. In addition, many upper-class Filipino families now allowed their daughters to go to school on the trolley car unaccompanied, and it was not unusual to "see three or four youngsters, all under ten, climbing on and off with their books, asking for transfers, and enjoying their liberty, who ten years ago would have been huddled in a quilez and guarded by an elderly woman

⁴³ Rand, Letter to Dear People, October 27, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

⁴⁴ Rand, Letter to Katie, August 9, 1903, Folder 10, PRA Papers.

servant.”⁴⁵ Not all who had noticed this change were happy about it, however. In a 1904 essay, Teodoro M. Kalaw, a Filipino journalist and editor, argued that English language instruction had made Filipinas “unconscious victims of modernity” who were bereft of their “native simplicity.” Insisting on being called “girls” rather than “dalagas” and reading books in English, Filipinas, Kalaw warned, would soon be “walking out alone” with “a handbag under the arm, just like bold little American misses.”⁴⁶ The behavior and dress of young Filipinos, and particularly young women, took on added significance in this context, and the choice between “modern” (American) and “traditional” (Filipino) became fraught with political meaning.⁴⁷

Creating Citizens

American teachers also taught lessons on democratic values and self-government. May Faurote declared that these lessons were at times difficult for her students, and even her assistant teachers, to grasp. It required, she noted, “much thoughtful consideration, on the parts of teachers and certain pupils” to understand “why the lower caste children should not do the menial tasks around the school,” or why the children of the upper class should not be given special treatment.⁴⁸

Mary Fee established in her school a “self-governing society” with the three most advanced classes to explicitly teach representative government and its functioning. An election was held, and officers were elected for three month terms. Fee noted that the children of the aristocratic families were elected almost exclusively, and that four out of

⁴⁵ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 127-128. “Dalaga” is Tagalog for an unmarried woman.

⁴⁶ Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989), 201-202.

⁴⁷For an excellent discussion of the politics of dress in the Philippines, see Mina Roces, “Is the Suffragist an American Colonial Construct?: Defining ‘the Filipino Woman’ in Colonial Philippines,” *Women's Suffrage in Asia: Gender, Nationalism and Democracy*, eds. Louise Edwards and Mina Roces (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004).

⁴⁸ May Faurote, Letter, 1913, Vol. 2, pg 273, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

five officers were girls, who had been elected mainly because the boys had wished to be gallant.⁴⁹ The society, Fee declared, turned out to be a “pronounced success.” The students enjoyed parliamentary practice as much as a new game, and the teachers put in many extra hours each week, setting up meetings and drilling the students on duty. All of the teachers were honorary members, and one was the “coach,” who sat next to the President, “giving her directions in an undertone.”⁵⁰ However, Fee would not be so encouraging of Filipino aspirations for self-governing that was not play-acting, especially when the aspirants involved did not take kindly to Americans whispering instructions in their ears.

The teaching of history reveals some of the tensions inherent in an imperial republic. American educational officials and teachers had to determine how to teach both American and Philippine history, and to ensure that Filipinos drew the appropriate lessons from each. The traditional narrative of American history could be problematic in the Philippines, highlighting as it did representative government and a glorious revolution for freedom. The reading of the Declaration of Independence, as part of Fourth of July celebrations in Manila in 1900, prompted Bernard Moses to reflect that there was “something amusing” about the whole proceeding, as Filipinos themselves were not to be given “full political equality” or “the right of participating at once in the affairs of the government.”⁵¹ This irony was not lost of Filipinos, either. Russell Trace, a teacher in Batangas Province, recalled that in 1903 he was teaching the causes of the American Revolution. Around this time, the paying of taxes had been enforced in Balayan, and

⁴⁹ It appears at this point that the boys’ and girls’ had merged into one larger school, although Fee does not explicitly mention this happening.

⁵⁰ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 156-157.

⁵¹ Bernard Moses, Diary entry, July 4, 1900, Vol. 1, “Philippine Diary,” Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

after reciting on the causes of the war, one of his students, Juliana Lopez declared: “Just like the Americans with us. They tax us without representation.” When some of Lopez’s classmates made fun of her for this pronouncement, she “became almost hysterical” and left school permanently. Trace explained this behavior by describing Juliana as “rather a spoiled child” whose sentiments did not reflect the attitude of her family, as he believed they were loyal supporters of education.⁵² For Trace, Juliana’s refusal to come back to school was evidence of her being a spoiled child and unsupportive of education. For Juliana, however, the lesson drove the paradox of an imperial republic, and the disconnect between professed American values and colonial praxis.⁵³

Teaching recent Philippine history posed similar problems. Educational officials wanted to present Filipinos with a mythic historical narrative which would not challenge American sovereignty. Part of this process included selecting and promoting Filipino heroes and founding fathers. Any leaders who had engaged in armed rebellion against the United States, including Emilio Aguinaldo, would not be suitable to naturalize American sovereignty. In the end, the Philippine Commission valorized José Rizal, the ilustrado reformer who had been executed by the Spanish in 1896. As Paul Kramer has noted, the “official” nationalism of the colonial state was “profoundly shaped” by “frightening revolutionary antecedents.”⁵⁴ Even figures like Andres Bonifacio, then, might seem to valorize armed struggle. Rizal, then, seemed like the perfect choice for a “Father of the Philippines.” He had never openly advocated revolution, but rather called for reform. Rizal’s writings, moreover, criticized the Spanish administration of the

⁵² Russell Trace, “Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands,” 378-379, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁵³ Juliana Lopez was a member of the elite Lopez clan, which had fought for independence and suffered in the aftermath of the war. Three of Lopez’s brothers were imprisoned in 1902, and another was in exile in Hong Kong for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. For more on the Lopez family, see Chapter Four.

⁵⁴ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 33.

islands, particularly the abuses of the Catholic friars, aligning perfectly with the American narrative distinguishing between the two colonial regimes. The Philippine Commission proclaimed December 30 (the day of his execution) to be Rizal Day, celebrated much in the same way as the Fourth of July. Philinda Rand recalled that the Department of Education played a leading role in establishing Rizal as a national hero. During World War II, Rand reported seeing a notice in the paper regarding Rizal Day, and that she felt odd “to think that I was in at the making of him,” but that Rizal, like the use of English, was “just another way to bind them [Filipinos] together.”⁵⁵ While the Bureau of Education might arrange for officially-sanctioned celebrations, however, Filipinos were still free to interpret this patriotism on their own terms. At the 1903 Rizal Day celebrations in Calasiao, Pangasinan, Benjamin Neal reported, most of the school children marched in the procession, but that “many things were done to insult” the Americans, including carrying Katipunan banners and “hurrahing for Gomez.”⁵⁶ Even as they participated in officially-sanctioned patriotism, therefore, Filipino children expressed this patriotism in nationalist terms, overtly challenging American sovereignty.

At the same time that they were instructing their students to be citizens in an imperial republic, teachers were providing lessons on the sort of vocations they believed their students should pursue. The question over exactly what type of schooling to provide ran throughout the colonial period. The focus on classical or industrial education, in particular, was like a pendulum, with one being emphasized over the other

⁵⁵ Rand, “Summary Written During World War II,” pg 4, Folder 14, PRA Papers.

⁵⁶ Benjamin E. Neal, Diary entry, December 30, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Benjamin E. Neal Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library. I assume that this is a reference to Dominador Gomez, an ilustrado contemporary of Rizal’s who became a labor leader and member of the Nationalist Party. For more on Gomez, see Michael Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003). By the fall of 1907, the government had begun cracking down on flags and labels bearing the insignia of the Katipunan. Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 331-332.

but never entirely winning out. As Peter J. Tarr has argued, even Directors of Education like David Barrows, who stressed the importance of an “academic” curriculum, “toyed with a variety of schemes to promote manual and vocational training.”⁵⁷ As with schools for Native and African Americans in the U.S., the focus on vocational education was a reflection of the belief that the mass of Filipinos were not capable of achieving, and should not be encouraged to pursue, higher levels of education.

This belief was even more apparent in schools for non-Christian Filipinos. In his annual report for 1902, Moses noted that schools in the mountainous interior of Luzon were placed under the direction of the provincial governors who were also to act as division superintendents of education. While the sheer number of Igorrotes made their education a necessity, Moses declared that it would be “unwise” to provide most of them with any education but that needed to “fit them to perform more efficiently the labor necessary in their rude state;” specifically, masonry, carpentry, gardening and farming.⁵⁸ In Mindanao, the schools were put under the superintendence of Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, a Syrian-American fluent in Arabic whose aid had been invaluable to American officials.⁵⁹ Saleeby was a civilian official, but he reported to Leonard Wood, the military governor for the province. Schools predated the official creation of the Moro Province, however. Early in 1902, Emerson Christie, stationed in Zamboanga, wrote home that while his students did not have the “steady application of Dutch or Swiss children” there was originality in their work that was “particularly refreshing.” The “work” to which Christie was referring were wood carvings, hats, matting, and turbans, which the children

⁵⁷ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 183-184.

⁵⁸ Moses, “First Annual Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction,” in *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902*, Part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 883.

⁵⁹ *Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province, September 1, 1903 to August 31, 1904*, Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 3

could not make “fast enough to supply the demand” from American travelers.⁶⁰ From the beginning of American schooling in Mindanao, then, the “schooling” received by Muslim children was technical supervision of the production of curios and folk art meant for sale to tourists and government employees.

In later years, more focus was placed on vocational education in the public schools for Christian Filipinos as well. This education got off to a slower start, however, partly due to Filipino preference for classical education and resistance to manual education. When the Manila School of Arts and Trades opened in 1901, only a few Filipino students applied for admission. One student, when asked by the Superintendent of Schools for Manila why he did not attend the trade school, tapped his arm and replied, “Americans are strong here,” then tapped his head and said, “Filipinos are strong here.”⁶¹

Eventually, though, vocational education did expand, becoming a core part of the curriculum in primary, intermediate, and secondary schools. Girls were taught embroidery, lace-making, hat and mat weaving, and basketry, while boys were taught carpentry, blacksmithing, and agriculture. The products of such work, moreover, could be sold to support the running of the school – Fee noted that at the 1912 Manila Carnival, the sale of school products brought in \$20,000.⁶² Even in the primary schools, boys were required to maintain home gardens which were inspected by their teachers, presumably to give them basic instruction in American-style agriculture at an early age. This focus changed the roles of many American teachers, as they were shifted from primary to vocational instruction. In addition, women were increasingly sought to teach Home

⁶⁰ Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites,” 449-450.

⁶¹ Marquardt, “Philippine Primary Schools,” pg 3-4, Folder 1, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁶² Fee, “The Educational Work of the United States in the Philippines,” 284-285.

Economics, securing the necessity of their presence at the same time that they were limited and restricted in the careers they could pursue under the colonial government.

American teachers spent a fair amount of time in their letters and articles discussing the aptitude of their students, as well as the aptitude of the Filipino people for self-government. While many of the teachers had students of whom they were proud, their assessment of the Filipino people in general was negative. Some teachers did express faith in Filipino capacity, of course. Mary B. Crans declared that she believed Filipinos to possess “a most surprising capacity for development and a zeal and eagerness for learning that cannot be too highly praised,” and that, while “Rome was not built in a day,” that Filipinos were a “Christian people with many of our own standards of morality, thanks to the long and fruitful work of the Catholic church here.”⁶³ More teachers, however, echoed the sentiments of Herbert Priestley, who argued that Filipinos were “shamelessly corrupt in politics, as in everything else” and “generally grossly incompetent.”⁶⁴

While Mary Fee declared that it would be foolish “to spend time discussing the Filipino’s aptitude for self-government,” because wiser “heads than mine have already arrived at a hopeless *impasse* of opinion on that point,” she had quite a lot to say about the Filipino character and capacity.⁶⁵ She described the condition of the working classes as desperately bad, though of their own making, and as a result of a repugnance to real work.⁶⁶ Fee argued that the working-classes blamed the government for their situation rather than recognizing that the real cause of their misery was “simply their own sloth.”⁶⁷

⁶³ Mary B. Crans, “My First Two Years in the Philippines,” Vol. 2, pg 242, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁶⁴ Priestley, Letter to Mother, January 31, 1904, Folder 29, Priestley Letters.

⁶⁵ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 133.

⁶⁶ Fee, “In Filipino Society,” *Jasper News*, May 13, 1909, pg. 2.

⁶⁷ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 137.

Her evaluation of the upper classes of Filipinos was hardly better. Fee claimed that upper-class Filipinos wanted the best for their country, but only so that they might be recognized as the equal of other nations, rather than for its own sake. This was a natural result of the fact that

All the natural laws of development are turned around in the Philippines, and motives which should belong to the crowning years of a nation's life seem to have become mixed in at the beginning ... The Filipino is like an orphan baby, not allowed to have his cramps and colic and to cut his teeth in the decent retirement of the parental nursery, but dragged out instead into distressing publicity, told that his wails are louder, his digestive habits more uncertain, his milk teeth more unsatisfactory, than the wails or the digestive habits or the milk teeth of any other baby that ever went through the developing process. Naturally he is self-conscious, and – let us be truthful – not having been a very promising baby from the beginning, both he and his nurses have had a hard time.⁶⁸

Fee believed that the real problem was that Filipinos were not willing to go through the natural, and to her, necessary, stages of evolution, to arrive gradually at civilization, but wanted to be recognized as equals immediately.

Besides presenting the Filipino people as a undeveloped baby, Fee also gendered all Filipinos as feminine. The fact that “consciousness of personal importance” was more important than “perfectly defined ideals” in shaping Filipino conduct, Fee argued, made for “femininity in the race.” She defined the difference between masculine and feminine pride, contending that “masculine pride centres largely in loyalty to well-defined ideals of what is manly, or honorable, or bold, or just, or religious,” while “feminine pride, outside of its adherence to what is chaste and womanly, consists of pride in self, a kind of self-estimate, based frequently upon social position, sometimes on a consciousness of self-importance which comes through the admiration of men.” This type of pride was “likely to show itself in a jealous exaction of consideration for the individual.”⁶⁹ Fee did not

⁶⁸ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 96.

⁶⁹ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 104-105.

mean that Filipino men had no traditional manly qualities, such as courage and strong wills, but both sexes possessed characteristics “which we are accustomed to look upon as feminine,” including the “quick sensitiveness about rank, worldly possessions, and precedence which with us has become the reproach of the feminine.”⁷⁰ Of course, under this valuation, Fee herself would have associated with the masculine qualities she lists rather than the feminine, which she tends to associate with weakness and pettiness. She has the tone of the ethnographer in this passage, as she discusses feminine qualities which she attributes to Filipinos while simultaneously distancing herself from these qualities by her approach. Fee therefore undercuts Filipino claims for autonomy by both infantilizing and feminizing Filipino peoples. In a political context in which neither children nor women were yet considered capable of exercising the franchise, these portrayals would have clearly indicated Fee’s belief that Filipinos could not be self-governing. Interestingly, however, by presenting this assessment of Filipinos, and implicitly setting herself against it, Fee portrays herself as a capable colonial administrator and evaluator of Filipino progress, possessing the qualities of adult masculinity.

This perspective naturally had implications for Fee’s views of her pupils. Indeed, Fee first expressed her opinions about Filipino capacity in newspaper articles about her early teaching experiences. Fee echoed the common belief that Filipino schoolchildren were disposed to like and respect their teachers, as long as the teacher is firm and fair, but that every student, male or female, possessed a “desire to assert himself personally, to have the center of the stage, as it were, and speak the leading role.” This was due to the fact, Fee declared, that the “national temperament was a feminine one.”⁷¹

⁷⁰ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 106. Anne McClintock has argued that notions of gender were used as a modifier of race, for example when Zulu men were described as possessing characteristics typical of white femininity. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 55.

⁷¹ Fee, “Curb Filipino Boy,” *Belleville News Democrat*, April 14, 1909, 3.

Rand was similarly cynical about Filipino capacity. She reported an incident in which a Filipino soldier escaped from the guard house right across the square from her school, and was shooting at other soldiers until he could be subdued. Rand recorded in her diary that while her students and native teachers were afraid, she was “relieved to find that I was excited but not scared. These people have absolutely untrained minds and no self control.”⁷² In a letter to her aunt describing the event, Rand declared that she had never seen “people lose their heads quite so completely and it shows pretty well what would happen if they tried self government.”⁷³

While both Fee and Rand could recognize individual ability and adaptation to American customs, and while both seem to have had friendships with Filipinas that went beyond their duty as cultural emissaries, they remained largely pessimistic about the potential of Filipinos for self-rule. Moreover, while stationed in Manila, Fee seems to have explicitly stated her opposition to immediate independence (perhaps during the debate over the Jones Bill in 1916), which she gave as the reason in 1921 that she could not return to work in the Philippines.⁷⁴

John Henry Manning Butler, an African American teacher who became the Division Superintendent for Cagayan Province, was far more sanguine about Filipino prospects for successful self-rule.⁷⁵ Butler not only stayed throughout the “Filipinization” of the civil government, he argued that the Filipinos were “carrying on creditably” with the work begun by America.⁷⁶ Implicitly supporting Philippine

⁷² Rand, Diary entry, February 14, 1902, Folder 20, PRA Papers.

⁷³ Rand, Letter to Aunt, February 24, 1902, Folder 16, PRA Papers.

⁷⁴ Letter to Charles Walcutt from Mary Helen Fee, January 20, 1921, “Mary Helen Fee,” Personal Name Information Files, Record Group 350, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park [hereafter RG 350, NARA].

⁷⁵ For more on Butler, and the racial dynamics of imperial education, see Chapter Five.

⁷⁶ John H. Manning Butler, “New Education in the Philippines,” *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (April, 1934), 263-264. The policy of “Filipinization” began in 1913, with the inauguration of Francis

independence, Butler claimed that “no other colored race under the American flag has as bright an educational prospect as the Filipino.” While destiny had “thrown the Negro and the Filipino under the tutelage of America,” many Filipinos felt, and Butler seemed to agree, “that greater development is rooted in self determination.”⁷⁷

The differences in Fee, Rand and Butler’s assessments of Filipino capacity was tied to their own ideas about their role within empire and the way they attempted to portray themselves. For both Fee and Rand, using their nationality and race was crucial to establish their fitness to participate in the imperial project. Allowing that Filipino men were able to govern themselves would have threatened their own position within empire. For Butler, allowing that Filipinos were capable of self-rule was part and parcel of his own fitness to prepare them for independence. He depicted himself as clearly more knowledgeable than Filipinos and thus suited to be their teacher, but he did not rely on tropes of unchanging racial or cultural supremacy to deny that eventual equality was possible.

Speaking Back: Student and Teacher Protests

Filipino students’ reactions to the American educational system were deeply ambivalent. On the one hand, students often expressed gratitude toward their American teachers and the education they provided. On the other hand, they did not accept all the assertions of their instructors without challenge and felt frustrated by the bigoted attitudes of some of their teachers. In *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, Fee recorded

Burton Harrison’s tenure as Governor-General. Harrison replaced Cameron Forbes after the election of Woodrow Wilson, the beginning of a broader political house-cleaning. Upon his arrival in Manila, Harrison declared that Filipinos would constitute a majority in both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Legislature, and that, wherever possible, Filipinos would fill administrative positions in the government. Some American government officials were fired; others quit because they refused to serve under a Filipino bureau chief. By the end of Harrison’s first year in office, the number of Americans in government offices had declined by twenty percent, and the number of Filipinos had risen accordingly. H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 108-109.

⁷⁷ Butler, “New Education in the Philippines,” 267-268.

an incident that shed some light on how her students saw themselves and the education they were receiving. While teaching at the Manila School of Arts and Trades, Fee advised her class to “stick to simple, direct sentences, since they would never have any use for a literary style in English.” Several students instantly disputed this statement and “insisted that they were capable of acquiring the best literary style.” Fee replied that there was a difference between literary and colloquial English, and that “what they needed was plain, precise English as a medium of exchange in business” and that even in America “the percentage of great writers and speakers always had been small and always would be so.” In response to this, one of her students, the son of a newspaper editor, stood up and replied: “Yes, madame, what you say of Americans is true. But we are different. We are a literary people. We are only millions, but we have hundreds and thousands of orators. We have the literary sense for all languages.”⁷⁸ For Fee, obtaining a basic level of proficiency in English ought to be what her students aspired to. For her students, however, mere competency was not enough – they believed all Filipinos had a special capacity for language and oratory, and would not be satisfied with anything less than the highest form of English fluency. Her students’ insistence that they were the best judges of their national capacity was a challenge to Fee’s conception of her imperial role as the assessor of Filipino ability and progress, despite her portrayal of the incident as a ridiculous example of Filipino aspirations. As Kimberly Alidio has argued, the system of colonial education “allowed Filipinos to reinterpret and contest tutelage and racial representations” and to “assert themselves as proper colonial subjects, partly in the effort to hold the U.S. to its claims to develop the Filipino people towards nationhood and

⁷⁸ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 89.

modernization.”⁷⁹ For Fee to deny their need to develop as fully as possible must have seemed like an attempt to shirk on the American side of the bargain. If education was part of the prerequisite to independence, then Filipino students would not accept anything less than the best education to demonstrate their fitness for self-rule.

For Fee, it was important to depict Filipinos as they “were” and to advise her students to pursue realistic rather than lofty goals. For some students, however, this amounted to a lack of faith in their ability to learn, develop, and become the equal of Americans. Despite her use of the rhetoric of uplift, which justified her presence in the Philippines, Fee had trouble realizing or validating the aspirations of those she taught, and never really allowed that Filipinos could become “American” or truly “civilized.” Clashes such as this revealed the gulf between the expectations of many American teachers and those of their students regarding the purpose of education and Filipino capacity. It was precisely this chasm of understanding that would lead to conflicts between teachers and students further down the road, and to the disillusionment of many American teachers as the colonial government increasingly supported Filipino demands for greater self-governance.

From the beginning of the colonial state, Filipino students and teachers pushed back against American authority, working within colonial institutions to articulate their own visions of the colonial relationship and the future of the Philippine nation. Even as they welcomed the opportunities for education and employment offered by the United States, students and teachers did not accept the American ideas without reservation. Rather, they utilized the language of benevolent colonization to challenge the colonial

⁷⁹ Kimberly A. Alidio, “Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation: Racial Discourse, U.S. Colonial Education and Filipino Ethnicity, 1901-1946,” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 273.

state and to advocate for recognition of Filipino capacity and for national self-government.

Filipino teachers began to confront the Bureau of Education to express dissatisfaction almost as soon as the schools were reopened. Like the rest of their countrymen, native teachers, who had been trained and employed under the Spanish regime, had lived through two wars (one of which was ongoing), and were forced to adjust to a new imperial power and a new American educational system. This meant learning to speak a new language, adopting a new pedagogy, and abandoning practices that had been *de rigueur*. In the early years of American governance, for example, the Bureau of Education forbade the common practice of teachers receiving gifts from their students, and fired one teacher for collecting tuition and selling books and other school supplies that had been provided for free distribution. While adapting to the new system was necessary to secure their positions, native teachers did protest some of the changes. Bernard Moses reported that a delegation of fifty or sixty of Manila's native teachers came to see him to complain about working conditions. One of the female teachers, who seemed to Moses to be "the mouth-piece of the company," declared that the salaries of native teachers were too little and they wanted them raised. When Moses replied that it "would probably be done" but that he could not say when or how much, the teachers demanded that until it was raised they should be allowed to continue to receive gifts and money from their pupils.⁸⁰ The teachers did not gain their end, but this episode does demonstrate that they were willing to speak out in protest of teaching conditions. In addition, perhaps partially influenced by the teachers' protest, Moses recommended

⁸⁰ Moses, diary entry, October 4, 1900, Vol. 1, "Philippine Diary."

increasing native teachers' salaries by a third, while attempting to stamp out "all forms of illegitimate traffic in which some of the teachers have been engaged."⁸¹

Filipino students also demonstrated their willingness to challenge colonial institutions in order to defend their nationality against the aspersions of cynical teachers, and at times resorted to strikes to protest what they saw as bigoted or prejudicial attitudes on the part of their instructors. In his annual report for 1908, David Barrows noted that school strikes were a "common student offense." When "offended by a teacher," students would "leave the school in a considerable body." Barrows declared that the students' rationale for these strikes was that by leaving school they would "put themselves in a position where they must be treated with and conceded to in order to induce their return." In order to protect the "dignity of instructors" and the "order of the school," however, the position of the Bureau of Education in response to such strikes was to expel striking students. If a town had supported and encouraged the students in their strike, moreover, the entire school would be closed and the teacher withdrawn.⁸² Barrows clearly felt that this was the only way to maintain control over the schools and students.

Despite this no-tolerance policy, students did gain some ground by striking, though often at a high price. In December of 1910, John DeHuff, then working in the

⁸¹ Moses, diary entry, October 8, 1900, Vol. 1, "Philippine Diary."

⁸² David P. Barrows, *The Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education*, July 1, 1907, to June 30, 1908, 2nd edition (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), 26. I have not been able to determine whether school strikes were a common practice during the Spanish colonial period, or if they were influenced by burgeoning labor activism in the islands. These are areas that I intend to investigate further in the future. It is likely that the political climate of the Philippines, centered in Manila, from 1904 to 1912 did influence student protest. As Paul Kramer has argued, this period enable Filipinos to assert "new claims to power" with the end of official censorship, provincial elections, the creation of an elected Philippine Assembly, the Federalista Party's loss of its political monopoly, and the ascension of the Nacionalista Party. Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 287. In addition, the choice of Luke Wright to be Taft's successor in 1904 aroused considerable opposition from a broad swath of Filipinos, so much so that Wright was removed from office shortly after a tour of inspection by Taft in 1905. See Brands, *Bound to Empire*, 88-89; and Cullinane, *Illustrado Politics*, 102-111.

Bureau of Education in Manila, was sent by Frank R. White, Barrow's successor as Director of Education, to investigate school strikes in Lucena and Atimonan in the Tayabas Province (now Quezon Province). DeHuff spent a day investigating an Intermediate School strike in Atimonan, and three days investigating the strike at Lucena High School. On the third day, DeHuff noted: "little trouble in the p.m. and I lost my head. May be investigated myself."⁸³ In his unpublished memoir, "Memories of Orient Seas," DeHuff explained the situation more fully. The school strike was not a new tactic, he noted, having been used by pupils several times before. White, however, had decreed that since there were procedures by which students could present issues to school authorities, strikes could "not be countenanced as a legitimate line of procedure" and therefore strikers would "not be heard in any investigation which might follow."⁸⁴ In accordance with this policy, DeHuff reported that he "conducted a hearing lasting a couple of days, taking the statements of only such pupils as had remained in school." It came out that a couple of the American teachers had "made slighting remarks in the classroom concerning the Filipinos' aspirations for 'independence' and had resorted to calling the pupils rather hard names, such as pigs" when she was frustrated or out of temper. DeHuff concluded that the situation could have been easily resolved "without any mock heroics," if not for the Filipino desire to be in the limelight.⁸⁵ As DeHuff did not actually interview any of the striking students, however, it is unclear why he was

⁸³ John D. DeHuff, Diary entries, December 1-18, 1910, Diary 1909, Box 5, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Papers [hereafter Willis DeHuff Papers], Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

⁸⁴ DeHuff, "Memories of Orient Seas," 354, unpublished manuscript, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers. In the text of his memoir, DeHuff at first wrote that students used strikes to "secure redress of grievances." This was struck out, however, and replaced with "carry a point." In the next sentence, DeHuff wrote that school authorities would give a respectful hearing to "pupils' grievances." This last word was also struck out, and replaced with "complaints." The overall effect is to delegitimize the students' actions, and make it seem as though they were merely complaining rather than protesting real injustice.

⁸⁵ DeHuff, "Memories of Orient Seas," 354-355.

confident that the students had not tried to settle the conflict by other means before resorting to a strike.

After his return to Manila, White received a telegram from a “prominent native resident of Tayabas protesting my methods in conducting the investigation and citing particularly the fact that those who had gone out had not been given a chance to say anything.”⁸⁶ Despite this protest, White maintained that the strikers would be barred from school privileges for the rest of the year. It is unclear whether the students at Lucena or Atimonan attempted to alert school authorities to the abuse of their teacher before resorting to a strike. Regardless, the Bureau of Education would not tolerate public student protest. DeHuff argued that discussion in school about Filipino aspirations had “caused more trouble and bad feeling between American teachers and native pupils than anything else that could be mentioned.” While Americans as a rule did not believe that Filipinos were ready for independence, if a teacher said as much in class, “that teacher might as well be transferred.” Eventually, he noted, the situation “assumed such an aspect” that the Director of Education issued an order forbidding teachers from engaging in any discussion on the issue of Philippine independence or Filipino capacity for the former.⁸⁷ By engaging in strikes, therefore, students risked expulsion, or at least an extended suspension. It is clear, though, that despite the refusal of the Bureau of Education to officially listen to strikers’ grievances, student protests did affect the way teachers were allowed to speak and behave in the classroom.

In his annual report for 1911, Director of Education Frank R. White declared that while “two or three strikes” had taken place during the school year, the method of dealing with such strikes had been effective. Strikes had been “somewhat common in earlier

⁸⁶ DeHuff, “Memories of Orient Seas,” 354.

⁸⁷ DeHuff, “Memories of Orient Seas,” 380.

years,” White noted, but were now “becoming rare.”⁸⁸ This assertion seems to have been premature, however. Despite the efforts of the Bureau of Education to crack down on public protest, students continued to turn to strikes to confront bigotry and abuse. In the summer of 1912, two hundred students at the Bulacan High School went on strike to protest of the principal of the school.⁸⁹ In fact, 1912 seems to have been the zenith of a tumultuous period. Frank L. Crone, the Acting Director of Education, wrote to Henderson S. Martin, the Secretary of Public Instruction, that at that time “there were very alarming evidences of insubordination in various sections,” and that students, believing that they “would be protected by assemblymen and other men of influence,” started school strikes “whenever they had any little petty grievance.” In response, the Bureau of Education took “very severe action,” suspending all strikers. Crone reported that as a result of this, there had been no strikes since that time, though if the Bureau had “shown in this particular the least sign of weakness, chaos would have resulted.”⁹⁰

During this period, Filipino teachers also became involved in the political issues of the day, expressing sympathy for student protestors and pushing for Philippine independence. The Philippine Teachers’ Association, which was originally a mutual aid society, began in 1903 to focus on the educational progress of its members. In 1907, it launched *The Filipino Teacher*, a monthly journal published in English, Spanish, and Tagalog. Walter Marquardt recorded that journal’s publication in November 1910 of a nationalist poem, “Sursum Corda,” was “considered an act of disloyalty toward the Philippine Government and caused the dissolution of the journal and of the

⁸⁸ Frank R. White, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Director of Education, For the Fiscal Year July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1911* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), 20.

⁸⁹ Acting Director of Education, Letter to Newton W. Gilbert, August 16, 1912, Vol. 5, pg. 418, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. Frank L. Crone served as the Acting Director of Education during the illness of Frank R. White, who died in 1913. After White’s death, Crone became the Director of Education.

⁹⁰ Frank L. Crone, Letter to H.S. Martin, March 11, 1916, Vol. 5, pg. 401, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

association.”⁹¹ In fact, “Sursum Corda,” written by Justo Juliano, was actually published in the newspaper *El Renacimiento* in 1907.⁹² Juliano was a teacher at the Paco Intermediate School in Manila, however, and was also the editor of *The Filipino Teacher* as well as the secretary of the Philippine Teachers’ Association. It seems that Juliano was forced to resign from both his position as a teacher and his roles within the PTA after his poem was published, although he was reelected as General Secretary in May of 1910.⁹³

In the November, 1910 issue of *The Filipino Teacher*, however, there was a short piece about student strikes, noting there had been multiple strikes that month, and that as it was “not a hot season at all ... some irregularities, enough to lead both students and teachers to leave their schools, must have taken place.”⁹⁴ The article declared that three strikes in Rizal Province “must have been based on some reasonable and justified cause,” in order to unite so many teachers. Despite this, the article continued, the Division Superintendent had refused the demand of the strikers to remove a particular supervisor, without “any sort of investigation whatsoever.”⁹⁵ This support for strikes, against which the Bureau of Education had taken such a hard line, might well have been enough to

⁹¹ Marquardt, “School Societies,” Vol. 2, pgs. 200-201, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁹² Princess Orig, “Kayumanggi versus Maputi: 100 Years of America’s White Aesthetics in Philippine Literature,” in *Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines*, ed. Hazel McPherson (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2002), 111.

⁹³ For the full text of “Sursum Corda,” as well as an editorial note on Juliano’s resignation as a teacher, see Jesus C. Olega, ed., *Filipino Masterpieces: Collection of Prize Oration and Poems, Speeches, Lectures, Articles, Etc.* (Manila: Juan Fajardo, 1924), 99. For Juliano’s resignation and reinstatement at the PTA, see “The PTA,” *The Filipino Teacher*, Vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1908), 6; and “The Fourth Annual Convention of the P.T.A.,” *The Filipino Teacher*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (June, 1910), 6. Juliano also published a piece in *The Filipino Teacher* in April of 1910, titled “The Filipino Teachers,” which bemoaned the low social status of teachers. In the article, Juliano blamed this status on the lack of the “almighty Connant,” referring to teachers’ low pay. This was almost certainly a dig at Dean C. Worcester, the Secretary of the Interior, who had sued *El Renacimiento* for libel after it published an article on rapacious public officials. This reference, if noticed, could hardly have endeared the periodical to the Philippine Commission. Juliano, “The Filipino Teachers,” *The Filipino Teacher* (April, 1910), 16.

⁹⁴ “Strikes,” *The Filipino Teacher*, Vol. IV, No. 6 (November, 1910): 1.

⁹⁵ “Strikes,” *The Filipino Teacher*, Vol. IV, No. 6 (November, 1910): 2.

arouse the ire of educational officials. At least two more issues of *The Filipino Teacher* were published, under the new name *The Progress of Education*, for January and February, 1911, though both the paper and the organization appear to have dissolved after that point. The January issue declared that “certain hidden hands” were working for the “downfall” of the Philippine Teachers’ Association, and that members had resigned out of fear of losing their positions.⁹⁶ The radicalization of the PTA during the short tenure of *The Filipino Teacher* is striking. The teachers associated with the organization and its organ were willing not only to publish overtly anti-colonial literature (as did Juliano), but also to explicitly support striking students in open contravention of the policies of their own employer, the Bureau of Education.

Student protests continued throughout the American colonial period. One high school in particular seems to have been a hotbed of activism: Manila North High School was the scene of at least one major protest.⁹⁷ In February of 1930, close to three thousand students went on strike. Initially, the strike appeared to be similar to those that had preceded it: students were protesting derogatory comments made by an American teacher, Miss Mabel Brummitt.⁹⁸ According to newspaper reports, the striking students

⁹⁶ “Important News about the P.T.A.,” *The Progress of Education*, Vol. IV, No. 8 (January, 1911): 13.

⁹⁷ Manila North High School was created in 1921, when the Manila High School split into two schools. It was renamed after Cayetano Arellano, a chief justice of the Supreme Court, sometime in 1930. There was certainly one large strike, in 1930, centered on this school. In addition, I have found references to a strike there in the 1920s as well. Apparently during the strike in the 1920s students at the Mapa High School walked out in sympathy with the Manila North High School students. See Nick Joaquin, *San Miguel de Manila: Memoirs of a Regal Parish* (Manila: Weekly Graphic Magazine Pub. Co., 1990), 79; and Rocio Reyes Kapunan, *The Psychology of Adolescence* (Rex Book Store, Inc., 1971), 25. For more on the history of the school, see Elizabeth M. Bartolome-Cristobal, “Arellano High School: A Brief History,” <http://www.arellanohi58.com/webhist1.html> [accessed February 23, 2013].

⁹⁸ “Filipino High School Strikes,” *Prescott Evening Courier*, February 19, 1930, pg. 1; “Philippine High School Students Strike,” *The Washington Post*, February 20, 1930, pg. 7; and “Strike Spreads: Students Demand Removal of Principal,” *Port Arthur News*, March 5, 1930, pg. 18. According to the *Port Arthur News*, this strike was sparked by the expulsion of four students during a previous strike against Brummitt.

declared that Brummitt had repeatedly called her students “savages, imbeciles, idiots and contemptible cads.”⁹⁹

The strike quickly became linked to a wider culture of dissent, however. The protesting students understood and positioned their activism within the broader context of American-Filipino relations and racial violence. The strike broke out only a few weeks after an anti-Filipino riot by white Californians in Watsonville, during which a Filipino, Fermin Tobera, was killed.¹⁰⁰ This incident sparked protests on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. In Manila, a memorial service held at Luneta Park, attended by fifteen thousand people, turned into a rally demanding independence.¹⁰¹ The Manila North High School students were clearly influenced by these protests or, as *The Washington Post* declared, “Communitistic agitation” in the Philippines. At a mass meeting held to determine what course of action to take, the paper stated, the “California riots against Filipinos were mentioned frequently.” While demonstrating outside school, moreover, some students reportedly carried banners that read, “Down with American imperialism and its puppets,” and “Immediate independence for the Philippines.”¹⁰² Despite attempts by government officials, including Manuel Quezon, to limit the impact of the strike, protests continued, and even expanded, at least through early March.¹⁰³ On March 5, the *Port Arthur News* reported that several hundred more students had joined the strike, which now had ten

⁹⁹ “Philippine High School Students Strike,” *The Washington Post*, February 20, 1930, pg. 7.

¹⁰⁰ For more on the Watsonville riot, taxi dance halls, racial violence toward Filipinos, and white fears about miscegenation, see Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’s Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

¹⁰¹ Motoe Terami-Wada, “The Sakdal Movement,” *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 36 (1988): 132.

¹⁰² “Philippine High School Students Strike,” *The Washington Post*, February 20, 1930, pg. 7.

¹⁰³ One of Quezon’s aides, Benigno Ramos, became deeply involved with the Watsonville protests and the strike. As Quezon, the President of the Senate, was negotiating for the passage of a gradual independence law, which would become the Tydings-McDuffie Act, he did not wish to alienate the U.S. Ramos was forced to resign, and shortly afterwards started the Sakdal (meaning, “to accuse”) Movement, a protest movement which eventually launched an abortive coup in 1935. See Terami-Wada, “The Sakdal Movement.”

thousand participants.¹⁰⁴ An *Associated Press* report from Manila noted that the strike had spread from Manila North High School to the West, South, and East High Schools, and that scuffles had broken out between striking and non-striking students, and between strikers and police officers. It was also claimed that threats “that Mr. Albert and Mr. Bewley would be lynched were heard.” Brummitt had already been dismissed, but the students were demanding the reinstatement of four leaders of the strike, as well as the firing of Alejandro Albert, the Acting Secretary of Public Instruction, Luther Bewley, the Director of Education, and the principal of Manila North High School. In response to the furor, the Bureau of Education closed the four high schools and the Philippine School of Commerce, and declared that all strikers would be expelled.¹⁰⁵

While the strikers’ demands focused on the removal of school officials and the reinstatement of strikers, the size and endurance of the 1930 protest highlights the changing climate of activism in the Philippines. Students were still willing to resort to strikes to protest teachers’ biases and to demand to be treated with respect, as they had since the early years of American colonization. In the context of growing calls for independence and anti-Filipino violence in the U.S., however, student strikes took on a broader significance, as individual demands for equality and justice became conflated with national demands for self-government.

Conclusion

The American teachers fulfilled a special role within the colonial government. It was the task of the teachers to civilize and uplift the Filipino youth, reforming their bodies as well as their minds. If American empire was justified on the grounds that it would prepare Filipinos for self-governance, then the teachers were the engines and

¹⁰⁴ “Strike Spreads: Students Demand Removal of Principal,” *Port Arthur News*, March 5, 1930, pg. 18.

¹⁰⁵ “The Student Strike in Manila,” *School and Society*, Vol. XXXI, No. 794, March 15, 1930, 359.

arbiters of that progress. In the end, however, most of the teachers were unwilling to allow that Filipinos would be civilized enough for independence within the foreseeable future (or perhaps ever). Yet as the years passed, and especially during the period of Filipinization beginning in 1913, Filipino teachers and students become less willing to accept the racial attitudes and prejudices that had prevailed in the early years of colonization, articulating their own understandings of the colonial relationship as well as demands for respect and autonomy.

As schools were the primary sites of Americanization, spaces in which American power was implemented on a localized, individual basis, these struggles between teachers and students, which were rooted in conflicts over race, gender, and class, became micro contests over colonization. By denying Filipinos racial equality and manhood (and indeed, even adulthood), and by pushing their students toward manual and agricultural careers, teachers withheld the supposed rewards of a colonial education. In turn, Filipinos who chose to remove themselves physically from the locus of American power were, in essence, abdicating from the colonial relationship until it was reconfigured according to their demands. Within the context of broadening calls for independence, moreover, student protests took on new meaning. Struggles over the schoolhouse, and the power dynamic between teachers and students, reflected similar struggles over the future of the Philippines. More than this, however, these struggles also shaped the political battles taking place on the national stage. Imbued with significance by students, teachers, the community, and the colonial state, the politics of the schoolhouse took on meaning beyond colonial education.

Chapter Four

Colonial Intimacy and the Paradox of Empire¹

In an address at the American Teachers' Institute at Cebu in June of 1902, John A. Staunton, Jr., the deputy division superintendent for the province, laid out the guidelines for teachers' behavior in their stations, and offered advice about how to get along in their new communities. For a teacher to be successful, Staunton began, he must be on good terms with the presidente and the padre. "If the American teacher is a statesman," he declared, he would soon have both men working with him to develop the school. However, Staunton continued, if the teacher were "short-sighted enough" to "yield to his prejudices," he would "leave the two greatest influences in the community unutilized or openly antagonistic."² If a padre was welcoming, Staunton cautioned, teachers should not spurn his friendship because of personal religious beliefs, noting, "You are sent to that pueblo in a public, not a private, capacity; as an American citizen, not as a missionary."³ Finally, Staunton focused on the teachers' own personal behavior, recommending that teachers dress neatly, teach by example the dignity of labor, and stand for "personal fair dealing" in his relations with Filipinos.⁴ "Of the American teacher in these islands," Staunton concluded, "may it always be said that he is an American citizen, with an intention of working for his country in the problems before it, not a mere adventurer; that he is an educator, throwing his life into the task of drawing

¹ Sections of this chapter have been published in the article, "'We Were All Robinson Crusoes': American Women Teachers in the Philippines," *Women's Studies: an Interdisciplinary Journal*, 41:4 (2012): 372-392.

² John A. Staunton, Jr., "The American Teacher in the Community," read before the American Teachers' Institute, Cebu, June 16, 1902, in "The Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902," in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905 (reprinted)* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 138.

³ Staunton, "The American Teacher in the Community," 140.

⁴ Staunton, "The American Teacher in the Community," 141-142.

out and uplifting his fellows, not a mere laborer drawing his salary; and that he is a man, alive to every human interest, whether or not touched by the terms of his contract with the department of public instruction.”⁵

Including the talk in his 1902 annual report, Fred Atkinson, the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, declared that “no better presentation” could be given of “the teacher’s life and work” in the Philippines.⁶ In addition, in a message probably written in 1909, Walter W. Marquardt, now the division superintendent for Leyte, advised new teachers to “keep out” of both religion and politics. “You are perfectly free,” Marquardt noted, “to have you own opinions upon both subjects but you are absolutely forbidden to proselite [sic] in favor of your own pet creed or gain votes for your favorite candidate.”⁷

Staunton’s talk can be read as representative of the expectations of the Bureau of Education and the colonial state in the Philippines about the work of the American teacher and the school system in general. However, Staunton’s address also illuminates the ways in which the mission assigned to teachers was almost designed to fall short of its goals. The fundamental tasks of the American teachers were to lead exemplary lives and to win the community over through the creation of good personal relations. Part and

⁵ Staunton, “The American Teacher in the Community,” 142. Staunton’s address was published in its entirety in Fred Atkinson’s annual report for 1902, and was reprinted in the annual report of the Secretary of Public Instruction, the Philippine Commission’s report to the Secretary of War, and the annual report of the Commissioner of Education. *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902, Part 2* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 942. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 2255.

⁶ “The Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902,” in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905 (reprinted)* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), 134.

⁷ Walter W. Marquardt, “Advice to New Teachers,” Vol. 6, Box 5, Walter W. Marquardt Papers [hereafter Marquardt Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. As noted in Chapter One, teachers were expressly forbidden by Act 74 of the Philippine Commission, which created the Department of Public Instruction, from engaging in religious instruction, criticizing any religion, or from attempting “to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect.” See “Sec. Root Answers Catholics’ Criticisms,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1901. Of course, the fact that Marquardt in 1909 still had to advise new teachers to stay out of religion and politics is an indicator that this continued to be a problem.

parcel of this goal was the exercise of personal diplomacy, to avoid giving offense or creating resentment. Teachers were to take care not to seek or engage in a fight with the political and religious leaders of their town. This injunction, however, failed to recognize that education, reform, and Americanization were political issues, and that as teachers became important members of their communities, as tangible representatives of American governance, they were necessarily drawn into religious and political battles.

Teachers found themselves caught in the paradox of American empire. In a context of ongoing warfare, teachers were supposed to be the embodiment of benevolence, and to use suasion in contrast to the continued violence of the U.S. Army. But the educational mission was not separate from the pacification of the islands through armed force. Indeed, public instruction was predicated on military success, and backed up by military authority, at least in the early years of colonization. In addition, relations between teachers and Filipinos were also at times coercive, especially when suasion failed to produce results.

While the state expected teachers to remain above the political fray, part of and yet removed from the scrum of municipal politics, colonial intimacy dictated that the teachers become deeply imbricated in the issues and conflicts affecting the community. Colonial intimacy operated in, and blurred the lines between, public and private spheres.⁸ As conflicts between municipal authorities, military officials, missionaries, and the civil administration in Manila arose, teachers found it impossible to maintain a neutral stance. Even if they managed to avoid taking an outright stance on an issue, the teachers' daily

⁸ My notion of colonial intimacy has been informed by the work of Ann Stoler, particularly her argument that the domains of the intimate reveals structures of power. However, I see colonial intimacy as operating not solely in the realm of the private, but in public and social interactions as well. See Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 4, 13; and Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7-9.

behavior was interpreted in a political light. Once they became influential members of their communities, as they had been instructed to do, teachers could not remain outside observers of the issues with which their communities were grappling. Moreover, many teachers did not agree that they ought to be neutral bystanders in important local debates. They saw themselves as colonial arbiters of municipal disputes. Some teachers took pride in mediating conflicts between Filipinos, and in challenging the colonial state or the military by advocating on behalf of Filipinos.

Just as teachers viewed it as their role to involve themselves in political conflicts, teachers also became concerned in the personal lives and disputes of their servants. In addition, teachers attempted to impose their authority on Filipinos in myriad ways, as masters, voyeurs, and health inspectors. Filipinos, in return, resisted individual assertions of power by utilizing a variety of strategies of evasion and defiance. Some teachers became even more intimate with individual Filipinos, engaging in loving and sexual relationships. However, this colonial intimacy was often fraught with misunderstanding and prejudice. Many interactions between teachers and Filipinos were marked both by a remarkable physical closeness and psychological distance. Even when teachers were able to recognize individual merit, and feel real sympathy and regard for individual Filipinos, there was still often a general tendency to pronounce adverse judgments on “Filipinos” as a people, even among those who were married to Filipinas. The crux of colonial intimacy is that these interactions did not take place on the basis of equality. Neither Americans nor Filipinos could forget that Americans were the arbiters of Filipino capacity and progress, and had real, tangible power over the day to day lives of the townspeople among whom they resided.

In the end then, imperial intimacy was defined by unequal power, and yet marked by quotidian contestations over the terms on which Americans and Filipinos would

engage with each other, and fraught with misunderstandings, or different understandings, of the colonial relationship. These clashes occurred at all levels of imperial interactions, from the battles between teachers and elites over municipal control to power struggles between teachers and their domestic servants. The intimacy of colonial relations defied the expectations of the colonial state at the same time that it forced Americans to negotiate between notions about their own authority and the demands of those upon whom the basis of their authority rested.

The Political is Personal

In many ways, the expectation that teachers would steer clear of politics was an unrealistic one. It was impossible for teachers to become involved in and influence the life of the community without getting caught up in the debates about the welfare and administration of the town that were the provenance of municipal politics. Schools themselves were political. They were a symbol of American power and control, and were clear instruments of pacification. In addition, teachers were disrupting established networks of influence by setting up schools which usurped the power of the *padres*, who had traditionally overseen schools and hired teachers. It is not surprising, then, that attempts by the military to open schools in newly pacified towns, were sometimes met with resistance. When George T. Shoens, a soldier in the 18th Infantry stationed in Dumarao, Capiz, was ordered to start a school, he visited the home of the *presidente*, where the *padre* also lived, to ask him to provide benches for the schoolhouse. Shoens recalled that the *presidente* “nervously answered that he would attend to the matter immediately, meanwhile casting an occasional and fearful glance at the door of the adjoining room, where through a crack I could see the priest peeping and eaves dropping.” The benches were not delivered and Shoens had to return twice more, and on the last visit lifted the *presidente* and shook him. Soon after, the benches were

delivered.⁹ As Shoens was a soldier, and had the authority of the military behind him, his use of violent force was an extension of the violence of warfare. The presidente was in a difficult situation, stuck between the will of the padre and the power of the military, but the latter would win in a direct confrontation. Even after the inauguration of a civil government, teachers in towns where a regiment was stationed had a source of support to pressure municipal officials.

For teachers in stations without a regiment, however, a hostile presidente or padre had considerably more power to interfere or passively resist attempts to open a school. Pattie Paxton and Stella Price were assigned to Talisay, in Negros Occidental. Paxton conjectured, however, that the town “really did not want an American school,” as they were delayed in Bacolod for almost a month, waiting for the presidente to provide a house for them.¹⁰ Once the two women had moved to Talisay, Philinda Rand recorded in her diary that they were “having a hard time.” The town had provided a house, she wrote, “because they were forced to but didn’t give them a bit of furniture or try to do one thing for them.”¹¹ In the end, Paxton and Price were recalled to Bacolod after only a week.¹² Teachers sent to stations without an established community of Americans were dependent on accessing Filipino networks of influence. They were totally dependent on the presidente and other elites to help them to procure a house, furniture, and even food. Even teachers who were received more kindly, therefore, immediately entered into established networks of local power.

⁹ George T. Shoens, Letter to Crone, May 5, 1913, pg. 362-363, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁰ Pattie Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 11-12, Euphemia Paxton Hewitt Papers [hereafter Paxton Hewitt Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹¹ Rand, Letter to Dear People, October 20, 1901, Folder 8, Philinda Parsons Rand Anglemeyer Papers [hereafter PRA Papers], Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹² Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 12, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

The most crucial lesson that successful teachers learned, then, was that unless they had the firm backing of the military or a provincial governor, they had little tangible power to challenge existing municipal hierarchies, and must work with, and not against, them. In this context, success meant learning to work through the proper channels of power. Buckland recounted the experience of one supervising teacher who tried to start a barrio school in a fishing village. The people fought the schools because their children's labor was vital to earning a living. The supervisor made no progress until he appealed to the presidente, who went down to the barrio himself, after which a schoolhouse "was thrown up in less than a week."¹³ The hierarchy in the barrios was based on a system of patronage, and the power of a principale carried considerably more weight than the moral suasion of a teacher. Even though teachers learned to work through established networks of influence, however, the power of the presidente was not unlimited. Although the school was built in the seaside barrio, the people were still against it, as it "interfered with their control over their children's time." One night, Buckland related, a bonfire was built close to the schoolhouse, "and the whole thing went up in smoke."¹⁴

Teachers did occasionally get involved in more serious conflicts with municipal officials, disrupting the established networks of power. Freer recorded an instance in which townspeople wishing to challenge a corrupt justice of the peace appealed to the American teacher and to the division superintendent, and asked them for help in alerting the authorities. The help was given; the justice of the peace was brought to trial and was convicted and stripped of his office.¹⁵ American teachers, then, could serve as mediators

¹³ Ralph Kent Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino* (New York: Everywhere Publishing Company, 1912), 148-149.

¹⁴ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 149.

¹⁵ William B. Freer, *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in the Philippine Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 329-330.

in municipal politics. Rather than remaining aloof from political involvement, some teachers saw it as their duty to side with their town against perceived abuses by municipal officials. Moreover, this episode demonstrates that some Filipinos successfully utilized the authority of American teachers to challenge municipal hierarchies.

This interference in established hierarchies, however, could stir up considerable controversy. In February of 1904, David Barrows, the Director of Education, sent G.W. Beattie, the principal of the Philippine Normal School, to the island of Siquijor, Oriental Negros, to investigate claims made against two teachers, Harry L. Brown and James R. Fugate. The case against Fugate had been initiated by a letter from the presidente of Siquijor to the Governor of Oriental Negros, requesting that Fugate be transferred “because he has demonstrated his inclination to meddle with local politics and all the matters affecting the successful administration of the municipality.”¹⁶ When Beattie and the Provincial Governor, Demetrio Larena, arrived in Siquijor, however, Larena requested that the matter be settled without a public investigation. The presidente, Andres Cortes, immediately submitted a letter withdrawing his accusation, and requesting that Fugate remain at Siquijor. Beattie’s assessment in the case of both men, based on “casual conversations,” was that the complaints originated because they had been “a constant obstacle in the way of a few influential men” who had been ruling their towns “in a very despotic manner.”¹⁷ In one instance, Beattie continued, Fugate had “posted the members of the municipal council of his town as to their rights under the law,” thereby interfering with the “lawless intentions of some officials,” probably including the

¹⁶ H.P. Cortes, Letter to Demetrio Larena, February 3, 1904, “Report of the Department of Public Instruction,” File 41885, Box 201, Classified Files, 1898-1914, Record Group 350, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park [hereafter RG 350, NARA].

¹⁷ G.W. Beattie, Letter to David Barrows, May 14, 1904, “Report of the Department of Public Instruction,” File 41885, Box 201, RG 350, NARA.

presidente.¹⁸ Without judging the merits of the disagreement between Fugate and the presidente, it is clear that Fugate had interrupted established modes of governance. As a third party and representative of American power, Fugate had interfered in the relationship between the municipal council and the presidente. Moreover, it is also clear that Cortes believed, or at least hoped, that Larena would respond to his initial complaint by removing Fugate, thereby reinforcing his power. When it became apparent that the Governor was not disposed to do this (indeed, it even appears that the Governor may have interceded with the president to convince him to withdraw his charges), Cortes backed down, accepting, at least for the moment, the shift in the power dynamics of municipal politics.

Teachers occasionally also acted as mediators in conflicts between municipal authorities and American officials. At times, Filipino officials appealed to the teacher to negotiate on their behalf with the colonial state. In August of 1902 the presidente of Silay asked Philinda Rand to write to the civil administration in Manila about the money to pay the coast guard, as no payments had arrived since April, and he had been forced to advance the funds himself. Rand reported that she “could not refrain from putting a nice little sting in the tail of my letter and now I hope they will hustle the money along.”¹⁹ By remonstrating with the government on behalf of her town, Rand was both reversing the usual flow of colonial power from the state down to its employees, and positioning herself as an advocate for Filipinos against the neglect of the state.

Some teachers also became involved in conflicts between the military and Filipinos in their community. When the intensified fighting on Samar led the military to

¹⁸ G.W. Beattie, Letter to David Barrows, May 14, 1904, “Report of the Department of Public Instruction,” File 41885, Box 201, RG 350, NARA.

¹⁹ Rand, Letter to Aunt, August 5, 1902, Folder 9, PRA Papers.

forbid selling more than one peck of rice at a time, it became extremely difficult for remote, inland towns to get enough rice. Leyte was placed under these restrictions because it was suspected that insurgents on Samar were being supplied from that island. In this political context, any Filipino attempting to secure large amounts of rice might be suspected of being a supporter of the insurgents. In order to try to get some rice for the people of his town, who had been subsisting primarily on bananas, William Allison Kepner, a teacher stationed at Burauen, traveled to Tacloban himself to see what could be done.²⁰

Harry Cole challenged military authorities even more directly during this period. When Emigdio Acebedo, the presidente, and Emilio Asensi Biao, a rich Chinese mestizo, were arrested and sent to Samar, Harry served as an intermediary between their families and the military. On January 6, 1902, soldiers came into Palo and told the presidente that he needed to come with them to participate in taking Biao to Tacloban. When they arrived at Tacloban, both Acebedo and Biao were arrested, and put on a boat for Catbalogan, Samar. Harry Cole reported that the families of the two men were frantic to find out why they had been arrested, but were afraid to go to Tacloban in case they were arrested as well, so he went to Tacloban himself, though he did not find out much. The Governor promised that he would come to Palo the next day to reassure the people, and Harry came home. The Governor did not come, however, and two days after his first trip, Harry took a petition from the municipal council to Tacloban.²¹ That same day, Delfina Noble and Señora Biao decided to go to Tacloban to try and see General Smith, and asked Mary Cole to go with them. Mary Cole went, although reluctantly, though on the

²⁰ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, November 18, 1901, Folder 3, and Mary Cole, Diary entry, November 13, 1901, Folder 13, Harry and Mary Cole Papers [hereafter Cole Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

²¹ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, January 7, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers. The letter is incorrectly dated 1901.

advice of another American, who cautioned that she might be accused of helping the insurrectos, she did not go with them to Smith's headquarters. The women were unsuccessful in getting a hearing with General Smith, although Harry did manage to find out that the men were charged with sending money and rice to the insurrectos.²²

Two days later, Harry wrote to both Dean C. Worcester, the Secretary of the Interior, and Major H.T. Allen, the head of the Constabulary. He declared that mounted soldiers rode through the town every day, terrifying the townspeople, who talked of fleeing to the mountains but were afraid that the insurrectos would kill them. They were so frightened that they had asked Harry to go to Tacloban once again, which he was going to do the next day.²³ Rumors were circulating that Padre Nicanor Acebedo, the former padre at Balangiga and the brother of the presidente, who had also been arrested, had been killed. The Governor assured Harry that no one had been killed, though when Nicanor Acebedo was released and came to Palo, they discovered that he had been severely tortured. Finally, on January 27, Emigdio Acebedo came home, and two days later Emilio Biao returned as well.²⁴ Both Harry and Mary Cole were severely shaken by peremptory arrest of Acebedo and Biao, and especially by the tangible proof of torture by the military provided by Nicanor. Despite Mary's fear of intervening, Harry acted as an advocate and intermediary for the people of Palo, travelling to Tacloban multiple times to harass the governor, and writing to colonial officials to ask them to intervene.²⁵

²² Mary Cole, Diary entry, January 8, 1902, Folder 13, Cole Papers.

²³ Harry Cole, Letter to Dean C. Worcester and Major H.T. Allen, January 10, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers.

²⁴ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, February 16, 1902, and Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, January 26, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers.

²⁵ Sadly, this seems to have been the height of Harry's goodwill towards the people of Palo. By June of 1902, after an outbreak of smallpox and then cholera which scared him badly, his friendly concern was replaced by frustration, disappointment, and even approbation of the military policies that he had criticized previously. Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, June 30, 1902, Folder 7, Cole Papers.

Despite his labors trying to get information on the prisoners and his willingness to challenge military authority to do so, Harry was not pleased by the manner of Acebedo's return. When the presidente finally came back, Harry noted that he "passed right by his house, and did not seem particularly careful to greet the members of his family," but instead went to the church, "where he stayed 10 min. or more." When he was asked if had been allowed to write home, the presidente replied that he had been but "that he did not care to." Harry declared that Acebedo's "seemingly indifference" towards his family "somewhat disgusted" him.²⁶ Mary Cole, however, gave a very different account of the presidente's actions. Noting Acebedo's return to Palo in her diary, she declared that he had greeted his family with embraces, and was "indeed glad to get home again."²⁷ It is possible that Harry's "disgust" was caused more by Acebedo's attitude toward himself than by the presidente's reunion with his family. As will be discussed later, shortly after Acebedo returned home, smallpox broke out in the community. When Harry appealed to the presidente to institute preventive measures, Acebedo responded with Christian fatalism. Given his recent exertions on Acebedo's behalf, it is likely that Harry would have expected more demonstrative gratitude toward himself. When met instead with stoicism and indifference to danger, Harry was enraged, and does not seem to have considered how his recent imprisonment might have affected the presidente's desire to cooperate with American notions of security.

²⁶ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, February 16, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers.

²⁷ Mary Cole, Diary entry, January 27, 1902, Folder 13, Cole Papers. While both of the Coles were sincerely affected by the arrest of Acebedo and Biao, Mary was particularly upset by Nicanor's account of his torture, writing to her family that she could "scarcely believe that Americans would be guilty of such barbarism." In her diary a few days earlier, she noted, "Would n't such treatment make insurrectos of any body." Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, January 26, 1902, Folder 5, and Diary entry, January 20, 1902, Folder 13, Cole Papers. As Kimberly Alidio has argued, Mary's invitation to her family to "inhabite the category of 'insurrecto' was a highly inflammatory gesture that signaled her rejection of systematized intimidation." Kimberly A. Alidio, "'When I Get Home, I Want to Forget': Memory and Amnesia in the Occupied Philippines, 1901-1904," *Social Text*, No. 59 (Summer, 1999):112.

Teachers often took a seeming lack of expressiveness to mean that Filipinos did not have strong emotions or feel deeply. When Herbert D. Fisher was assigned to Tanauan, Leyte, he met a teacher who had accidentally shot and killed the brother of the presidente. The teacher told Fisher that the presidente had shown no anger, but sent him to Tacloban under guard. Fisher himself reported that the presidente welcomed him, never mentioning his brother's death at the hands of an American teacher. When Fisher raised the subject with other people in Tanauan, he reported that he "got only a shrug of the shoulder – an accident, purely an accident." Fisher explained this attitude by claiming that the "Filipino is a good sport – a natural born gambler and never twinkles an eyelash at a loss or gain."²⁸ What teachers glibly attributed to the stoic and unfeeling nature of Filipinos, however, may have been more a result of the effect of colonial violence. The ability to disguise emotion may well have been a tool for self-protection, especially after reminders of the coercive force of American governance.

To some extent, American teachers recognized and were frustrated by the sense that they were not privy to the inner emotions of the Filipinos they lived around them. Especially in their first months in the islands, teachers recorded fearing that they were surrounded by secret enemies. A common refrain in the letters and diaries of the American teachers was that Filipinos were treacherous, that they would, in the words of Mary Cole, "pat you on the back with one hand and stab you in the back with the other."²⁹ This fear was likely strengthened by the events at Balangiga on September 28, 1901. Provoked by harsh military treatment, the men of Balangiga attacked the

²⁸ Herbert D. Fisher, *Philippine Diary* (New York: Vantage Press, 2005), 56-60.

²⁹ Mary Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, undated, Folder 12, Cole Papers. This letter was probably written in the fall of 1901, shortly after their arrival.

American soldiers stationed in their town at dawn, killing about half of them before the others managed to escape.

Despite the efforts of the civilian colonial government as well as the United States government to erase traces of warfare, teachers did not forget that they were living in a country at war, especially those located in provinces and towns close to ongoing violence. Mary Cole relayed the sense that while some Filipinos liked Americans, most were merely “pretenders,” with enough sense “to know that it is of no use to hold out against the Americans and so are Americanistic.” These same people, however, would fight for independence if they “knew they had the chance of being victorious.” Mary concluded, “I think they are all deceitful and treacherous and I would n’t trust any of them, to any great extent.”³⁰ Blaine Free Moore displayed a rare sense of sensitivity to the Filipino perspective when he declared that some Filipinos “have been treacherous to the Americans but no more than perhaps could be expected when a foreign army is invading their native country.”³¹ Several months later, however, Moore reiterated the idea that the “most marked feature of the natives in warfare is his treachery,” claiming that there were towns all over the islands which had pretended to be friendly to Americans, while secretly providing information, supplies, and funds to insurrecto bands.³² The attack on Balangiga and the subsequent retribution by the U.S. military, which included orders to consider any one over the age of ten a potential combatant, was a stark reminder to the American teachers, especially those on Leyte, that despite the ostensible pacification of their towns, the islands were still a war zone.

³⁰ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, August 17, 1902, Folder 8, Cole Papers.

³¹ Blaine Free Moore, Diary entry, December 3, 1901, Folder 2, Box 2, Blaine Free Moore Papers [hereafter Moore Papers], Library of Congress.

³² Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, March 2, 1902, Folder 2, Box 1, Moore Papers.

Moreover, Filipinos had to exercise caution in negotiating their relationships with Americans. To appear less than friendly and obliging, whatever one's personal feelings and allegiances might be, was dangerous, especially in the early years of American occupation, when detainment and torture were considered acceptable methods of interrogation for those allegedly fighting with or even aiding the Philippine Army. Moore and Cole's wariness about what they labeled as treachery and deceit was necessary to survival during this period. Teachers had a hard time allowing for the nuance that wartime conditions created. The reality was, however, that there was a very fuzzy line between civilians and soldiers during this period. Many of the elite families with whom the teachers became friendly had ties to the revolutions against Spain and the United States. Pattie Paxton Hewitt's native teacher gave her a camisa that she had embroidered with the flag of the Katipunan. Hewitt noted that to "show the flag would have been a criminal offense," but that the maestra knew she "would cherish this as a piece of her work, especially since it showed something of the emotional stress she had undergone during the last days of Spanish occupation – a subject of which she never spoke."³³ Many teachers knew of Filipinos in their towns who had fought in the Philippine Army at one point, some quite recently. While stationed in Tanauan, one of Walter W. Marquardt's teachers told him that one year ago he had been fighting in the mountains, until a U.S. Army captain sent for him to come and teach.³⁴ Benjamin E. Neal even reported seeing one of his pupils among a group of prisoners sent to his town by a neighboring presidente.³⁵ Especially in the early years of colonization, many

³³ Paxton Hewitt, "Memoir," 19, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

³⁴ Walter W. Marquardt, Diary entry, September 1, 1901, Vol. 6, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. This teacher was probably Santiago de Veyra, who was the first cousin of Jesus de Veyra, a commander in the Philippine Army. See Marquardt, Diary entries, July 17, 1901, Vol. 6, and March 23, 1902, Vol. 1, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

³⁵ Benjamin E. Neal, Diary entry, November 24, 1901, Folder 5, Box 1, Benjamin E. Neal Papers [hereafter Neal Papers], Syracuse University Library.

Filipinos were forced to live a sort of double life; sympathizing with or even working for independence while simultaneously living amongst American officers and officials, trying of necessity to play the role of an Americanista.

Teachers often demonstrated a psychological denial of the reality of colonial violence. The teachers occasionally witnessed evidence of ongoing war conditions, especially teachers stationed near Samar. At times, however, this sort of violence was regarded almost as an entertainment. Mary Cole noted in her diary in December 1901 that she and Harry, upon hearing cannon fire, had gone up the side of the mountain with opera glasses and seen “a great display of canon [sic] shooting,” as they watched a gun boat “firing on about 15 barotes of insurrectos who had started to Leyte from Samar.”³⁶ John D. DeHuff also recounted an “amusing incident” which showed “in what awe the natives of the town” held Americans and how “nervous” they had become “since the recent unpleasantness,” referring to the hanging and imprisonment of insurrectos. In December of 1901, he and several other teachers went bathing in a river near Cabatuan, when they noticed a “young native” come down to the river without seeing them. “Just for fun,” one of the teachers “shied a little pebble toward him and said ‘Hey’ rather sharply, whereupon the poor fellow let out a yell that could have been heard a mile; and without waiting to look round or roll up his trouser-legs, he dashed through the water at a rate of speed which he could not equal now on dry ground, nor ever stopped until he was well up on the opposite bank.”³⁷ What DeHuff lightly called an “amusing incident” was an indication of the wartime conditions on Panay. DeHuff referring to the incident as “amusing” only drives home how psychologically removed teachers were from the reality

³⁶ Mary Cole, Diary entry, December 23, 1901, Folder 13, Cole Papers. The reality of colonial warfare, of course, would soon come home to Mary Cole, after see the effects of American torture.

³⁷ John D. DeHuff, “Memories of Orient Seas,” unpublished manuscript, pg. 44, Box 5, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Papers [hereafter Willis DeHuff Papers], Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

of war, from the destruction that had been wreaked upon the islands, and from the fear that Filipinos lived with for years; the fear of being killed or raped, of losing their homes and livelihoods.

The Ties that Bind

In the colonial context, social events like *fiestas* (a religious festival or holiday) and *bailes* (dances) were often imbued with political meaning. After a meeting with her division superintendent shortly after her arrival in Manila, Philinda Rand reported that she and Margaret Purcell were primarily expected to do “the society act.”³⁸ Socializing with the townspeople, especially the elites, was considered an obligation. Writing of a dance that she was invited to that evening, Rand declared that she would rather not go, as she was “very tired,” but that “it would never do for two officials to stay away.”³⁹ Herbert Priestley reported that the people in his station were “extravagantly honored” when Americans attended social functions, and treated them “like royalty.”⁴⁰ This status, however, did create an obligation on the part of the teachers. The Priestleys could “rarely refuse an invitation” as it would offend their hosts. Yet it was much better, he concluded, “to have them as they are than to have them secretly unfriendly.”⁴¹ Both teachers and Filipino elites, then, interpreted the attendance or absence of American teachers at social events as a political statement. The willingness of American teachers to socialize with Filipinos, from attending a party to paying a visit, was considered to be recognition of

³⁸ Rand, Letter, undated, 1901, Folder 8, in PRA Papers. Early socializing, however, was complicated by language. For the American teachers who did not know even a little Spanish, the first few months in remote stations could be isolating and lonely. While some towns had residents that were fluent in English, most elites spoke Spanish and their native language, and most Filipinos could converse only in Tagalog, Ilocano, Visayan, or one of the almost two hundred other languages spoken in the islands. Many of the teachers, however, did eventually learn a smattering of Spanish, enough to converse with the elites of the town. Some teachers, including Herbert Fisher, even learned to speak the local dialect.

³⁹ Rand, Letter to Aunt, February 24, 1902, Folder 9, PRA Papers.

⁴⁰ Herbert Ingram Priestley, Letter to Mother, February 6, 1902, Folder 7, Herbert Ingram Priestley Letters, 1901-1904 [hereafter Priestley Letters], Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁴¹ Priestley, Letter to Mother, February 28, 1902, Folder 7, Priestley Letters.

social equality. As greater political autonomy was predicated upon the ability of Filipinos to prove themselves to be “civilized,” this sort of social recognition was politically significant. For an American to refuse invitations, then, was not just a social snub, it was a declaration of inequality.⁴²

Harry Cole certainly understood it in this way. Despite spending a fair amount of time with the elite families of Palo, by the spring of 1904, Harry reported that he and Mary were “not invited out to the natives’ houses anymore.” As they had declined a few invitations, he concluded, “I guess they understood that we do not care to go.” In direct contradiction of the policy of the Bureau of Education, Harry declared that he believed that they were “more respected this year ... because we do not mix up with the natives,” and that he certainly did not “take any pains to give them the idea that they are as good as we are.”⁴³ This refusal to “mix up” was precisely what indicated to the Filipino elites of Palo that the Coles thought themselves to be superior.

Whether an American would or would not dance with Filipinos was also a sort of behavioral shorthand for his or her position on the colonial government’s policy of attraction, social equality, and even the feasibility of eventual independence. The issue of white, American women dancing with Filipino men was especially fraught, given the history in the United States of policing white women’s bodies and physical intimacy between white women and nonwhite men. Edith Moses, the wife of Bernard Moses, the Secretary of Public Instruction, made a point of socializing with elite Filipinos. She saw these interactions as an integral part of the colonial policy of attraction, and contrasted

⁴² Paul Kramer also discusses this phenomenon, which he calls “fiesta politics.” Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 185-186.

⁴³ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, April 8, 1904, Folder 11, Cole Papers. The Coles left the islands that spring. It is possible that they began to retreat socially knowing that they would be leaving, and that it would not, therefore, affect their professional advancement.

her behavior with military officers and their wives, who remained socially aloof. Moses even created a club for the “purpose of bringing Americans and natives together socially.” No woman was allowed to join who would not dance with a Filipino, and no man who would not agree to pay attention to Filipinas rather than American women.⁴⁴

Apart from big events, like weddings, feasts, and dances, the level of intercourse between teachers and townspeople varied depending on the size of the American “colony” in their town. Blaine Free Moore declared that as “is always the case where there are quite a number of Americans,” the Filipinos and Americans in Tarlac Province did “not mix up much,” but that each formed “a clique by themselves.”⁴⁵ This was especially true in Manila, where the number of Americans allowed them to form their own “colony.” In stations in which there were few or no other Americans, teachers were much more likely to socialize with Filipinos on a daily basis. Pattie Paxton noted that, as there were no other Americans in La Carlota, she and the other American teacher “soon became acquainted with the ‘gente’ of the town.”⁴⁶ Single teachers, especially, tended to mingle with the families in their stations. John D. DeHuff frequently socialized with the young men in his town, despite his somewhat disparaging remarks about their persistence in his diary.⁴⁷

Teachers’ decisions about where and with whom to socialize could have other political meanings as well, drawing them into local conflicts. When communities fractured along religious or political lines, or when Filipino authorities clashed with other

⁴⁴ Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official’s Wife* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1908), 74, 89-90.

⁴⁵ Moore, Letter to Brother, August 2, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, Moore Papers. Despite being ostensibly on the same side, however, conflicts often broke out between Americans in the same station. Teachers fought with government officials, military officers, and other teachers over issues of jurisdiction, local influence, and simple clashes of personality.

⁴⁶ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 21, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

⁴⁷ DeHuff, diary entries, October 13, 1901, and January 15, 1902, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

Americans, teachers were often drawn into the fray, regardless of attempts to stay neutral. One cause of conflict was over the presence of Protestant missionaries in towns across the islands. Benjamin E. Neal recorded the struggle between Mr. and Mrs. Lyons, missionaries stationed in Dagupan, Pangasinan, and municipal authorities of nearby towns, noting that officials in Pozorrubio and San Jacinto had threatened to kill Lyons unless he stopped his missionary work. The presidente of Pozorrubio had also arrested some of the members of the Lyons's church.⁴⁸

While Neal became friendly with the Lyons, other teachers worried that appearing too close to missionaries would endanger their own work. Mrs. E.E. Weston, a teacher stationed in Calumpit, recalled that she "was almost afraid to say 'Good morning' to the missionary lest I endanger my influence."⁴⁹ Mary Fee also reported that American teachers in Capiz sacrificed good relations with the missionary in their town in order to preserve the good will of the padre. None of the American teachers went to the church services, partially because some of the Americans were Catholics or Episcopalian while the missionary was a Baptist, but also because the teachers felt that openly supporting missionary work would compromise their position as teachers. In an attempt to round up Americans, the missionary personally invited all the teachers to a special Thanksgiving morning service. However, the padre of the town, learning of this, arranged for a Te Deum to be sung half an hour earlier that same day, and had the Governor send formal invitations to the teachers, so that they could not refuse without giving offense. The teachers decided to attend the Te Deum, and go to the Thanksgiving service afterwards.

⁴⁸ Neal, Diary entry, February 9, 1904, Folder 5, Box 1, Neal Papers.

⁴⁹ Mrs. E.E. Weston, "Early Experiences in the Philippines," pg 361, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

The first service lasted much too long for them to do so, however, and the teachers had a good laugh about the craftiness of the padre.⁵⁰

Religious conflicts within Filipino communities also became imbued with nationalist politics. While the religious and political authorities were too closely bound together to give Protestant missionaries much chance of converting large numbers of elite Filipinos, the Aglipayano movement had a wider appeal.⁵¹ Louis Lisk reported that the movement “swept Oroquieta, leaving a comparative few staunch to the Roman Catholic church.” The presidente himself was an adherent, and would intercept people on their way to church on Sundays to try to persuade them to convert. In this atmosphere, it was impossible to be seen as neutral, and Lisk was therefore “under suspicion from both sides.” Lisk recalled, “If I took dinner with the Aglipayano bishop, I was then an enemy to the Romanistas. Probably the next week I’d take dinner with the Roman bishop. Then I was small pumpkins with the Aglipayanos.” He also had trouble protecting the children of Romanista parents from the taunting of the children of Aglipayanos.⁵² Lisk was drawn into this conflict despite his attempts to maintain good social relations with both sides, as the divide spilled over into the daily life of his community, and into school affairs. His inability to remain neutral illustrates the ways in religious matters could be enveloped by nationalist politics, and also how decisions about socializing could take on a political hue. The Aglipayano movement was a firmly nationalist movement, popular with native

⁵⁰ Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co, 1910), 272-273.

⁵¹ The Aglipayano movement, named after Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, was a nationalist religious movement which broke from the Catholic Church, similar to Anglicanism. The official name of the denomination was the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*. Founded in 1902, the church quickly grew into a movement with twenty bishops, two hundred and fifty priests, and four million adherents. Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 106-107.

⁵² Louis H. Lisk, Letter to the Director of Education, September 27, 1913, pg. 331, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

Filipinos, while those of Spanish descent tended to remain with the Roman Catholic Church. Lisk attempted to remain above the fray, socializing with both groups, but the townspeople insisted on imbuing these visits with political meaning. Filipinos did not let American civilians unilaterally dictate the terms of their neutrality. At times they demanded that the teachers take a stand on religious and political issues of the day, defining the grounds on which the colonial relationship was based.

Domestic Colonization

As domestic workers were the group most intimately connected with American teachers, their position in American households provided a stage for acting out the relations of mastery, paternalism and tutelage that were simultaneously unfolding on a national level. As with their schools, the teachers' successful control of their servants demonstrated their fitness for the work of empire. Yet the intimacy of the servant-master relationship was greater by far than the typical teacher-student relationship. To be sure, teachers paid attention to their students' bodies, dress, comportment, and home lives, but they did not have constant access to and surveillance of their pupils. As almost all domestic workers lived in the homes of their employers, however, teachers had near-constant access to their servants. They controlled (or attempted to control) when and how they worked, what they ate, how they behaved, and when and where they travelled. It is not surprising, then, that teachers spent a fair amount of time describing their struggles with and victories over their servants. Even those teachers who did not bother to describe the Filipinos who lived in their communities wrote about their servants.

For most of the American teachers in the Philippines, having servants was a novel experience. For a small salary and the provision of a diet that consisted primarily of rice, teachers had domestic laborers who hauled firewood and water, cleaned, cooked, did the marketing, and did whatever other household work was required, including childcare for

those teachers with children. William W. Marquardt noted that one reason “the Orient has such an allure for the Occidental is the ease with which good servants can be obtained. In the Philippines a house servant is called a ‘muchacho,’ or more commonly by the English equivalent ‘boy.’ It is always ‘Boy, do this,’ or ‘Boy, do that’; ‘Boy, come here,’ or ‘Boy, go there.’”⁵³ Domestic workers ranged in age from quite young (seemingly around nine or ten, based on photographs) to well into middle age. No matter how old a servant was, however, he or she was still labeled a muchacho or muchacha – the term in the Philippines served as a description of status rather than an indication of age.⁵⁴ Marquardt declared, in fact, that more “than one American teacher has created a little estrangement with his pupils by following the American school custom and referring to his male pupils as ‘boys.’ For the pupils this term connotes ‘servants,’ whereas to the American teacher the term more often signifies affection than inferiority.”⁵⁵

Despite Marquardt’s assertion that students did not want to be called “muchachos,” because of the connotations of servitude the term carried, the line between pupils and servants was often blurred. Some students in the public schools also worked as servants in the homes of American teachers. When Marquardt was transferred to the high school in Palo in November, 1903, he and his wife, Alice, brought one of his pupils with them to their new station. The boy had passed the exam to enter the school, but was

⁵³ William W. Marquardt, “Servants,” Vol. 8, pg. 15, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁵⁴ Marquardt, “Boy,” Vol. 8, pg. 15, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. It appears to have been more common for boys and men to work as domestic servants than girls or women. Some female teachers, including Mary Fee and Philinda Rand, did employ female servants, but other teachers reported that it was difficult to find women willing to cook and clean for them. While some single women shared their homes with male servants, it was less common for single male teachers to have a live-in female servant. I have only found one instance where this was the case, and the young woman was referred to as the *querida*, or mistress, of the master. Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 85.

⁵⁵ Marquardt, “Boy,” Vol. 8, pg. 15, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

too poor to go, so the Marquardts brought him as a servant.⁵⁶ The Priestleys also had at least two students living with them, who helped with the housework in exchange for room and board, and Herbert Priestley noted that there were “two or others of my boys who come up and sponge on us occasionally, but we offer them considerable discouragement by sending them on errands in the rain, rat hunting, etc.”⁵⁷ Indeed, in towns where municipal authorities compelled parents to send their children to school, any muchacho of school age was likely to also be a pupil in the teacher’s school.

While many servants came from the lower classes, this was not universally the case. Harry and Mary Cole employed a muchacho named Orsiño, who appears to have been a member of the large and influential Acebedo family.⁵⁸ Some Filipino families regarded working for an American teacher as an educational opportunity. Freer noted that the son of his landlord in Solano wanted to work for him “for the sake of the English he might learn.”⁵⁹ More frequently, however, it seems that schoolchildren from poorer families desired to work for a teacher, even without pay, as a chance to learn more English and “American ways.” Eventually, Freer recorded taking in seven boys on these terms, and that other teachers did the same, as it was “no small satisfaction to be means

⁵⁶ Marquardt, Diary entry, November 28, 1903, Vol. 2, pg 98, Box 7, Marquardt Papers.

⁵⁷ Priestley, Letter to Mother, January 25, 1902, Folder 6, and Letter to Mother, January 18, 1903, Folder 18, Priestley Letters.

⁵⁸ Photograph, February 19, 1903, Folder 21, Cole Papers. In a photograph of Mary, another American woman, and two Filipino boys, both of whom are labeled “muchachos,” one of the boys is identified as “Orsiño Acebedo.” Mary Cole wrote in her diary that she had fired Orsiño in January of 1902 for being “entirely too smart and independent for a servant” and “so very dirty and filthy.” As the photograph was marked February 19, 1903, however, it is possible that he was hired back. See, Mary Cole, Diary entry, January 30, 1902, Folder 13, Cole Papers. I have not been able to ascertain exactly to which branch of the Acebedo clan Orsiño was related. He does not appear to have been immediately related to Emigdio, the presidente, Nicanor, the padre, or Carlos, the teacher. It is likely, therefore, that he was the child of a cousin.

⁵⁹ Freer, *Philippine Experiences*, 48.

of aiding poor, ambitious and appreciative boys a step upward; and a diet of rice, fish and *gulay* [vegetables] is not expensive.”⁶⁰



Figure 12: Susan Gladwin, Orsiño Acebedo, Valentin Mataro, and Mary Cole (Harry and Mary Cole Papers, Bentley Library, University of Michigan)

For the teachers, a large part of their writings about the servants was meant to demonstrate their mastery over their *muchachos* and *muchachas*. The struggles that they recorded, however, indicate that servants did not accept the teachers’ authority as absolute. Mary Fee reported that her servants, Romoldo and Tikkia, had their own ideas about how a household ought to be run. Utilizing metaphors of warfare, she recounted her efforts to teach her servants to clean in American fashion. After a battle over the use of scrubbing brushes and mops, “the Americans scoring victory in the dish washing and

⁶⁰ Freer, *Philippine Experiences*, 279-280.

floor campaigns,” Fee declared “war on the arrangement of furniture.”⁶¹ After fighting with her servants over methods of cleaning and serving, Fee noted that the first time the fine silverware was used, she found Romoldo at the kitchen table, eating the leftovers, “using our pearly-handled knives and other service.” Fee did not scold, however, as she “regarded it as an evidence of civilization on his part.”⁶² Other teachers also noted with pleasure their servants adaptation to American ways. Harry Cole declared that Mary had taught their muchacho to “cook pretty well,” so that they ate “very good meals.”⁶³

Teachers often resorted to physical coercion or violence when servants misbehaved or failed to perform as expected. When Fee came upon her servant, Tomas, poking garbage through the slats in the kitchen floor, something he had been expressly forbidden to do, she seized a broomstick and “swatted” him so hard that he fell over, violating “Governor Taft’s standards for American treatment of our brown friends.” After she did this, Fee wrote, “Ciriaco, the cook, lay down on the floor and laughed. Later I heard him and Ceferiana agreeing that I was ‘*muy valiente*.’”⁶⁴ Philinda Rand also wrote of an “adventure” that she had with her servants. After a disagreement, Candida attacked Francisco, attempting to hit him with a stick, and Rand had intervened, holding her wrists, while Candida struggled, “a picture of animal rage.” Rand was afraid that she would not be able to hold her, but Candida at last became calm, whereupon Rand “ordered her out most grandly and told Francisco if I heard anything more from them they would both sleep in the ‘Calaboose.’” After a little while, she had a long talk with both servants, writing to her cousin that she had “never realized before that I could do it so well and I never realized also how true it is that they are, as Kipling says, ‘half devil

⁶¹ Fee, “Housekeeping in the Philippines,” *The Advance*, March 12, 1903, pg 344.

⁶² Fee, “Housekeeping in the Philippines,” 345.

⁶³ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, February 3, 1903, Folder 10, Cole Papers.

⁶⁴ Fee, *Impressions*, 228.

and half child.”⁶⁵ Despite her first success at managing her servants, Rand foresaw trouble with Francisco, writing, “He is very bright and much too advanced in knowledge for his years. I hate to tell him to do anything as sometimes he will and sometimes he won't. When he sets out to make us laugh we simply have to and it is very bad for discipline.”⁶⁶ Sure enough, Rand reported the next month that Francisco had gotten “so he would not pay attention to what we said,” and Rand forced him to “kneel on the floor for two hours,” and as a result Francisco was now “meekness itself.” Rand noted that she did not want to “whip him as that it too undignified for a woman,” but that “physical punishment is all they can understand.”⁶⁷ By depicting her ability to control her servants and moderate their behavior through a combination of moral suasion, will, and violence, Rand affirmed her mastery over her own home and her fitness to be an agent of civilization. The violence inherent in day to day interactions of civilian colonization is nowhere more apparent than in teachers’ violence toward their servants. Teachers were not supposed to strike their pupils, and could get into trouble if they did. Teachers’ ability to coerce municipal elites was likewise limited. In the privacy of their homes, however, teachers could strike their servants with impunity, imposing their will with violent force if verbal commands or remonstrations failed.

Teachers most often configured these conflicts as resulting from their servants’ laziness, thereby naturalizing their violence as a corrective to this vice. Herbert Ingram Priestley declared that while his servants “did very well what little work we have,” he and his wife, Bess, had to “tell them every time to do anything. They can’t learn that there is a regular routine to go through.”⁶⁸ The provocation was sometimes so serious, Priestley

⁶⁵ Rand, Letter to Katie, September, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

⁶⁶ Rand, Letter to Minnie, December 12, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

⁶⁷ Rand, Letter to Aunt, January, 1902, Folder 9, PRA Papers.

⁶⁸ Priestley, Letter to Mother, February 6, 1902, Folder 7, Priestley Letters.

claimed, that even “the gentle Mrs. Priestley” would slap the “sinfully perverse cook.”⁶⁹ Priestley himself would kick or cane the servants’ backsides, in punishment for frequenting the billiard halls and neglecting household duties.⁷⁰ The teachers asserted that these punishments were unfortunately necessary to maintain order and the respect of their servants. Mary Cole wrote that Filipino servants “have more respect for anyone who orders them around like a set of dogs.” It was “awful to have to treat them so,” she declared, “but they won’t do a thing unless you are severe with them.”⁷¹ This justification of harsh measures and physical violence was also often used by the teachers to defend military policies. They argued that Filipinos as a people only responded to brute force, and had to be cowed into obedience. The teachers understood their violence, therefore, as a sort of microcosm of the imperial mastery that was being enforced across the islands.

The teachers’ focus on the disciplining of their servants in their letters and diaries illuminate some of the strategies that domestic workers utilized to avoid, circumvent, and temporarily escape the power of their employers. Servants shirked work, left the house without permission, persistently performed tasks the way they wanted to rather than the way they had been instructed to, sometimes stole food, money, or small personal items, and, as a last resort, quit. Mary Cole complained that her servants would clean things “half-decent for two or three times after each showing but then they were just as bad as ever afterwards.” She had been confident when she and Harry first came to the Philippines that they would be able to teach them to do things their way, but was now

⁶⁹ Priestley, Letter to Mother, July 5, 1903, Folder 24, Priestley Letters.

⁷⁰ Priestley, Letter to Mother, January 18, 1903, Folder 18, Priestley Letters.

⁷¹ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, April 10, 1902, Folder 6, Cole Papers.

convinced that the “habits of 500 yrs cannot be over come in a day and especially when they don’t care to over come them.”⁷²

Servants also responded to their employer’s attempts at discipline in more direct ways. After Mary Fee knocked Tomas over with a broom, he gave her a wide berth when passing her in the house, and she noted that she found it “impossible to restore his confidence.” Only a few days after the incident, Fee realized that the coffee she and other teachers were drinking had diluted carbolic acid (then being used as a disinfectant during a cholera outbreak) in it. When she questioned Ciriaco and Ceferiana, they could not explain how it had happened, though Fee thought they were “not much concerned,” and “seemed to regard it as a pleasing sleight-of-hand performance on their part.”⁷³ It is impossible to know what really happened in this instance, though it is certainly possible that the coffee had been spiked purposefully by one of the servants as revenge for Tomas’ punishment. Two weeks later, Tomas, without permission, visited a barrio where cholera was raging. Fee fired him for this offense, but before he left, he stole a lamp. Fee declared, however, that she did not have the energy to pursue him as she still had a “guilty conscience” about hitting him.⁷⁴

Stealing was also a fairly common complaint. Herbert Priestley reported that a servant who had been sent for bread never came back. They discovered later that he was in jail “for having previously escaped from jail at Pasacao, where he had been put for stealing a revolver from the captain there, and aiding insurrectos otherwise.” Around the same time, Priestley noticed that his knife was missing along with twelve dollars. Mr.

⁷² Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, February 17, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers. These strategies, of course, were not unique to the Philippines. Indentured servants and enslaved peoples in the U.S. resorted to similar strategies to fight back against the unequal power dynamic inherent to unfree labor.

⁷³ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 230.

⁷⁴ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 231.

Hilts, the division superintendent shared a home with the Priestley's, also found that his gold watch was missing. The captain of the Constabulary interrogated Hilts' muchacho and the muchacha of a Filipino family who had been in the home, and the girl confessed to stealing the money and the watch.⁷⁵ The theft of items of great value or large amounts of money, however, seems to have been unusual. Servants were much more likely to take food, change, or other small items. Harry Cole recorded that he and Mary threw away leftovers rather than let their servants eat them, to prevent them from cooking extra food for themselves. The Coles also measured out their muchachos' weekly allowance of rice, and kept the rest locked away. Harry declared that this was what servants expected, and that if trusted, "every advantage will be taken." They had given their servants as much rice as they wanted at first, Harry noted, but when they went over to the presidente's home for dinner one evening, they noticed that they were being served the kind of white rice they used. After complimenting the quality of rice, Mrs. Acebedo said, "Yes, it's the same as you use," and then, correcting herself, said "No, not the same but similar." This had happened, Harry concluded, "before we measured the rice," and that it must have come from their stores, "as such rice as we Americans use can not be bought here."⁷⁶ In their final months in Palo, the Coles twice caught their cook stealing canned goods from them.⁷⁷

Part of the teachers' anger at petty theft seemed to derive from differing understandings of the domestic service relationship. Mary Cole noted that the people in Palo were convinced that they were rich, despite what she said to the contrary.⁷⁸ Yet the

⁷⁵ Herbert Priestley, Letter to Mother, September 25, 1901, Folder 2, Priestley Letters.

⁷⁶ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, May 13, 1902, Folder 6, Cole Papers. The letter is marked 1901, but was written in 1902.

⁷⁷ Mary Cole, Letter to Mother, undated, probably May, 1904, Folder 11, Cole Papers.

⁷⁸ Mary Cole, Letter from Mary to Dear Folks at Home, Feb 17, 1902, Cole Papers.

Coles *were* rich in a sense; they were perhaps not as wealthy as the Biao family, but they could afford to live very well by the standards of the town. It is not surprising that domestic workers might assume that taking small items or some food would go unnoticed. Indeed, some servants may have even believed that the use of a teacher's possessions or the appropriation of food or small items was a perk of the job. Pattie Paxton related the story of a muchacho who presented his mistress with a photograph of himself wearing a tuxedo. When asked where he had gotten the tuxedo, he explained that he had taken it from her husband's trunk and had it cut down to fit him. As the husband never wore the tuxedo, he had assumed that he "could not need and would not miss" the suit.⁷⁹

Teachers also occasionally involved themselves in the personal lives of their servants. After Fee and another female teacher moved into their new home in Capiz, Fee's servant, Romoldo, convinced her that it was inappropriate for her to be living alone without a female attendant, and found a female servant, named Tikkia, to work in Fee's home. As Romoldo was a "young and rather attractive man" and Tikkia was "such a female pirate," Fee insisted that she suspected nothing amiss. A few days later, however, Fee discovered that Tikkia was the *matrimonia*, or common law wife, of a man named Pedro. Fee "promised justice to the sniffing Pedro," and confronted her servants. Tikkia, however, refused to return to Pedro.⁸⁰ After a falling out with Romoldo, Tikkia returned to Pedro, and Fee reported that Romoldo was "exceedingly dour for several days, but brightened up to inform us that he had found a *matrimonia* of his own."⁸¹ Such, Fee wrote, "are the broadening effects of travel and two short months in the Orient.

⁷⁹ Paxton Hewitt, "Memoir," 27, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

⁸⁰ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 113-117.

⁸¹ Fee, "Housekeeping in the Philippines," *The Advance*, March 12, 1903.

Conceive of the old maid school teacher in America assuming the position of judge in a matrimonial – or extra-matrimonial – scandal of this sort.”⁸² But Fee did choose to get involved. She seemed to have considered it her responsibility, as the master of the household, to be involved in the personal lives of her servants.

Philippine understandings of power relations and patronage often drew the teachers into relationships based on reciprocity. While teachers often criticized the system of “caciqueism,” a reciprocal system of obligations which tied poor families to wealthy patrons, they found themselves being drawn into patronage relationships. Teachers were at times called upon to make small loans, or to participate in the wedding of a local couple. John D. DeHuff noted in his diary that he was asked to be a padrino at the wedding of one of his teachers.⁸³ W.W. Marquardt recorded being asked for money by both his washerwoman and one of his native teachers.⁸⁴ Mary Fee also noted that her laundrywoman had asked her ten pesos to pay for her husband’s funeral. Fee declined to “countenance such extravagance” and only gave the woman five pesos. That afternoon, Fee came across the funeral procession and, being curious, decided to follow it to the church. She described the service and burial, and also the son of the dead man, who was “naked to the waist” and “glistening brown after a bath,” not wanting to soil his white muslin shirt before arriving at church.⁸⁵ While Fee’s laundrywoman was able to successfully appeal for some funds for the burial by virtue of their relationship, Fee then considered herself as entitled to follow and observe the funeral for which she had paid.

⁸² Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 116.

⁸³ DeHuff, Diary entry, July 22, 1902, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

⁸⁴ Marquardt, Diary entry, September 21, 1901, Vol. 6, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. For more circumstances of such patronage requests, see Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, 255, and “Burying a Filipino,” *Belleville News-Democrat*, April 30, 1909, pg. 7.

⁸⁵ Fee, “Burying a Filipino,” *Belleville News Democrat*, April 30, 1909, pg. 7.

In so doing, Fee not only took in the rituals of burial, but also visually consumed the naked torso of the son.

Viewing, Imagining and Touching Filipino Bodies

Teachers often asserted the power of visually consuming Filipino bodies. Indeed, intimate access to Filipinos went beyond disciplining or becoming involved in the personal lives of servants. American teachers had a fascination with viewing Filipino bodies. When they first arrived especially, teachers noted the dress, or lack thereof, of Filipinos in Manila. Pattie Paxton recalled being embarrassed when she saw two small children wearing only unbuttoned *camisas* on her first day in the Philippines.⁸⁶ Other teachers, however, adapted quickly to the new views. Soon after arriving in Manila, Philinda Rand wrote to her family that it was “quite true that the Filipinos don’t wear much beyond the proverbial fig leaf,” but that she and Margaret Purcell “haven’t minded much.”⁸⁷ Mary Cole reported that one did not feel shocked at seeing naked children “for their skin is so brown that they do not look so naked.”⁸⁸ Other teachers also naturalized the nudity of brown bodies, commenting on it in ways that they would not have felt free to write about white bodies.

Female teachers were especially enthusiastic voyeurs, often describing viewing Filipino men in various states of undress. They displayed a penchant for watching Filipinos – even spying on them in their homes if their windows happened to provide a view. The fascination with male Filipino bodies is not surprising, given that single American women would probably not have had the chance to see many semi-naked male bodies before. In the Philippines, however, they could stare to their hearts’ content. The

⁸⁶ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 3, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

⁸⁷ Rand, Letter, August 20, 1901, Folder 8, PRA Papers.

⁸⁸ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, September 17, 1901, Folder 2, Cole Papers.

bodies of Filipino servants were at once the least likely to be fully clothed of any with which the female teachers would have come in contact, and also those to which they had the most intimate access. Just as female teachers had the power to punish the bodies of their servants, as the owners of their labor, they also felt a right to watch them.

Rand eagerly described Filipino bodies in her diary (though not in her letters home). She labeled her cook “picturesque” with a “pair of magnificently shaped legs.” Rand saw even more of a friend of her servant, who visited “without any garments whatever, except the clout,” and was “glistening with water and made a fine bronze statue as he stood with a pail in his hand.” In the same diary entry, Rand described watching her male servants and other “boys of the neighborhood” take advantage of a rain shower to bathe, writing that they looked “like bronze statues and it gives one much the same feeling of pleasure to look at them.”⁸⁹ Elizabeth Willis also spent time viewing Filipino bodies. During a visit to Baguio, she wrote that the “natives are most interesting,” and that the men wore coats and hats with a g-string and nothing else. It was “ridiculous,” she declared, to “see some of them in American attire from the hips up with naked, well-shaped bronze legs below.”⁹⁰ Interestingly, Willis used the same phrase, “well-shaped bronze legs” in another letter to her mother a week later, indicating that those legs caught her attention more than once.⁹¹ The repeated use of the word “bronze,” and the idea of Filipino men being like bronze “statues” is significant, as it comes up again and again in

⁸⁹ Rand, Diary entry, October 2, 1901, Folder 15, PRA Papers.

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Willis, Letter to Mother, April 6, 1911, Folder 15, Box 10, Willis DeHuff Papers.

⁹¹ Willis, Letter to Mother, April 13, 1911, Folder 15, Box 10, Willis DeHuff Papers. Benjamin Neal also remarked on Igorot physique in his diary, wrote in his diary that an Igorot muchacho’s muscles were “really beautiful.” Neal later took a picture of the man, noting “of course had on only G string.” Neal, Diary entries, December 3, 1902, and December 13, 1902, Folder 5, Neal Papers.

female teachers' descriptions of Filipino bodies.⁹² This “bronzing” of Filipino men was a way for American women to legitimize and desexualize their voyeurism. If protracted staring at naked male torsos and legs (and especially nonwhite torsos and legs) would normally indicate an illicit attraction, then dehumanizing those bodies, by referring to them as inanimate statues, could be a way to normalize an otherwise deviant act. Mentally transforming the bodies of Filipino men into statues was also a way to validate the teachers' visual possession of them. It turned what was a semi-erotic act of voyeurism into the platonic appreciation of a thing of beauty. The process of viewing and objecting their servants, moreover, reinforced the teachers' position of mastery, as they become the possessors not only of their servants' labor, but of their bodies as well.

Male teachers were also eager observers of Filipino bodies, and some at least made Filipina bodies the subjects of elaborate sexual fantasies. Herbert Fisher recorded that J.C. Muerman, the division superintendent of Tayabas Province, and an Army officer, both of whom were “happily married,” used to compete with each other over “who could resist the greatest temptations among the womenfolk around them.” Muerman and his wife had a “good-looking mestiza woman” as a servant, who Fisher labeled “a vivacious little creature and open to suggestion on occasion.” This servant became “the object” of some of these “tales of chastity.” Once, Muerman claimed that while his wife was on a trip to Manila, this servant had come to his room that evening dressed “in a very light gown,” and “with a lot of more or less imaginary description of the incident that followed, the young lady was finally induced to return to her room and behave herself.” Muerman then asked what the officer would have done in his position,

⁹² In her first novel, *The Locusts' Years*, Mary Fee also uses this terminology, describing her heroine watching a fishing banca manned by twelve men whose “naked backs were made of rippling bronze.” Fee, *The Locusts' Years* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912), 136.

to which the officer replied, “Just what you did, you damned liar.”⁹³ American men often fetishized Filipino women as erotic objects and willing sexual partners. In writing about two rape cases that were being tried in Iba, Zambales, Blaine Free Moore declared that once a judge became “familiar with his duties in this country,” nine out of ten such cases were thrown out, because rape was not possible “when there is no virtue among the women.” Filipino women, in his evaluation, only brought rape charges in order to settle a grudge or in the hopes of earning some money.⁹⁴

If American teachers were fascinated by the brown bodies that surrounded them, Filipinos seemed just as interested in gazing back at the teachers. Ralph Kent Buckland noted that when he went swimming with another teacher, a crowd gathered to watch them and “seemed very much interested in our whiteness.”⁹⁵ Mary Cole declared that she had “to go dressed up all the time,” because they did not have much privacy even at home and their neighbors spent “the greater part of their time in watching us.”⁹⁶ She claimed that many of her female students admired her whiteness, and attempted to whiten themselves by applying face powder. The presidente’s wife had asked if she would “turn white if she went to America,” and that she did not want to go otherwise.⁹⁷

Just as female teachers normalized the viewing of semi-nude male bodies by racializing nonwhite nudeness as asexual and natural, they would have had to do this same psychological work, for the instances in which they came into close physical

⁹³ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 323.

⁹⁴ Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, April 8, 1905, Folder 7, Box 1, Moore Papers. The fetishization of nonwhite women’s bodies, depicting them as sexually “loose” and willing partners, is by no means limited to the colonial context. Black women were often portrayed in this way throughout U.S. history. See Laurie B. Green, *Battling the Plantation Mentality: Memphis and the Black Freedom Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 81-111.

⁹⁵ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 109-110.

⁹⁶ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks, December 8, 1901, Folder 4, Cole Papers.

⁹⁷ Mary, Cole, Letter to Mother, August 31, 1902, Folder 8, Cole Papers.

contact with Filipino men. Of course, female teachers came into close physical contact with their servants while they were striking or punishing them, but in this case, the power dynamic was so clearly in the teachers' favor that it would not have been a potentially problematic touching. There were times, however, in which female teachers came into contact with Filipinos in a way that would have to be naturalized. Some teachers, at least, resolved this potential conflict by maintaining a psychological distance from the person to whom they were physically close.

Beyond visually consuming Filipino bodies, American teachers at times came into more intimate contact with the Filipinos around them. It was common practice for Americans, both male and female, to be carried to shore on the shoulders of a Filipino when arriving to or departing from coastal towns on a boat. Marquardt noted that "the sensation of riding this distance on another man's shoulders" was "unique in the extreme," and that it felt wrong at first to use "human beings for such a work." Before long, however, one became "philosophical in the matter" and made the best of it. Indeed, it could even be a source of fun, Marquardt concluded, by slipping money to the man carrying another American to "give your friend an unexpected bath."⁹⁸

For women, however, this touching could be more problematic. In the early years of colonial governance, women traveling by boat between towns, or from island to island, were often carried ashore by a Filipino cargador. Pattie Paxton Hewitt recalled that if she and Stella Price were "lucky" when arriving in Bacolod, they could transfer from an army launch to a dinghy to an army wagon to get to shore. If there was not wagon, she reported, a cargador would shout "diotáy," (the small one) and "rush through the shallow

⁹⁸ Marquardt, "Upon Leaving Leyte," pg 178, Vol. 6, Box 5, Marquardt Papers.

water to make off with Stella in his arms.” Two others would then groan “dacu,” (the large one), and “make an armchair” for her to sit upon.⁹⁹



Figure 13: Philinda Rand being carried to a boat (Philinda Parson Rand Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute)

Paxton Hewitt noted that she and Price “frequently heard those two words” as they walked together. While the teachers were being carried by Filipino cargadores, which can be interpreted as a mark of status, the act opened both women to the judgment of Filipino men. If Paxton Hewitt, as noted in Chapter Two, had a tendency to

⁹⁹ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” pg. 9, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

psychologically erase the presence of Filipino men during her journeys, consciousness of their assessment of her physical form would have made this erasure more difficult. Indeed, she may have mentally negated their presence in order to remove herself as an object of the Filipino gaze.

Playing Doctor

Beyond their work as inspectors of and instructors in health in the schools, American teachers often became involved in the health of the community at large. Warwick Anderson has argued that the Bureau of Health in Manila was “predominantly a distant theater for the rehearsal and performance of white American male virtue.”¹⁰⁰ Both American and Filipino women were largely excluded from or marginalized within the Bureau of Health in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Even during cholera epidemics, female teachers do not seem to have been appointed as health inspectors alongside their male counterparts. Despite this official exclusion, however, American teachers, women as well as men, did a fair amount of doctoring in their own communities, which brought them into intimate contact with the townspeople. A few months after she arrived in Silay, Philinda Rand wrote home asking her sister to “tell Dr. Haub that I have made quite a reputation on her medicines.” Rand had given some pills and a hot water bottle to Vicenta Araneta, the wife of a prominent local hemp planter, to treat her neuralgia, and the woman’s gratitude “was quite pathetic.” Rand was also “dosing” her sick servant girl. As a result of her ministrations, she reported, Rand was “now known as ‘la medica.’”¹⁰¹ Mary Cole also recorded she was providing medical care to some of the people in Palo, who thought that she and Harry were doctors “because

¹⁰⁰ Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 6.

¹⁰¹ Rand, Letter to Minnie, December 12, 1901, PRA Papers.

we have a little medicine.”¹⁰² For American women, however, these activities were unofficial, while at least two male teachers, Blaine Free Moore and John Henry Manning Butler, were appointed to their municipal Boards of Health. Moore had been intermittently doctoring the people in his stations since his arrival, while Butler declared that for seven years he “treated no less than a dozen cases of sickness weekly.”¹⁰³

Teachers had medicine that they had brought with them from the United States, bought in Manila, or obtained from military doctors. They also had a basic sense of how to care for their own small ailments and illnesses. In many cases, this made them the closest thing to a doctor that their town had. Benjamin Neal noted that he and his brother, Olin, were getting such a “remarkable reputation” as doctors that they were running low on medicine and had “decided to give mostly salts, so as to reduce our business.”¹⁰⁴ Moore had a stock of quinine, which had been given to him by a military doctor and hospital quartermaster when they left town, and which he used to treat a local woman with a fever.¹⁰⁵ Moore gained enough of a reputation that during an outbreak of smallpox in February, 1902, he was issued a surgeon’s knife and enough of the virus to vaccinate five hundred people. Moore declared: “I’m not a physician but if these people want to be vaccinated guess I can do it.” He grumbled, however, that there was a native doctor on Masbate being paid by the government to do this sort of thing, while he was expected to do it gratis.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Mary Cole, Diary entry, December 17, 1901, and January 1, 1901, Box 1, Folder 13, Cole Papers. Harry, however, does not seem to have been an enthusiastic doctor, declaring: “As for doctoring the natives, excuse me!” Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, March 16, 1902, Box 1, Folder 5.

¹⁰³ Moore Papers, passim. John Henry Manning Butler, “Early Experiences as a Teacher in the Philippines,” pg. 239-240, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁰⁴ Neal, Diary entry, March 19, 1902, Box 1, Folder 5, Neal Papers.

¹⁰⁵ Moore, Diary entry, November 2, 1901, Folder 10, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹⁰⁶ Moore, Diary entry, February 28, 1902, Folder 1, Box 2, Moore Papers.

During epidemics, some male teachers were even appointed as official health inspectors. In 1902, smallpox and cholera epidemics swept the islands. In an attempt to control the spread of the disease, inspectors were detailed to inspect houses, burn down houses in which there had been sickness, and send those infected to detention centers. When George C. Kindley arrived in Manila in April of 1902, the city was already in the throes of a cholera epidemic. He was immediately detailed as a health inspector to the Chinese Club. Kindley recalled that he “had some hard rubs against other American inspector who had very little use for these celestials,” but that as it was his nature to sympathize with “the ‘under dog’ I stuck to them and won their confidence.” The Chinese community of Manila liked Kindley so much that when he was assigned to teach in the vacation normal school in Cavite, they protested and he stayed on with the Bureau of Health until receiving his permanent assignment as a teacher in Unisan, Tayabas.¹⁰⁷ Such cordial relations between a teacher-cum-health-inspector and the community, however, was a rarity. Much more often, communities felt threatened and mistreated by health officials, while Americans reported frustration with sanitary conditions and Filipino reactions to disease. During the cholera epidemic of 1902, Moore reported that the authorities were having “the usual trouble with the natives,” a reluctance to report cases of illness. The reasons for this, he continued, included the local distrust of Americans and the practice of burning homes where there had been deaths from cholera. However, the “most potent reason,” Moore noted, was the “fear of the detention camp” where detainees were held “in company with others who will have the disease.”¹⁰⁸ Disease created a cycle of distrust, therefore, in which health officials justified coercion

¹⁰⁷ George C. Kindley, Letter to Frank L. Crone, July 4, 1913, Box 6, Vol. 2, pg 311, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Moore, Diary entry, May 21, 1902, Folder 1, Box 2, Moore Papers.

based on arguments about native deceit, while Filipinos attempted to deceive health officials about illness because of the coercive practices utilized.

Indeed, during the cholera epidemic, American teachers themselves were at times suspected of spreading, rather than alleviating, disease. Lewis S. Thomas recorded the experience of an American teacher in Camiguin Province who had been accused of poisoning wells. The teacher confronted the charges, however, and proved that they were false.¹⁰⁹ Mary H. Fee also recorded that during the epidemic one of the members of the Capiz Board of Health was accused of poisoning wells, and that there had been an anti-American demonstration in the town's market, and a Philippine Scout had shouted "Abajo los Americanos!" (down with the Americans).¹¹⁰ Accusations such as these may have been a sign of real mistrust of Americans and especially public health officials, but they may also have been a deeper expression of frustration and anger at heavy-handed American policies and coercive public health initiatives. Anna M. Donaldson, a teacher stationed in Libmanan, Camarines Sur, recalled that the attitude of the older people of her station towards the government was "one of vigilant tolerance," and that the only "complaint of tyranny" that Donaldson ever heard was "against the Health Officers when they burned the houses of the natives after cholera, or compelled them to clean up their premises."¹¹¹ A clash over sanitary conditions during outbreaks of disease, therefore, reveals deeper conflicts over ideas about freedom, individual property rights, and the right of government to dictate public health policies that conflicted with individual liberty.

¹⁰⁹ Lewis S. Thomas, Letter, August 2, 1913, 346-347, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹¹⁰ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 225.

¹¹¹ Anna M. Donaldson, "Account of First Two Years of Work in the Philippines," Box 6, Vol. 2, pg 257, Marquardt Papers.

Interactions between health officials and Filipinos were marked by a lack of understanding on both sides. Blaine Free Moore complained that cholera spread because Filipinos would not use disinfectant, ate from communal bowls, and buried corpses in secret. “Besides,” he continued, “these people are so uncivilized that they can’t understand the most ordinary rules of hygiene.” Circulars had been sent out with steps to take to avoid cholera, including boiling all drinking water. At a meeting of the Provincial Board, however, several prominent members of the province declared that they could not drink boiled water. When Moore asked why, it became clear that they had been trying to drink the water while it was still “scalding hot,” because while the circular had said to boil the water “it said nothing about *cooling* it.” In response, Moore noted, the Bureau of Education sent out circulars directing teachers to show Filipinos how to boil water, clean utensils, and other sanitary precautions.¹¹² Moore blamed the miscommunication on the lack of civilization of the Filipinos in his province, rather than on the failure of the government to explain why boiling the water was important, and how to do it properly.

Issues of disease and sanitation policies created some of the most fraught exchanges between Americans and Filipinos. Harry Cole wrote home during a small pox outbreak that “the more I see of this lazy, dirty, indolent people, the more I come to despise them. I came here with the desire to help them, to enter their home, and to try to uplift them. But it seems to me a useless task. And I am becoming more and more convinced that for years and years to come, the only business Americans ought to have over here is to *rule* them with somewhat of severity and yet with strict honesty and uprightness.”¹¹³ Just a week before, Harry and Mary had received quite a shock when, on watching a band coming down the street, they saw bearers carrying an open hearse with a

¹¹² Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, September 12, 1905, Folder 7, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹¹³ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, February 16, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers.

dead child covered in small pox, surrounding by a procession of townspeople. The Coles were “horrified and quite thoroughly scared” by this spectacle, and their fear was heightened when they saw townspeople, including some of their students, visiting a home across the street from them where another child had just died of the same disease. When Harry asked the presidente and others why “such things were allowed,” he was told that they trusted in Providence; that “if their time to go has come, they will go any way whether by small-pox or by some other means; if their time has not come, small-pox can not hurt them.”¹¹⁴ Fearful for his and Mary’s safety, Harry was furious at both the government that had sent him to the Philippines and the Filipino people who refused to cast off their traditions in favor of American teachings about sanitation. This episode, which took place only a few weeks after Emigdio Acebedo was freed by the military, evaporated almost all of the sympathy aroused by the revelation of the torture being committed by the military on suspected insurgents. In his bitterness and fear, Harry Cole failed to recognize that his initial intention to enter Filipinos’ homes to “try and uplift them,” was what many Filipinos vigorously opposed, especially as “uplift” took the shape of callous and overbearing regulations.

Friendships

While many interactions between teachers and Filipinos revolved around intricate power struggles, and sometimes outright coercion, some of the Thomasites also recorded friendships with Filipinos based on mutual respect. Despite these relationships, however, most American teachers displayed a deep ambivalence toward Filipinos. In addition, even teachers who professed regard or love for individual Filipinos often continued to make sweeping generalizations about the Filipino people as a whole.

¹¹⁴ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, February 16, 1902, Folder 5, Cole Papers.

Several of the teachers struck up friendships with the Filipino teachers who worked with them. Pattie Paxton Hewitt recalled that her maestra was convent-educated and possessed a “cultivated manner.” It was this same teacher that gave Hewitt the camisa that she had embroidered with the flag of the Katipunan, as a mark of esteem and confidence.¹¹⁵ Philinda Rand also reported a friendship with a Filipina living in a neighboring town. She declared that Sofia Reyes was the only Filipina she had met with “anything like American ability,” having learned enough English in a matter of months to be appointed a teacher. Rand admired that Reyes had “buckled down and done things which among the Filipinos are considered scandalous,” including going alone to the government building to receive her salary. When all teachers were required to take civil service exams to retain their positions, Reyes failed, but only by two points. Rand declared that “everyone regards her as quite a phenomenon.” When Reyes invited Rand and Purcell to visit her in Saravia on New Year’s Day, 1903, they were glad to accept.¹¹⁶ The friendship continued to develop, with Reyes sending Rand a nanny goat and kid a few months later, so she would have fresh milk to drink.¹¹⁷ A year later, when Rand was preparing to be transferred from Negros to Lingayen, on Luzon, she and Purcell went with Reyes to visit her cousins in Jaro, on Panay. The three women had their picture taken together “in mestiza dress.”¹¹⁸

Louis and Winnie Baun also formed a close relationship with Gregorio and Maria Romulo.¹¹⁹ The two families spent a good deal of time together socially, sharing meals and walks around town. Gregorio Romulo and Louis Baun also had a close professional

¹¹⁵ Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 19, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

¹¹⁶ Rand, letter to Aunt, January 4, 1903, Folder 10, PRA Papers.

¹¹⁷ Rand, letter to Aunt, April 12, 1903, Folder 10, PRA Papers.

¹¹⁸ Rand, Letter to Katie, May 25, 1904, Folder 11, PRA Papers.

¹¹⁹ Gregorio and Maria Romulo were the parents of Carlos Romulo, the future World War II hero and politician.

relationship; Romulo served as “interpreter to everybody here,” Louis noted, and was in constant demand in this capacity. Indeed, he was often present when Baun met with important members of society, including Mr. Franco, a Spanish merchant, and the presidente of Camiling.¹²⁰ When the Bauns were transferred from Camiling in April of 1902, Louis reported that everyone “from the presidente down” wanted them to stay, as they had heard about other teachers misbehaving, and were “pleased with our work, as well as being our friends, so dislike to see us go for those reasons.”¹²¹



Figure 14: Margaret Purcell, Philinda Rand, and Sofia Reyes (Philinda Parsons Rand Papers)

¹²⁰ Louis D. Baun, Letter to Father, February 3, 1902, *Serving America's First Peace Corps: Letters of Louis D. Baun, Written en route to and from the Philippines, September 12, 1901 – March 30, 1903*, ed. A. Ruth Sayer (Wakefield, RI: A. Ruth Sayer, 1971), 19-21.

¹²¹ Baun, Letter to Father, April 11, 1902, *Serving America's First Peace Corps*, 36.

It was not uncommon, however, for American teachers to befriend individual Filipinos while still making sweeping derogatory generalizations about Filipino people. Harry and Mary Cole were particularly prone to do this, often comparing Filipinos to African Americans in virulently racist language, while at the same time registering enjoyment in the company of specific neighbors, and gratitude for acts of specific kindness. In April 1902, the Coles wrote enthusiastically about a day at the sea shore with two of their Filipino teachers, including Carlos Acebedo, the presidente's brother, three students, Carlos' father and mother, and Nicanor Acebedo, the padre and brother to Carlos and the presidente.¹²² Mary reported that they ate lunch with their fingers, which was "great fun." Just a few pages later, however, she declared, "I haven't much use for a Filipino. Gov. Taft may make all the glowing reports he wishes about the Filipinos & the P.I. but as far as knowing the people he is an ignoramus."¹²³ Mary was also fond of her Filipino teacher, Delfina Noble, calling her a "gentile, sensitive [sic] little lady." In the same letter, reporting that her bath clothes and rubbers had been stolen, she concluded, "They are all a regular set of thieves."¹²⁴

Harry declared that while it was enjoyable to visit with the presidente's family as well as "the rich chino's," he and Mary did not "do a great amount of visiting with any of the natives" when "Americans are in town," though he conceded that the "best of the natives will do when there are no white people to associate with." He continued, "As a people I consider the American negro as more trustworthy than these Filipinos and you know how much this is saying."¹²⁵ Mary reiterated this opinion, writing that "they are all

¹²² Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, April 11, 1902, and Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, April 16, 1902, Folder 6, Cole Papers.

¹²³ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, April 16, 1902, Folder 6, Cole Papers.

¹²⁴ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, June 1, 1902, Folder 7, Cole Papers.

¹²⁵ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother and Leon, May 24, 1902, Folder 6, Cole Papers.

deceitful and treacherous and I would n't trust any of them, to any great extent."¹²⁶ Yet one month after writing that letter, Mary Cole discovered that she had head lice and went to Mrs. Biao for help, who combed her head thoroughly to get rid of the bugs, working for two to three hours a day, for two days in a row. Once deloused, Mary noted appreciatively that Mrs. Biao was "awfully nice and clean and always so good to me."¹²⁷



Figure 15: Susan Gladwin, Mary Cole and a Filipina woman, possibly Mrs. Acebedo
(Harry and Mary Cole Papers, Bentley Library, University of Michigan)

It is difficult to reconcile expressions of regard for and reliance on individual Filipinos with blanket statements about Filipinos being deceptive, untrustworthy, and incapable of self-government. It is tempting to give greater weight to the sentiments of

¹²⁶ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, August 17, 1902, Folder 8, Cole Papers.

¹²⁷ Mary Cole, Letter to Dear Folks at Home, September 16, 1902, Folder 9, Cole Papers.

mistrust and prejudice, and to conclude that Americans like the Coles did not feel genuine friendship for the Filipinos in Palo, at least beyond a sort of selfish gratitude for the pleasures they made possible and the gifts they bestowed. It is certainly true that whatever affection the Coles may have felt for specific individuals was not enough to overcome their general prejudice toward Filipinos in general. Exemplifying this sort of contradiction are two passages from Ralph Kent Buckland's memoir, *In the Land of the Filipino*. Buckland declared that Filipinos had been "greatly overestimated" because of their brazenness, self-confidence, and the ability to pretend to know more than they did.¹²⁸ Buckland makes this sweeping generalization about Filipino character and then, just a few pages later, when writing about doctoring two Filipinos, one of whom was grateful while the other was not, declares: "This goes to show that, when it comes to fine points of character, what is said of one Filipino may not apply in the slightest degree to others. Filipinos are often spoken of as a people absolutely without gratitude; but I am of the opinion that one who understands them well will find just as much of the grateful spirit in their make-up as in the make-up of any other race.... It is a question of the individual rather than of race."¹²⁹ American teachers, indeed all Americans, displayed a tendency to attribute a wide range of negative traits to a monolithic Filipino character, including untrustworthiness, laziness, dirtiness, stupidity and dishonesty. Yet almost all of these teachers found Filipinos that they could esteem and like. Their feelings towards individual members of their community, however, do not seem to have mediated their propensity to malign Filipinos as a race. Indeed, their negative interactions with Filipinos, when servants failed to follow orders, or students or teachers fell short of academic expectations, were much more likely to be applied as representative of

¹²⁸ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 215-216.

¹²⁹ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, 236.

Filipinos as a whole than positive interactions, which were often treated as exceptions or aberrations, rather than indications that Filipinos were as capable of virtue and genius as other peoples.

This ambivalence in the American teachers' relationships with Filipinos was probably felt with equal, if not more, force by Filipinos themselves. Especially for those who had family members who had resisted or were actively resisting American authority, it would have been difficult to parse apart their relationships with individual Americans from their feelings toward the colonial state. Yet it was part of the reality of colonization that numerous Filipinos had to do just this. Russell Trace was a soldier with the 39th Volunteers, a regiment which "assisted in 'cleaning up' Laguna, Batangas and Cavite Provinces" from December, 1899, to March, 1901.¹³⁰ While there, Trace's captain introduced him to the Lopez family of Balayan, and asked him to give the ladies of the family English lessons. The Lopez family was one of the most prominent families in Batangas Province. The eldest son of the family, Mariano, was a businessman and had helped to pacify Batangas by participating in negotiations with generals in the Philippine Army. Sixto Lopez, who had been a close friend of Jose Rizal's, was in exile in Hong Kong, refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. Pepe Lopez had fought with General Malvar and had been taken prisoner by the 39th Regiment and eventually released, and was attending school in London. Cipriano Lopez was still at that time a lieutenant colonel in the Philippine Army. Juliana Lopez, the second-youngest sister, told Trace: "We are kindly disposed toward Americans personally, but are anti-American as to the government. I tell you this that you may decide as to whether or not you will

¹³⁰ Russell Trace, "Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands," Vol. 2, pg. 367, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

teach us.”¹³¹ Trace did choose to teach the young women, and became friendly with the family. During this period, Trace recalled that he often spent a night chasing Colonel Lopez, and the next day teaching his sisters, who always knew what he had been doing. Indeed, when Trace began collecting Batangas wood, as he later found out, the Lopez girls asked Cipriano to send them specimens to pass on.¹³²

As the war dragged on, and General Bell began the policy of reconcentration in late 1901, the Lopez family was targeted. Three of the brothers, Cipriano, Lorenzo, and Manuel, were imprisoned in 1902 for five months. Clemencia, who had been visiting Sixto in Hong Kong, traveled to the United States to advocate for her brothers, meeting with President Roosevelt and even addressing Congress. Trace had mustered out in March of 1901, when his regiment left the Philippines, and received an appointment as a regular teacher. By 1903, he had been made the principal of the high school. As noted in Chapter Three, Juliana Lopez, likely angry over the government’s treatment of her brothers, left the school after becoming incensed by a lesson on taxation without representation.¹³³ For Trace, Juliana’s refusal to come back to school was evidence of her being a spoiled child and unsupportive of education. For Juliana, however, who had long been balancing acquiescence to American authority and personal friendships with Americans with her nationalism and anger at the imprisonment of her brothers, the disconnect between professed American values and practice seems to have been the final straw.

¹³¹ Trace, “Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands,” Vol. 2, pgs. 367-368, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. Trace always referred to Juliana as “Julia,” though I have not seen this nickname given her anywhere else.

¹³² Trace, “Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands,” pg. 369, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹³³ Trace, “Experiences and Educational Progress in the Islands,” pgs. 378-379, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

Intermarriage

The ultimate marker of intimacy between American teachers and Filipinos was marriage. Despite the fact that almost no published memoirs discussed intermarriage, a surprising number of Americans, including teachers, married Filipinos. While these marriages were almost exclusively between Filipinas and American men, there is some evidence that a few American women married Filipino men. In addition, while such unions were often frowned upon by other Americans, they did not necessarily end a teacher's career or exclude them from American society. Finally, while intermarriage demonstrates that some American teachers deviated significantly from the tenets of the supremacy of whiteness and Americanness, it did not predetermine an American husband's attitude toward or assessment of Filipinos as a whole.

The first instances of intermarriage that teachers encountered were usually between soldiers or army officers and Filipinas. For Americans fresh off the boat, and used to viewing interracial alliances as highly deplorable, these marriages were something of a shock. Pattie Paxton recalled her dismay when she and Belsita Hull dined with a colonel and his wife shortly after arriving in Valladolid, and the Colonel "spent the evening extolling mixed marriages," claiming they were the "White Man's Burden," the "only way to raise the living standard of the Filipino."¹³⁴ After attending a wedding between a former soldier and a Filipina, Louis Baun declared that while some Filipinas were "quite comely, fairly intelligent, and no doubt make good wives as far as bearing children and attending to the house," he did not like the idea of Americans marrying Filipinas, because it "much easier to get down to their level than to bring them up to

¹³⁴ Paxton Hewitt, "Memoir," 16, Paxton Hewitt Papers.

our's." However, Baun admitted, the man did act honorably by entering into matrimony, as most of the soldiers simply lived with native women as long as they chose.¹³⁵

Most American soldiers had native *queridas*, or mistresses, rather than wives. It was not uncommon, Blaine Free Moore noted, "for the white men here to live with a native girl but the arrangement is usually temporary." The "usual terms," Moore continued, were for the man to provide a house and board for the woman and her parents.¹³⁶ Indeed, this arrangement was dictated by Filipinas as well as by the exigencies of a soldier's life. Baun recounted the story of a lieutenant who had wanted to marry a Filipina. She, however, refused to marry him, saying that he would go home and leave her, and she would not be able to remarry. She offered instead to live with him, "as that would not prevent her getting married to a Filipino when he left." The soldier balked at this arrangement, however, and the "match was declared off."¹³⁷

Not surprisingly, when single, male teachers sometimes had minor flirtations or even full-blown romances with young Filipinas in their towns. Benjamin E. Neal noted that both he and his brother, Olin, found one of their native teachers "charming," and visited her often.¹³⁸ He also claimed that another American teacher, George E. Pruitt, had "fallen in love" with some of his students and would probably marry soon.¹³⁹ These same teachers, however, derided the idea of actually marrying a Filipina. A common objection was that Filipinas, even uncommonly beautiful ones, would lose their looks quickly after having children. John D. DeHuff described meeting a Filipina who was

¹³⁵ Baun, Letter to Mother, February 9, 1902, *Serving America's First Peace Corps*, 22.

¹³⁶ Moore, Diary entry, November 23, 1901, Folder 10, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹³⁷ Baun, Letter to Mother, February 9, 1902, *Serving America's First Peace Corps*, 22.

¹³⁸ Neal, Diary entries, November 21, 1902, December 5, 1902, and January 27, 1903, Folder 5, Neal Papers.

¹³⁹ Neal, Diary entry, December 20, 1902, Folder 5, Neal Papers. Unfortunately, Pruitt died of small pox one year later. See Neal, Diary entry, December 12, 1903, Folder 5, Neal Papers.

very pretty, but claimed that he lost interest after a vision of “a wrinkled old hag, with a cheroot like a rolling-pin in her mouth” rose before him.¹⁴⁰ A more serious objection, however, was the argument that it was a racial betrayal to marry a Filipina, and would lead to racial degeneration. Herbert D. Fisher merely dismissed one teacher who married a Filipina teacher after getting her pregnant as a “fool,” but he “blew his top” when Francis E. Hemenway, the principal of the high school at Tacloban, married one of his native teachers, Josephine Gobenciong. While he allowed that she “was a very fine woman,” he declared she was “not at all good-looking” and “quite dark,” even for a Chinese mestizo. Moore was so shocked by the match because Hemenway was “highly educated” from a “fine family” in New England. He explained it to himself, however, by supposing that, as Hemenway always taught the higher grades, he had gotten so close to girls of marriageable age that he “had become blinded enough that he could not tell brown from white.”¹⁴¹ As noted in Chapter Two, moreover, John D. DeHuff was considerably distressed when his close friend, Walter A. Buck, broke off an engagement to a girl back home in order to marry Susana Confesor, depicting the affair as a traditional colonial degeneration narrative.¹⁴² While other America teachers had died of disease, for DeHuff, it was clear that his friend’s demise was a result of his marriage and subsequent degeneration.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ DeHuff, Diary entry, February 24, 1902, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

¹⁴¹ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 112, 116-117. W. Cameron Forbes, the Governor-General of the Philippines, seemed far more favorably impressed with the young lady. He met “Mrs. Hemenway” at a ball in August of 1909 and deemed her a “snappy little Filipina, whose dress seemed a tasteful combination of American and Filipina styles.” See W. Cameron Forbes, Journal entry, August 28, 1909, Vol. 3, William Cameron Forbes Papers [hereafter Forbes Papers], Houghton Library, Harvard University.

¹⁴² DeHuff, Diary entries, February 5, 1904, February 18, 1905, August 27, 1905, Diary 1, and “Memories of Orient Seas,” 363-364, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

¹⁴³ DeHuff, “Memories of Orient Seas,” 363-364, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers.

Some teachers' reactions to intermarriage seem to have depended on the color and class of the bride. Hebert Priestley noted with complacency that one of his native teachers, Elisa Feced, had married a Mr. Woolley. Feced was "the best native teacher in town," he declared, and spoke "English almost like an American." In addition, she was of "mixed Portuguese, Spanish, and Bicol birth," which was probably a marker of high class status.¹⁴⁴ However, when a Mr. Cull, the secretary of the superintendent, married a Filipina, Priestley scoffed, "She is mighty mediocre looking, stub nosed, dark individual, whom I should never think of marrying. Seems to me like moral suicide to marry one of these women here." While Cull had joined the Catholic Church to marry her, Priestley declared, "I wouldn't have joined a street procession for her, or any of her tribe."¹⁴⁵

There could be considerable benefits from marrying a Filipina from a prominent family. Blaine Free Moore declared that Governor Betts of Albay married a native woman to solidify his political support.¹⁴⁶ While teachers did not need a political base, marrying into an elite family was a path to instant wealth and status, and teachers do seem to have chosen partners for the most part from the top tier of municipal society. By marrying Paz Montilla of Iguig, Bedford B. Hunter allied himself to a wealthy and well-connected family, and became "one of the big men" of Cagayan Province.¹⁴⁷ Walter W. Marquardt reported that the Gobenciong family, which Francis Hemenway married into, "belonged to the swell society" of Tanauan.¹⁴⁸ Of course, marrying for money could backfire. Philinda Rand reported that there was an American in her town who had married "a native women for her money and hacienda," but his wife clearly retained

¹⁴⁴ Priestley, Letter to Mother, July 5, 1902, Folder 12, and Letter to Mother, June 14, 1903, Folder 23, Priestley Letters. Priestley spells her name "Eliza," however Elisa seems to have spelled it with an "s."

¹⁴⁵ Priestley, Letter to Mother, February 7, 1904, Folder 30, Priestley Letters.

¹⁴⁶ Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, May 5, 1904, Folder 6, Box 1, Moore Papers.

¹⁴⁷ "A Kansan Weds in the Philippines," *Topeka Plaindealer*, July 5, 1907, pg. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Marquardt, Letter, July 31, 1901, pg. 17, Vol. 2, Box 7, Marquardt Papers.

control of her assets and only let “him spend about twenty cents a week.”¹⁴⁹ While wealth and status was probably a consideration, especially for teachers without much of either back home, many of these marriages also seem to have been based on real affection. Benjamin Neal reported that Roy Blackman, who married the daughter of the presidente of Dagupan, thought himself “the happiest man in the Islands.”¹⁵⁰

Even those teachers who sneered at interracial marriages when they first came to the Philippines sometimes changed their tune after getting to know beautiful and interesting women. Even Herbert Fisher, who proudly declared that he was “a Southerner on the race question,” fell in love with a Filipina, and would have married her if she had not ended the romance.¹⁵¹ Reece Oliver, while stationed in Albay in 1919, declared that there were plenty of “native girls here who would be glad to marry an American for his position, and many Americans, too, who would be glad to *mate* with the prettier girls,” but that marriages were “quite amiss between the two races.”¹⁵² While stationed in Iloilo, however, Oliver met Flora Carbonell, a supervising teacher in Mindanao. In 1933, both went to America for further study, and later traveled around the world together. Oliver and Carbonell married in 1934, settling in Davao City, and had four children. After the war, the family moved to the United States.¹⁵³

There is almost no mention of American women marrying Filipino men in teachers’ letters, diaries, or memoirs. It is not surprising that these matches would be very infrequent, as the number of single women in the Philippines dropped after 1904.

¹⁴⁹ Rand, Letter to Aunt, February 24, 1902, Folder 9, PRA Papers.

¹⁵⁰ Neal, Diary entries, October 11, 1902, and October 24, 1902, Folder 5, Neal Papers.

¹⁵¹ Fisher, *Philippine Diary*, 80, 292-295, 319.

¹⁵² Reece Oliver, Letter to Mother, March 16, 1919, Folder 1, Oliver Family Papers, Indiana State library, Indianapolis.

¹⁵³ Ann Allen, “Reece Oliver: Indiana’s Shadow Hero,” *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2008): 41-42.

Equally as important, such a marriage would have been much more controversial and frowned upon than one between an American man and a Filipina. While it was accepted, if somewhat transgressive, for white men to marry nonwhite women, it was considered a racial betrayal, as well as a dangerous precedent, when white women married nonwhite men. It did happen, of course, though it seems to have been rare in the Philippines, especially in the early years of empire. Laura Gibson Smith, a teacher who taught with her husband in Cagayan from 1917 to 1920, and again in Iloilo from 1923 to 1925, briefly mentioned in notes of her experiences that she had met white women who were married to Filipinos, and that there were American girls who had married Filipino students from prominent families, thinking that they would have “an excellent position,” and yet were “ostracized by Americans and not accepted by Filipinos [sic].”¹⁵⁴ It is not unlikely, given the political climate of this period, that marriages between American men and Filipinas were also on the decline. However, men who married native women were never universally shunned, even in the early days of American governance, especially if the woman had enough wealth and connections.¹⁵⁵

Marriages between Filipino men and American women seem to have been more common in the United States. Blaine Free Moore noted with disgust that he had heard that one of the Filipino carpenters who went to America (probably for the St. Louis Exposition) had married an American girl.¹⁵⁶ In addition, Walter Marquardt recorded a

¹⁵⁴ Laura Gibson Smith, Journal, “Five Years in the Philippines,” Folder 8, Box 1, and “Philippines,” Folder 1, Box 2, Laura Gibson Smith Papers [hereafter LGS Papers], Iowa Women’s Archive, University of Iowa, Iowa city.

¹⁵⁵ Pattie Paxton Hewitt did claim in her memoir that N. Richmond Baugh lost his position as a result of his marriage to a native woman in Iloilo, but this does not appear to be true. She wrote that Baugh married his second wife shortly after the death of his first wife, but the first Mrs. Baugh died of cholera in August of 1903, and as of the 1906 roster, Baugh is still listed as teaching in the Trade School in Iloilo. See John D. DeHuff, Diary entry, August 23, 1903, Diary 1, Box 5, Willis DeHuff Papers; Pattie Paxton Hewitt, “Memoir,” 30, Paxton Hewitt Papers; and *Official Roster of the Bureau of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1906), 15.

¹⁵⁶ Moore, Letter to Pa and Ma, May 5, 1904, Folder 6, Box 1, Moore Papers.

handful of marriages between *pensionados*, Filipino students in the United States, and American women. Marquardt does not seem to have been in favor of “mixed marriages,” and this may have had something to do with the fact that the Pensionado Committee ruled in 1922 that pensionados who contracted marriage during this scholarships without obtaining permission from the committee would be “dropped from the rolls.”¹⁵⁷

Some American teachers who married Filipinas chose to remain in the islands for the rest of their lives, while some chose to return home with their families. There could be complications, however, whether an interracial couple chose to remain in the Philippines or go to the United States. Reece Oliver wrote to his brother that the islands had been “a country of anti-Americanism,” and that his ten-year-old son, Jimmy, had been called an “American monkey,” and told that “all Americans should be driven out of the Philippines,” by another boy.¹⁵⁸ Yet when the family moved to the United States, his children were accepted by their peers but subject to racist comments from their teachers and other adults.¹⁵⁹ For families with lighter skin, one option was to simply self-identify as Spanish or white. The Woolleys had moved to the United States by 1910, and were living in Coupeville, Washington. While Herbert Priestley had identified Elisa as of Portuguese, Spanish, and Bicol descent, on their census form for that year, Elisa declared that her parents were both Spanish, and that she herself was born in Spain, and was categorized as white. By 1920, it appears that Elisa gave her birthplace as the

¹⁵⁷ Marquardt, “Annual Report of the Philippine Educational Agent, 1921,” “Report on Philippine Education Agency for 1922,” and “Memorandum of Activities as PEA, 1922,” Vol. 2, Box 7, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁵⁸ Reece Oliver, Letter to Kenneth, August 25, 1948, Folder 2, Oliver Family Papers.

¹⁵⁹ Allen, “Reece Oliver,” 47.

Philippines, though she was still listed as white rather than Filipino, which at that point was a discreet category.¹⁶⁰

Conclusion

The teachers' educational mission was in many ways contradictory. They were to uplift the Filipinos in their stations, changing native customs, minds, and bodies, while remaining aloof from disputes over religion, politics, or anything that might arouse the ire of the townspeople. Yet teachers were necessarily drawn into local conflicts by virtue of their position in Philippine society, and by the relationships of colonial intimacy that they formed with the Filipinos with whom they came into regular contact. This intimacy, however, was often marked by closeness without true understanding, suasion backed by violence, and affection bound by the limitations of white supremacy.

In the end, then, colonial intimacy was an ambivalent process. Some teachers did develop relationships based on love and respect with Filipinos, but for the most part, familiarity without understanding bred contempt. Even teachers who felt genuine affection and regard for individual Filipinos were generally dismissive of the capacity of the Filipino people for self-government. As noted in Chapter Two, Harry Cole claimed to "know" the Filipino better than officials in Manila, decrying the failure of the civilian government to pacify the islands. Only those who had lived among Filipinos in the provinces, Cole declared, could ever really "learn these people."¹⁶¹ Many teachers made similar claims, arguing that this intimate familiarity endowed them with the authority to judge colonial policies better than bureaucrats in Manila. Intimacy in this context could

¹⁶⁰ *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006); and *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010). Original data from *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, and *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, Record Group 29: Records of the Bureau of the Census, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁶¹ Harry Cole, Letter to Mother, April 30, 1903, Folder 10, Cole Papers.

be especially damaging for Philippine nationalism, as teachers used their claims of special knowledge of the Filipino character to argue against Filipinization and greater political autonomy for the Philippines.

Chapter Five

Not Just a White Man's Burden:

Black Teachers and the Negotiation of Imperial Opportunity

While out one day on the island of Cebu, Walter W. Marquardt reported seeing an African American woman walking down the street, followed by a string of Filipino children. Marquardt wrote that the children “had never seen a negress before,” and therefore “considered her a great curiosity.” The woman finally turned around, annoyed, and snapped, “Didn’t you ever see an American lady before?” Reflecting on this outburst, Marquardt remarked that he “had never thought of negroes as Americans” until that moment.¹ This episode reveals much about the ways in which black participation in empire challenged white American racial attitudes and expectations, and also the ways in which black Americans used their position within empire to seize opportunities denied at home. Marquardt interpreted the children’s behavior as being driven by curiosity about the darkness of the woman’s skin color. The woman herself, however, chose to interpret their interest in light of her status as an American, rather than her racial identity. Even if she suspected that the youngsters might have begun their procession because of her skin color, the woman did not choose to identify herself this way; she was an “American lady,” and demanded to be recognized as such.

African Americans who participated in empire, either as soldiers or civilians, did so because they believed, like their white counterparts, that it would provide opportunities: the opportunity to earn a good wage and save money, to achieve a higher social or professional

¹ Walter W. Marquardt, “American Darkies,” pg. 76, Vol. 8, Box 6, Walter W. Marquardt Papers [hereafter Marquardt Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. It is not clear when this episode took place. Marquardt wrote it down between 1922 and 1930, but it is probably a recollection of an earlier time. It seems likely that it would have happened between 1901 and 1910, when Marquardt was first a teacher in and then the division superintendent for Leyte. There would have also been more American soldiers, white and black, in the islands during the early years of colonization. For a brief outline of Marquardt’s career, see pg. 244, Vol. 6, Box 5, Marquardt Papers. It also seems likely that the woman was the wife of a soldier stationed nearby. Both Marquardt and Mary Helen Fee mention the presence of black dressmakers on Leyte and Panay. See Marquardt, “American Darkies,” pg. 76, Vol. 8, Box 6, Marquardt Papers, and Mary H. Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 268.

position, to have an adventure, to see the world, to participate in something larger than themselves, to “uplift” another race by taking part in a civilizing mission.² Black soldiers and civilians alike had the opportunity to construct new identities in empire, including claiming inclusion in American citizenship and civilization.

Just as the black community at home was divided over the issue of empire, however, so too were black Americans in the Philippines. Indeed, African Americans came to the Philippines steeped in the debate over empire raging in the black press, and continued to engage with black periodicals while abroad. In letters to the editors of black newspapers, soldiers often indicated knowledge of the content of the papers to which they wrote.³ Bedford B. Hunter kept in contact with the editors of black papers published in Kansas while he was in the Philippines, and his letters home indicated that he viewed race relations in the islands within the context of the struggle for civil rights at home.⁴

The history of the participation of African Americans in empire remains largely understudied. While scholars have begun to pay more attention to the black experience of American empire, most of the focus has been on African American soldiers in places like Cuba and the Philippines.⁵ This is understandable, given that soldiers made up by far the largest segment of

² As Michele Mitchell has argued, “uplift” was an idea often propagated by elite and aspiring class black reformers, one which engaged with eugenic thinking, and focused on individual comportment and dress, proper gender roles, and home décor as markers of “civilized black prosperity.” Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 80-81, 154.

³ Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *“Smoked Yankees” and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), *passim*.

⁴ “A Voice From the Philippines!,” *National Review*, September 18, 1913, pg. 1. The *National Review* was a black newspaper published in Kansas City. It appears to have only been published in 1913.

⁵ For some examples of scholarly work on African Americans and empire, see: Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *“Smoked Yankees” and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers*; Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); George P. Marks III, *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)* (New York: Arno Press, 1971); Michael Robinson and Frank N. Schubert, “David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901,” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 44 (1975): 68-83; Scot Brown, “White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen’s Rebellion: The Fates of Three African-American Soldiers in the Philippines, 1901-1902,” *Contributions in Black Studies*, Vol 13, No 1, Article 5 (1995): 165-173; Scot Ngozi-Brown, “African-American Soldiers and Filipinos: Racial Imperialism, Jim Crow and Social Relations,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol 82, No 1 (Winter, 1997): 42-53; Steffi San Buenaventura, “The Colors of Manifest Destiny: Filipinos and the American Other(s),” *Amerasia Journal*, Vol 24, No 3 (1998): 1-26; Michele Mitchell, ““The Black Man’s Burden’: African Americans, Imperialism, and Notions of Racial Manhood 190-1910,” *International Review of Social History*, Vol 44 (1999), Supplement, pp. 77-99.

the black American population overseas.⁶ However, the presence of black civilians who were government employees in the Philippines disrupted the narrative of white racial supremacy and complicated the seemingly simple racial hierarchy of empire, which placed white colonizers above a nonwhite native population. In turn, seemingly straightforward race relations between blacks and whites were complicated by the project of empire – as noted in Chapter Two, American race relations could not simply be pasted onto the context of the Philippines.

The position of black teachers in the islands was markedly different from that of the soldiers. The U.S. government did not require black teachers to fight and kill Filipinos; instead, they assigned them to the task of civilization and Americanization. As part of a benevolent mission, they did not need to dehumanize Filipinos in order to justify killing them. Their job was to gain the goodwill of the community in which they were stationed in order to create an effective school system and to convince Filipinos that they had something to gain from American civil administration. In addition, the social status of black teachers was quite different from that of most black soldiers. While some black officers, including chaplains of black regiments like Theophilus G. Steward, were able to use their rank to demand respectful treatment from white soldiers and officers, most black soldiers were vulnerable to ill treatment, verbal abuse, and even physical violence at the hands of white soldiers. By contrast, African American teachers, like white teachers, were important members of the communities in which they lived. They socialized with the elites of the town, and were invited to private parties and municipal celebrations. While white teachers and civilian officials may have been able to draw the color line in their own homes, they were not able to do so in provincial towns at large.

Significantly, the claims of African Americans to citizenship and American identity were often acknowledged and validated by white Americans in the Philippines. Those who may have

⁶ There were four black regiments in the regular army sent to the Philippines: the 9th and 10th Cavalry, and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. In addition to this, there were several black volunteer regiments, including the 48th and 49th Regiments. Michael Robinson and Frank Schubert estimate that over five thousand African Americans served in the Philippines, though it is not clear if this number only includes the regiments in the regular army. See Robinson and Schubert, “David Fagen,” pg 73, footnote 23.

been denied the rights and privileges of citizenship as well as symbolic inclusion in the body politic in the U.S., became more “American” against the background of the colonized Philippines, and when juxtaposed with Filipinos. In addition, in the Philippines, nationality and class status could act as a modifier of racial hierarchy. The intersections of race, gender, class, and national identity created a complex racial dynamic in the Philippines, one which offered black Americans the chance to achieve professional, class, and social positions that were often denied at home, and to gain experiences, such as traveling around the world, that would not have been possible without the project of empire. Whether out of respect for their positions as government employees, or because they believed that overt racism hurt the cause of the United States in the Philippines, white officials did recognize black claims to American identity and upheld their official authority and power.

Black teachers, moreover, presented themselves as uniquely fitted to uplift the Filipino. In contrast to the racism often displayed by white soldiers and civilians, African Americans claimed that they shared a special racial sympathy with Filipinos, and that this sympathy made them the most effective colonizers. Moreover, at least some black teachers tied Filipino goodwill to their personal advancement. John Henry Manning Butler argued that every promotion given to him “was considered by the people as an augury [of] good intentions towards Filipinos.”⁷

Of course, the relationship between African American teachers and Filipinos was not free from the politics of empire. On the one hand, black teachers did promote the aptitude of their pupils and their ability to learn and, eventually, govern themselves. The fact that they stayed in the islands longer, and registered less discontent with the civil government and administration of the Bureau of Education is testimony to the faith they had in the colonial mission of uplift. On the other hand, the racialization of Filipinos as unfit for self-government did benefit black teachers to a certain extent. If the idea that Filipinos were capable of self government tied into

⁷ John Henry Manning Butler, “Early Experiences as a Teacher in the Philippines,” pg. 238-239, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

broader arguments about the fitness of nonwhite peoples (including African Americans) for full citizenship, the designation of Filipinos as uncivilized marked African Americans as “more civilized” and therefore fit to instruct these new wards of the nation. If Filipinos were truly acknowledged to be equal, moreover, the position of the black teachers (and indeed, all American teachers) in the islands would no longer be justified. Some African Americans undoubtedly felt a very real racial kinship to Filipinos, and sympathized with their struggle for freedom. At the same time, however, they also benefitted from the context of empire; in a nation filled with people racialized as uncivilized, black Americans seemed simultaneously more civilized and more American by comparison.

Beyond this, the relationships forged between African Americans and Filipinos were not based on an equality of status, despite the claims both sides made of being racially equivalent. Both black soldiers and teachers would have had more money than the average Filipino citizen. Soldiers often struck up relationships with Filipino families (and their young women) through presents of food or money, gifts that were especially vital during the early years of war, when rice fields were being destroyed, carabaos shot and homes burned in an effort to pacify the islands and starve out Filipino revolutionaries. The fundamental imbalance of power between African Americans and Filipinos, as well as their mutual oppression at the hands of white Americans and the United States government, led to tensions and contradictions in the way that black Americans viewed and interacted with Filipinos, and which emerged as they negotiated the racial, class, and gendered terrain of American empire.

Ambivalent Imperialists

Just as it had with white Americans, the issue of the U.S. acquiring a formal empire sparked an animated debate among African Americans at home. The stance of black Americans towards empire ran the gamut from strong opposition to enthusiastic support. This diversity was reflected in the opinions expressed by the editors of black newspapers. The *Kansas City American Citizen* opposed the idea of African American soldiers fighting other “negroes” only to

face “southern hell hounds and civilized American cannibals” once they returned home.⁸ The *Indianapolis Freeman*, however, declared that the war in the Philippines was “no race war,” and that it was “quite time for the Negroes to quit claiming kindred with every black face from Hannibal down. Hannibal was no Negro, nor is Aguinaldo. We are to share in the glories or the defeats of our country’s wars, that is patriotism pure and simple.”⁹ Most, however, reacted to the annexation of overseas territories with deep ambivalence. Many African Americans identified with the “colored” peoples living in America’s new colonies at the same time that they recognized the opportunities that participation in empire might present to ameliorate their own position within American society. The result, as historian Willard B. Gatewood argues, was a “potpourri of ambivalent, often contradictory, attitudes” towards empire and their own roles within it. Despite the many and varied responses to empire, however, black Americans were unified in viewing and understanding imperialism through the lens of domestic race relations.¹⁰

Many African Americans saw a clear distinction between the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. Fighting to pacify a newly-acquired colony was very different from fighting for Cuban independence, especially given the racialized discourse that surrounded the debate about empire. Some of the black Americans who supported a war against imperial Spain rejected the idea of a “white man’s burden” in the Philippines. For black soldiers, the dilemma was even more acute. While they had been aligned with Cuban revolutionaries during the Spanish-American War, in the Philippines, black soldiers fought against Filipinos and against the cause of independence. Some soldiers reported a deep discomfort with the role they were assigned as it became increasingly clear that many white soldiers viewed Filipinos and black Americans as equally inferior, even to the point of using the same racial epithets to describe them. Patrick Mason of the 24th Infantry wrote that he had not been involved in fighting since he arrived and that he did not “care to do any”, as he “felt sorry for” the Filipinos because the “first

⁸ Mitchell, “The Black Man’s Burden,” 89.

⁹ “Ten Miles of Names,” *The Indianapolis Freeman*, October 7, 1899, pg 4.

¹⁰ Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden*, x.

thing in the morning is the ‘Nigger’ and the last thing at night is the ‘Nigger.’ You have no idea the way these people are treated by the Americans here.”¹¹ Indeed, the *Manila Times* became so concerned about the widespread use of that particular slur to refer to both African Americans and Filipinos that it called for white Americans to stop using the word altogether.¹²

Black supporters of empire saw participation in empire as a way to demonstrate that African American men possessed bravery, patriotism, and manliness. This discourse of masculinity, moreover, was tied to class status. For black Americans, claiming manhood through a colonial role was a method of pursuing social mobility. For aspiring class and elite African Americans especially, empire seemed to be the linchpin to the stabilization or destabilization of their precarious position within American society, despite the tendency to discuss it in terms of manhood rather than class.¹³

The instability of the aspiring and elite classes was a product of heightened racial tensions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as lynchings and race riots broke out not only in the South, but in northern states as well.¹⁴ In 1899, a wave of racial violence swept through Georgia, culminating in the gruesome lynching of Sam Hose before a crowd of two thousand people. These riots and lynchings contributed to African Americans’ escalating opposition to territorial expansion, as they became increasingly disenchanted with the idea that valorous military service would be recognized with better treatment at home.¹⁵

The Philippine Army attempted to form racial alliances with black soldiers, highlighting racism at home in a strategic attempt to weaken morale. Emilio Aguinaldo invoked the name of

¹¹ Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 257.

¹² Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 243-244. White soldiers were particularly egregious in using racial epithets to refer to Filipinos, although as the Coles demonstrate, white teachers sometimes used this language as well. The fact that the *Manila Times* called for Americans to stop using the word is a reflection of the damage it was doing to the reputation of the colonial government.

¹³ For an excellent discussion of African American men in empire, masculinity and class, see Mitchell, “The Black Man’s Burden.”

¹⁴ Some of the most infamous race riots of the Progressive Era include riots in Wilmington in 1898, New Orleans and New York City in 1900, Atlanta in 1906, Springfield, Illinois, in 1908, East St. Louis in 1917, and across the country in cities like Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Omaha in 1919.

¹⁵ Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden*, 198-199.

Some Hose in pamphlets addressed “To the Colored American Soldier,” which urged black soldiers not to fight.¹⁶ Many African American soldiers faced a difficult dilemma on the subject of the Philippines, stuck between their patriotism and their empathy for Filipino nationalists.¹⁷ Some black troops sidestepped this quandary through their identification as soldiers. M.W. Saddler of the 25th Infantry wrote that in preparing to meet in battle “men of our own hue and color,” the question of whether it was right “to reduce these people to submission” was not for “a soldier to decide.” Rather, Saddler, continued, the “oath of allegiance knows neither race, color nor nation, and if such a question should arise, it would be disposed of as one of a political nature by a soldier.”¹⁸ For W.H. Jackson, the issue was equally straightforward. In a letter to his mother, Jackson wrote that the Filipinos were “especially friendly to the colored soldiers, always saying there is no difference between them and us.” In response to the placards aimed at black soldiers distributed by the Philippine Army, however, Jackson reported, “we only laugh, for we are U.S. soldiers, and all the enemies of the U.S. government look alike to us, hence we go along killing, just as with other people.”¹⁹ Clearly, some black soldiers rejected the idea of a racial brotherhood, underlining their loyalty to the nation and the U.S. Army. Indeed, dismissing this argument was a way for black soldiers to foreground their national identity, and to demand to be seen as Americans first and foremost.

Even those soldiers with unwavering allegiance to the military and the U.S. government, however, would have had to contend with racial slurs and discrimination, and even at times racial violence, at the hands of white soldiers. Black soldiers were barred from some American-owned business, such as restaurants and barbershops, in Manila, although strict segregation was difficult to enforce.²⁰ In May 1900, *The Manila Times* reported that F.E. Green, a former member of the 25th Infantry, was attacked by drunken white soldiers of the 20th Infantry, chased

¹⁶ Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 258-259.

¹⁷ Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden*, 188.

¹⁸ M.W. Saddler, Letter to *The Indianapolis Freeman*, November 18, 1899, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 248.

¹⁹ “From Our Friends in the Far East,” *The Colored American Magazine*, Vols. 1-2, 1900-1901 (August, 1900), 149.

²⁰ Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 244.

into a hotel, and would have been beaten to death if the sergeant of the guard had not arrived.²¹ Faced with such prejudice, some soldiers did question why they were fighting. William Simms reported that he was “struck” by a question posed to him by a little Filipino boy: “Why does the American Negro come from America to fight us when we are much friend to him and have not done anything to him? He is all the same as me, and me all the same as you. Why don’t you fight those people in America that burn the Negroes, that made a beast of you, that took the child from its mother’s side and sold it?”²² A handful of soldiers, most notoriously David Fagen of the 24th Infantry, deserted and defected to the Philippine Army. Yet the number of black defectors was notably small. There were only twenty-nine deserters from the four regiments of black regulars, and only nine of these actually fought on the side of the Filipinos.²³ Whatever reservations they might have had, nearly all black soldiers remained loyal to the U.S. Army.

Despite misgivings about empire and racial identification with Filipinos, African Americans continued to seek imperial roles for themselves. In letters home explaining their affinity for the Philippines, soldiers often referenced the economic opportunity that the islands offered. T. Clay Smith, of the 24th Infantry, wrote that “several of our young men are now in business in the Philippines and doing nicely,” working in hotels and restaurants, and as government clerks, teachers, and even one lawyer and one doctor. Smith concluded that, despite the color prejudice that followed the flag, the Philippines offered “our people the best opportunities of the century” and advised emigration.²⁴ Joseph Hamilton Tucker, also of the 24th Infantry, agreed, writing in a letter to Booker T. Washington that if “there was ever an opportunity for the young educated negro to make his mark it is here in the Philippines.” Tucker declared that if “about 100 young & educated negro teachers, Preachers and tradesman” were

²¹ Ngozi-Brown, “African-American Soldiers and Filipinos,” 45.

²² *Indianapolis Freeman*, May 11, 1901, quoted in George P. Marks III, *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), 169. Marks mistakenly cites the article as being from May 11, 1900.

²³ Robinson and Schubert, “David Fagen,” 73.

²⁴ T. Clay Smith, letter to *The Savannah Tribune*, November 1, 1902, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 316.

sent to the islands “it would be hard to foretell the good that would be accomplished.”²⁵ In an article for *The Colored American Magazine*, Charles Steward noted that many soldiers were choosing to remain in the Philippines because of the opportunity to develop and exploit the country’s natural resources.²⁶

T. Thomas Fortune, appointed by Theodore Roosevelt as a Special Commissioner to examine the possibility of African American immigration to the Philippines, was enthusiastic about the potential for black settlement and economic opportunity there.²⁷ After a tour of Luzon in 1903, Fortune concluded that up to five million African Americans could be relocated from the South, and that such a move would “take a long step forward in solving the Filipino problem and the Negro problem.” The arrangement would be mutually beneficial, as black Americans could not prosper in the Southern U.S., and Filipinos needed both “rejuvenation of blood” and a “competent labor population.”²⁸ Indeed, Fortune argued, black Americans were the best colonizers, as white Americans could not stand the climate and did not “get along with the natives.”²⁹ Not everyone was convinced that the Philippines would be the proverbial land of milk and honey, however. Harry H. Pace discounted the idea that large-scale black emigration to the islands was practical, arguing that the Philippines were not free of racial prejudice, that there was not enough land for cultivation and that the standard of living was much lower.³⁰

For those with enough education, however, the islands did seem to be a potential paradise. For black Americans caught “between the ‘Devil and the deep blue sea’ on the

²⁵ Joseph Hamilton Tucker, Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 19, 1900, in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Vol. 5, 1899-1900, eds. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 469.

²⁶ Charles Steward, “Manila and Its Opportunities,” August, 1902, *The Colored American Magazine*, Vols. 3-4, 1901-1902, 251-252.

²⁷ In an article in *The Colored American*, Rienzi B. Lemus, a soldier in the 25th Infantry, claimed that the appointment came about as a result of the efforts of J.T. Morgan, a Senator from Alabama, who harassed the War Department to begin colonizing the Philippines with African Americans. “The Negro and the Philippines,” *The Colored American*, Vol. 6 (February 1903): 314.

²⁸ T. Thomas Fortune, “The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip Through the Island of Luzon,” *Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (June, 1904), 246.

²⁹ Fortune, “The Filipino: The Filipinos Do Not Understand the Prejudice of White Americans Against Black Americans,” *Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (May, 1904), 203.

³⁰ Harry H. Pace, “The Philippine Islands and the American Negro,” *Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 10 (October, 1904), 484-485.

Philippine question,” as soldier John Calloway put it, a civilian position on the islands would provide a way out.³¹ To attain a position in the civil service of the Philippines, especially that of teacher, would resolve much of the dilemma African Americans faced. Rather than fighting against another colored people, they would be contributing to their “uplift,” while still benefitting from a greater salary and social position than could be expected at home.

Moreover, just as black soldiers claimed that Filipinos were friendlier to them because of their lack of racial prejudice, black teachers would make the claim that they were better suited to Americanize Filipino youth because of their racial affinity and rapport. *The Colored American* noted in 1904 that the paper had been informed by someone in the Philippines that there was “a great demand for colored teachers.” Black teachers, the paper declared, gave “more satisfaction” and were better “thought of by the natives than are the white teachers who go there.” The article claimed that while thousands of teachers had been sent to the islands, only three were African American, and that sending “Negro-hating Southern white men” to “teach a dark race” was “neither good sense nor wisdom.”³²

The Debate over Black Teachers in Empire

While the Bureau of Public Instruction in Manila appointed black soldiers and civilians as teachers, the presence of black teachers in the Philippines aroused debate within the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA). The official position of the BIA was that there was no racial distinction made in the appointment to positions in the Philippine service. In late December, 1900, Booker T. Washington wrote to the War Department to ask what opportunity for service in the Philippines there was for African Americans. In response, the Assistant Secretary of War cited a report prepared by the BIA, which stated that “So far as is known, there is no discrimination

³¹ “Virginia Soldiers Write to Us,” *The Richmond Planet*, September 30, 1899, pg. 1. *The Colored American* advocated over and over that black Americans ought to be given more civil service positions in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. See the following articles from *The Colored American*: “We Would Like to See,” May 18, 1901, pg. 3; “The Negro in the Philippines,” April 19, 1902, pg. 8; “We Would Like to Know,” October 11, 1902, pg. 7.

³² “Sparks from the Anvil,” *The Colored American*, March 5, 1904, pg. 9. The claim that only three black teachers had been sent by this point was not correct: Bedford B. Hunter was already teaching in the Philippines, as were Fred D. Bonner, John H.M. Butler, Carter G. Woodson, William W. Holder, James F. Hart, William A. Caldwell and Thomas Shaffer.

made in the appointment of colored or white persons to positions in the islands, the whole matter depending entirely upon the individual record of personal qualifications established by the applicants before the examining board.”³³

This rule did not apply to the earliest group of teachers, however, who had been appointed partially by Frederick Atkinson and partly by the presidents of universities and colleges across the U.S., including schools like the University of California, the University of Michigan, Oberlin College, Yale University and Cornell University. Whether by design or oversight, the only historically black college given the power to appoint teachers was Hampton Institute, and President H.B. Frissell, at the request of the BIA, selected two white, male teachers.³⁴ Yale University, however, had asked if there was “any objection to appointing a colored man,” and the reply from authorities in the Philippines was “send one.”³⁵

Despite the employment of a black teacher from Yale, the policy of appointing African Americans to the Philippines was neither uniform nor consistent. In late September, 1903, Colonel Clarence Edwards, head of the BIA, cabled to Taft, “One of the teachers certified is a negro. What do you desire?” Taft replied, “Filipinos object to negro school teachers; think it bad policy to appoint them.”³⁶ The black teacher referred to in this correspondence was probably Carter G. Woodson, who would later become known as the father of black history. Woodson was appointed as a teacher about that time, though as he had moved to a new city, Woodson did not write to accept the position of Teacher of English until October 17. Woodson copied out the letter he had received from David Barrows, Superintendent of Education in

³³ Letter from the Assistant Secretary of War to Booker T. Washington, January 3, 1901, Box 226, Folder 1846, in Record Group 350, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park [hereafter RG 350, NARA].

³⁴ Memorandum, undated, Box 226, folder 1846, in RG 350, NARA; and Fred Atkinson, “Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,” Appendix S, Exhibit H, in *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 372.

³⁵ Memorandum, undated, Box 226, folder 1846, in RG 350, NARA. The black teacher Yale intended to, and did, appoint was almost certainly Frederick D. Bonner, who went to the Philippines in 1902.

³⁶ Memorandum, 1903, Box 226, Folder 1846, in RG 350, NARA. It is unclear on what evidence Taft based this claim. John Henry Manning Butler, an African American teacher stationed in Aparri, Pangasinan province, acknowledged that the 25th Infantry had been stationed in his town, and as a result, “opinion was that a colored man could not [be] learned enough to teach.” However, he continued that once the town had gotten to know him, that he was universally respected and valued. Evidence of this lies in the fact that Butler remained at this stationed from 1902 until 1919, when he was transferred to Cagayan province. Butler, “Early Experiences,” 236.

Manila, dated August 31, 1903.³⁷ Presumably, therefore, Barrows appointed Woodson, either without knowing or caring that he was African American. When Edwards discovered the fact, he cabled Taft to find out what he wanted to be done, but by that point, it was too late. Woodson received his letter shortly after Taft's cable back to Edwards advising against the appointment; to withdraw the offer of employment at that point would have risked bad press in the black papers.³⁸ Edwards actively discouraged at least one African American applicant from teaching in the Philippines. In April of 1910, Charles C. Carter wrote to Clarence R. Edwards, the head of the BIA, declaring that "some years ago" Edwards had persuaded Carter, who had passed a civil service exam to become a teacher in the Philippines, to accept another position in the War Department, as his appointment in the islands "at that time might have been embarrassing to some one."³⁹

Yet the official policy of the BIA, as stated frequently in letters to African Americans interested in working in the Philippines, was that there was "no bar to the examination and appointment of colored men in the Philippines."⁴⁰ Moreover, the BIA carried out at least some recruiting at black colleges. In November of 1910, George A. Gates, the President of Fisk University, wrote to the bureau that he had received a circular calling for teachers for the Philippines, and asking for verification that black applicants "are desired or would be accepted."⁴¹ Frank McIntyre, the head of the BIA, responded that "every person is eligible for

³⁷ Carter G. Woodson, Letter to Clarence Edwards, October 17, 1903, Folder 8898, Box 88, in RG 350, NARA.

³⁸ The black press was clearly paying attention to the issue of civil service appointments in the new insular possessions. *The Colored American* called for the appointment of African Americans in the Philippines and Puerto Rico on more than one occasion. In 1912, A.W. Seward sent a clipping from the New York *Evening Mail* to President Theodore Roosevelt, which contained a letter to the editor claiming that the practice of requiring photographs with applications to the Philippine civil service was meant to bar black men from employment. The letter was forwarded to the BIA, which denied the accusation made in the letter. See "We Would Like to See," *The Colored American*, May 18, 1901, pg 3, "We Would Like to Know," *The Colored American*, October 11, 1902, pg 7, A.W. Seward, Letter to President Roosevelt, August 4, 1912, and Frank McIntyre, Letter to A.W. Seward, August 7, 1912, both in Box 226, Folder 1846, RG 350, NARA.

³⁹ Charles C. Carter, Letter to Clarence R. Edwards, April 18, 1910, Folder 2, Box 8, Clarence R. Edwards Papers [hereafter Edwards Papers], Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

⁴⁰ Frank McIntyre, Letter to William Greene, March 14, 1907, Folder 1846, Box 226, RG 350, NARA. Folder 1846 contains numerous letters from potential applicants to the civil service in the Philippines, inquiring as to whether they would be considered for employment there.

⁴¹ George A. Gates, Letter to BIA, Nov 21, 1910, Folder 1846, Box 226, RG 350, NARA.

admission to the examination who meets the requirements mentioned in the announcement. Selections for appointments are made by some official of the Philippine Bureau of Education according to civil service principles, due consideration being given to the suitability of the individuals for the particular vacancies existing.”⁴² Despite the clear policy of non-discrimination of the BIA, the actual practice of various administrators varied as to the hiring of nonwhite teachers in the Philippines.

Despite the ostensible objectivity of civil service examinations, the BIA actually made appointments by taking into account the examination grade, professional qualifications and more amorphous judgments of character. In one letter to a potential African American applicant, the BIA declared that in “going among an alien race it is found that it is very desirable and almost necessary that the American teachers ... should be persons of liberal education as well as high character, and it often is practicable to use the service of a man of University training where another man with a limited education and the same amount of experience could not be used.”⁴³ The preference for a university degree from an established university, and the connections and references that such an education would entail, would have necessarily limited the number of black candidates that would have been considered for appointment. In addition, the BIA also required the submission of a photograph with each application, and made “confidential inquiries of persons like to know the persons in order to have full and definite knowledge of the persons before appointing them.”⁴⁴ While these practices did not prevent the hiring of black teachers, they would have influenced the selection of appointees based on their perceived character, class and connections, as they did with the hiring of white teachers.

Soldier Teachers

Just as white soldiers served as teachers during military rule in the islands, as noted in Chapter One, so too did some black soldiers reorganize schools for Filipino children. Theophilus

⁴² Frank McIntyre, Letter to George A. Gates, November 23, 1910, Folder 1846, Box 226, RG 350, NARA.

⁴³ Frank McIntyre, Letter to Melvin Hunter, February 11, 1908, Folder 1846, Box 226, RG 350, NARA.

⁴⁴ Frank McIntyre, Letter to A. W. Seward, August 7, 1912, Folder 1846, Box 226, RG 350, NARA.

Gould Steward, the chaplain for the 25th Infantry, was appointed the military superintendent of education for Zambales Province, where the regiment was stationed. Beginning his work in November of 1899, Steward noted that the “work of Americanizing the schools was therefore begun and was well under way before the civil educational agents were on the ground.”⁴⁵



Figure 16: Theophilus Gould Steward, in 1890 (Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*)

As part of his duties, Steward worked with the ex-governor of the province (who preceded the American military governor), with officials in each town, and with those who had been teachers under the Spanish school system to reopen the schools. Steward also met with officials and members of each community he visited to convince them that American intentions were benevolent, to explain the plans for opening the schools, and to make an argument for the

⁴⁵ Theophilus Gould Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry* (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1921), 318-319.

“importance of studying English.”⁴⁶ Once schools were reopened, Steward travelled the province inspecting the teachers and their students. As a result of his and others’ work, many schools had already reopened by the time the Thomasites arrived, even though most of them continued to operate in Spanish and according to Spanish pedagogy.

Bedford B. Hunter, who had served with the 23rd Kansas Volunteer Regiment in Cuba, went to the Philippines as a member of the 49th Volunteer Infantry Regiment in 1900.⁴⁷ Writing of his decision to enlist, Hunter recalled that he had watched with envy as the troops sailed in and out of San Francisco:

Columns of heroes, (for all were heroes then), hid among knapsacks, canteens, guns, flowers and beautiful maidens, who ushered them back to the homeland, stalked passed the shouting crowds, to still more increase our envy. What being could have witnessed such patriotic demonstrations without a feeling that he would like to be one of the favored ones. So I too, was tempted and then and there resolved to go to the Philippines on the next opportunity that offered itself and to do something there for the people.⁴⁸

In 1901, Hunter took the examination to become a teacher, and was appointed to Iguig, in Cagayan Province. By 1905, he had been promoted to supervising teacher. In 1907, Hunter married Paz Montilla, who was from a prominent family in Iguig. The *Topeka Plaindealer* reported that Hunter, already a rice plantation owner, was now “one of the big men in the province in which he resides.”⁴⁹

Civilian Teachers

Black civilians also sought, and obtained, positions as teachers in the Philippines. The first black civilian appointed to teach was Frederick Douglass Bonner. Bonner graduated from

⁴⁶ Steward, Journal entry, November 22, 1899, Reel 4, Theophilus Gould Steward Papers [hereafter Steward Papers], Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Also see Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*, 318-334.

⁴⁷ “He Likes the Philippines!,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, June 2, 1905, pg. 1.

⁴⁸ Bedford B. Hunter, Letter to W.W. Marquardt, July 7, 1913, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁴⁹ “A Kansan Weds in the Philippines,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, July 5, 1907, pg. 1. While his wedding appears to have been in 1907, T. Thomas Fortune made reference to a “Mrs. Hunter” when he met Bedford in 1904 during his trip across Luzon. It seems likely, therefore, that Hunter and Montilla were cohabiting for several years before their marriage. Fortune, “The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip Through the Island of Luzon,” *The Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (June, 1904): 245. In addition, Hunter seems to have been married before he left for the islands – in 1904, Anna Hunter, living in San Francisco, divorced a Bedford B. Hunter for “desertion.” It seems likely that it is the same Hunter. See *San Francisco Call*, October 14, 1904, pg. 16.

the New Haven High School in 1896, and Yale University in 1901.⁵⁰ In September 1901, he left for the Philippines, leaving behind his wife, Charlotte Drucilla Stokes Bonner, and small daughter, Daisy, both of whom joined him in the Philippines the next year.⁵¹

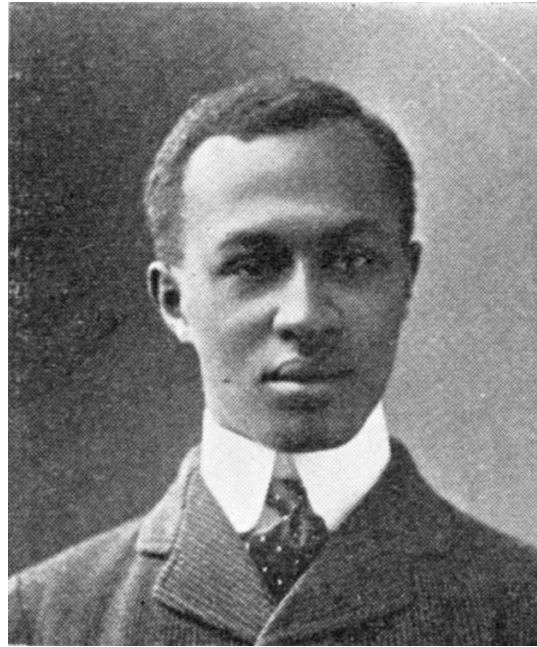


Figure 17: Frederick Douglass Bonner (*The Yale Class Book*, 1901)

Stationed in Zambales Province, Luzon, Fred became the supervising teacher for Subic. Charlotte also began teaching in 1905, becoming the head of the Central School of Subic, and a teacher of domestic science for the entire division.⁵² In 1912, the family was transferred to

⁵⁰ “Frederick Douglass Bonner,” *Who’s Who in Colored America*, 3rd edition, 1930-32 (Brooklyn: Thomas Yenser, 1932), 43

⁵¹ Fred Bonner is listed on two census records for the year 1900: he is listed as living at his parent’s home in New Bedford and as living with Charlotte and Daisy in Hamden Town. Given that he and Charlotte only married in 1897, it is possible that he maintained residence at both locations. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database online] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004). Original data from *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

⁵² *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1907), 69; *Official Roster of the Bureau of Education, Corrected to March 1, 1906* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1906), 28.

Masbate, where Fred became the principal of the Intermediate School, and Charlotte continued to teach domestic science.⁵³



Figure 18: Charlotte D. Bonner in 1916 (Personal Collection of Dale Murphy)

John Henry Manning Butler of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, was appointed a teacher in the Philippines in late 1901. After graduating from the Plymouth State Normal School, and receiving a Master's degree from Livingston College, Butler taught for nine years, first at the State Normal School in Elizabeth City and then at the Agricultural Technical College in Greensboro.⁵⁴ In November 1901, Butler was appointed as a teacher in the Philippines, and sailed to the islands on the *McClellan* in February 1902.⁵⁵ He left behind his wife, Fannie, who joined him in 1903. Butler noted that his appointment "was somewhat widely circulated and

⁵³ Charles H. Magee, Letter to J.G. Collicott, November 6, 1915, "Frederick Douglas Bonner," Box 70, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA; and *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, 1912-1913*.

⁵⁴ Robert C. Cook, ed., *Who's Who in American Education, 1934-1935*, 6th edition (New York: The Robert C. Cook Co., 1934), 125.

⁵⁵ *Official Register of the Officers and Employees of the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, 1903* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1903), 74; Butler, "Early Experiences," 233.

commented on, as I was the first colored person from the South so honored.”⁵⁶ Although some friends and acquaintances questioned whether he would be able to “withstand the hardships” of such work, for Butler “there were no hardships. I wanted to try the unknown and despite the advice of timorous friends to sign the contract.”⁵⁷



Figure 19: John Henry Manning Butler in 1898 (*Negro Stars in All Ages of the World*)

Butler was stationed in Aparri, Pangasinan Province, from 1901 until 1919. In 1906 he was made a supervising teacher. In 1919, he was transferred to Cagayan Province, where he became the Division Academic Supervisor. From 1921 to 1927 he was the Division Superintendent for Isabela Province. For one year, 1927-1928, he served as a Division Superintendent for both Cagayan and Isabela, and from 1928 until his retirement from the

⁵⁶ Butler, “Early Experiences,” 233. Butler’s appointment was noted in the “Race Gleanings” column of *The Colored American*, published in Washington, D.C. “Race Gleanings,” *The Colored American*,” December 14, 1901, pg. 10.

⁵⁷ Butler, “Early Experience,” 233.

Bureau of Education in 1933, he was the superintendent for Cagayan.⁵⁸ In 1909, Fannie, after having given birth to one child in the islands and pregnant with a second, left the Philippines with her son, and did not return. They remained married, however, and John supported Fannie financially until the end of his life.⁵⁹

Carter G. Woodson had yet to make his mark on the world when he applied to teach in the Philippines in 1903. Woodson, born in Virginia on December 19, 1875, moved to West Virginia hoping to attend high school, but ending up having to work as a coal miner to make a living. In 1895, Woodson was able to attend Douglass High School and earned his diploma in two years. In 1900, he became the principal of the school, and attended Berea College part time to earn a B.Litt. in 1903.⁶⁰ By the time he received notice that he had been appointed a teacher in the Philippines, Woodson had resigned as the principal of Douglass High School, and was studying at the University of Chicago.⁶¹ Woodson left for the Philippines on November 18, just a month shy of his twenty-eighth birthday. Upon his arrival, the BIA stationed Woodson in San Isidro, Nueva Ecija, transferring him in June 1904 to Agno, Pangasinan, where he remained until his resignation in 1907.⁶²

Other teachers besides Hunter, Butler, Woodson, and the Bonners served as teachers in the Philippines, including James F. Hart, W.H. Holder, Thomas Shaffer, W.A. Caldwell, May Fitzbutler and Mary E. Dickerson.⁶³ Unfortunately, though, these five were the only ones who left records of their experiences there.

⁵⁸ Cook, ed., *Who's Who in American Education*, 125.

⁵⁹ See Fannie O. Butler, Letters to BIA, "John H.M. Butler," Box 88, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA, and "John Henry Manning Butler," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April, 1945): 243.

⁶⁰ For more on the life of Woodson, see Jacqueline Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993) and Patricia Watkins Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography" (Ph.D. Diss, Ohio State University, 1971).

⁶¹ Woodson, Letter to Clarence Edwards, October 17, 1903, Box 88, Folder 1898, RG 350, NARA.

⁶² Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," 37-41; for date of resignation from teaching service, see Folder 8898, Box 88, RG 350, NARA.

⁶³ "John Henry Manning Butler," *The Journal of Negro History*, 243; "Thompson's Weekly Review," *Indianapolis Freeman*, October 27, 1906. Unfortunately, I have not been able to verify that May Fitzbutler or Mary E. Dickerson were ever employed by the Department of Education in the Philippines. This may be because they were not insular teachers, but were hired by the provinces in which they taught, or because they taught in a non-government school, or for such a short period of time that they were not included in official rosters.



Figure 20: Carter G. Woodson in 1915 (Spurlock Photographic Studio Records, 1904-1994, National Museum of American History)

Creating an African-American Community

Upon their arrival, African American teachers would have discovered that the islands were home to a small but dynamic black community. According to the census for 1903, there were 505 “foreign-born” blacks living in the Philippines.⁶⁴ While most of those listed were African Americans, there were a small number of people of African descent from other Spanish colonies and the Caribbean, who had migrated to the Philippines during the Spanish period.⁶⁵

A number of black Americans were engaged in business in the islands, primarily in Manila, working in hotels and restaurants, and as express men, clerks, school teachers, and that

⁶⁴ Gatewood, *Black Americans*, 323. Of course, just as with the population of white Americans living in the Philippines, this number would decrease over time. Gatewood notes that the 1918 census listed only 185 “American Negroes” living on the islands.

⁶⁵ Blaine Free Moore reported that a rich Afro-Cuban named Don Pepe, an agent for a company in Manila, lived with his wife in Cataingan, on Masbate. Blaine Free Moore, Diary entries, September 25, 1901, and November 4, 1901, Folder 10, Box 1, Blaine Free Moore Papers [hereafter Moore Papers], Library of Congress. Susan T. Gladwin also noted that the cook in the home in which she was boarding in Carigara, Leyte, was a black woman from Antigua. Susan T. Gladwin, Letter, October 6, 1901, “Letters from the Philippines, 1901-1904,” pg. 49, unpublished manuscript, Rollins College Archives.

there was even one lawyer and one doctor.⁶⁶ There was also a newspaper, *The Philippines Weekly*, being published J.W. Calloway, J.M.H. Graham, R. Benton Cappel, and J.L. Waller. Writing to Booker T. Washington, Waller declared that the paper supported T. Thomas Fortune's mission in the islands and favored "the colonization of respectable Negroes in this country."⁶⁷

Roosevelt appointed Fortune, a prominent journalist and civil rights advocate, to investigate the possibility of black migration to the Philippines. His excursion in the islands demonstrated that there was an established network of black Americans, many of them ex-soldiers, and mostly living on Luzon. Fortune reported meeting many African Americans thriving in the Philippines, including Captain Robert Gordon Woods. After being discharged from the 49th Volunteers, which had served in Cagayan Province, Woods had gone back to Manila determined to "grow up with the country." Fortune declared that black Americans were engaged in the government and private sectors, and that he had not found any black Americans "begging bread."⁶⁸ Led by Robert Gordon Woods, Fortune's party stopped first to visit some of Woods' acquaintances living at Tarlac. They then travelled to Tuguegarao to stay with Captain W.C. Wormsley, who owned a drug store as well as several tobacco plantations. In that town they also met "several other Afro-Americans, all of whom are doing well." Finally, the party stopped by Iguig to visit Bedford B. Hunter and his school, and were accompanied back to Manila by "Mr. and Mrs. Hunter," who made the journey "very pleasant."⁶⁹ Black Americans, therefore, seem to have kept in touch with one another even after leaving military service, as Woods knew where members of his former regiment were living.

⁶⁶ Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 316.

⁶⁷ J.L. Waller, Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 14, 1903, reel 224, container 225, Booker T. Washington Papers [hereafter BTW Papers], Library of Congress. It is not clear, however, how long the paper ran. John Calloway was dishonorably discharged from the military when a letter he had written to a Filipino friend, Thomas Consunji, was discovered, which was critical of the American mission in the Philippines. He was forced to leave the Philippines, though clearly he returned to the islands later. See Brown, "White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen's Rebellion," 166-169.

⁶⁸ T. Thomas Fortune, "The Filipino: A Social Study in Three Parts," *The Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March, 1904): 96-98.

⁶⁹ Fortune, "The Filipino: Some Incidents of a Trip Through the Island of Luzon," *The Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (June, 1904): 241, 245.

Many of the black civilians living in the Philippines were employees of the insular government. In 1908, William Howard Taft, then the Secretary of War, inquired into the number of black Americans working in the Philippine government. James Smith, the Secretary of Public Instruction, cabled Taft that, while there were no records kept as to the race of employees of the civil service, a “careful investigation” had revealed that there were twenty African American permanent employees in the bureaus of Printing, Audits, Bureau of Science, Agriculture, Constabulary, Posts, Education, Police, Sanitation and one Justice of the Peace, and thirty-six temporary employees. While Smith could not “get returns from the Provinces,” he was certain that there were “not less than twenty-five American negroes employed by various provinces and district engineers.”⁷⁰ Still, if the African American population of the islands was close to five hundred, most had found employment outside of government work.

While there were only a small number of black teachers, they were part of a larger black community which spread out into the provinces. In addition, most of the black teachers were stationed relatively close to one another. The provinces of Zambales and Pangasinan were home to at least six black teachers. Theophilus Steward reported that there were “some noble colored school teachers” in Zambales, including “Mr. Bonner and wife from New Haven, Conn., Mr. Holder from Kansas City, Mo., and Mr. Hart from somewhere in the States.”⁷¹ By 1906, the Bonners remained in Subic, Zambales, while Carter G. Woodson had been transferred from Nueva Ecija to the neighboring province of Pangasinan. His new district of Agno and Bani was close to Alaminos, where both John H.M. Butler and J.F. Hart were stationed.⁷²

Carter G. Woodson’s 1945 obituary of John Henry Manning Butler in *The Journal of Negro History*, in which he names not only Butler, but also W.H. Holder, J.F. Hart, Caldwell, Thomas Shaffer, May Fitzbutler, and Frederick Bonner, indicates that these teachers knew each other and established a kind of community.⁷³ After the Bureau of Education transferred Butler to

⁷⁰ James Smith, Cablegram to the Secretary of War, August 16, 1908, Box 226, Folder 1846, RG 350, NARA.

⁷¹ Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*, 342.

⁷² *Official Roster of the Bureau of Education*, 1906, 24.

⁷³ “John Henry Manning Butler,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April, 1945): 243.

Tuguegarao, Cagayan, sometime between 1914 and 1919, he would have been close to Bedford B. Hunter, who lived just down the road in Tuao. Bedford Hunter, meanwhile, reported in 1905 that he lived only a short distance from William Hawkins, who had served in the 23rd Kansas and had married “one of the wealthiest young ladies on the Islands,” as well as Captain Sherman A. Harvey, who was practicing law.⁷⁴



Figure 21: Map of Luzon, showing towns in which black teachers lived

⁷⁴ “He Likes the Philippines!: Prof. B.B. Hunter Talks of the Island and Her Resources,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, June 2, 1905, pg. 1.

It is not clear if so many of the black teachers in the Philippines were stationed within a short distance of each other intentionally; the proximity of those stationed in Zambales and Pangasinan, however, would have provided them with a community of black Americans of similar status and class background, and may partially account for the length of time that many of them stayed in the islands.

Very little evidence survives on the relationships that developed between black teachers in the Philippines. However, the experiences of Helen L. James, a graduate of Hampton who lived, worked, and taught in Hawaii between 1901 and 1904, offer some insight into the ways black teachers in the Philippines may have sought out and created a black community. James certainly sought out the company of other black Americans. Meeting a Hampton graduate in Honolulu, a Mr. Banks, James noted that he was “not colored though so I could not meet on a comfortable basis.”⁷⁵ The next month, however, James reported that she had seen Fred Bonner, an old acquaintance from New Haven, on his way to his teaching post in the Philippines. James was delighted to see him, “for not seeing any colored people here I know very little of them.” She happily spent an entire afternoon with Bonner catching up on mutual acquaintances.⁷⁶

James’s experience also highlights the tensions of class that were present within the African American expatriate community, and complicates the very idea of a single black “community” abroad. In November of 1901, while Helen was living in Honolulu and working at the Kamehameha School, she noted meeting Thomas McCants Stewart, a prominent African American lawyer, and his wife. She declared Stewart to be “one of the brightest men on the islands,” and evidently wished to further the acquaintance, until she was “snubbed” by Mrs. Stewart at a musical. It was the first time she had ever been treated so by anyone, and James

⁷⁵ Elisabeth Petry, *Can Anything Beat White?: A Black Family’s Letters* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 122

⁷⁶ Petry, *Can Anything Beat White*, 122. Despite seeing each other often while he was in Honolulu, Bonner does not seem to have mentioned that he was married; James wrote to her sisters of her surprise when an acquaintance wrote to her in the spring of 1902, informing her that “Mrs. Lottie Stokes Bonner” was going to join her husband in the Philippines. Helen James, Letter to Harriet, April 8, 1902, and Letter to Bertha, April 14, 1902, from personal notes of Elisabeth Petry, letters in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

wrote that it was “quite amusing” since they were “the only colored people about here.”⁷⁷ It seems likely that Mrs. Stewart viewed James as being beneath her socially, as she worked in the kitchens and parlor of the Kamehameha School, despite her Hampton education and her ambition to go to college.

James, however, proved that she was equally discerning when it came to socializing with those outside her perceived class status. She declared African Americans laborers in Honolulu to be “a low ignorant class” who had “given up plantation work to enjoy life in the Hawaiian metropolis.” Around the same time as her introduction to the Stewarts, James saw “two colored men” on a trolley, whom she dismissed as probably belonging to a theatre troupe. She concluded that she often wished that “there were some nice colored people here to know. I get lonesome for them.”⁷⁸ James may have been lonely for the company of other African Americans, but this did not make her willing to form friendship with those below her own social and class status.

It seems likely that black teachers would have been equally discriminating about their acquaintances. In contrast to James, however, black teachers in the Philippines had greater access to a community of educated African Americans of a certain class status. Not only were Butler, Hart, Holder, Woodson, and the Bonner located within an easy distance of one another, they also often lived close to black army officers, both active and discharged. African Americans in the Philippines were likely concerned not only with their own status, but the reputation of the entire race in the islands, as evidenced by Waller’s support for immigration by “respectable Negroes,” and Fortune’s declaration that he had not seen any black Americans “begging bread” in the islands.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Petry, *Can Anything Beat White*, 136. James does not seem to have entirely given up on the acquaintance, however. She reported later that Stewart’s daughter was teaching at the Honolulu Normal School (Petry, 137). About a year later, while teaching at the Kona Orphanage, James wrote to Stewart for help with establishing a library at the school, and Stewart replied that he try to find something suitable soon. T. McCants Stewart, Letter to Helen James, October 11, 1902, Folder 5, Box 2, Frank P. and Helen Chisholm Family Papers [hereafter Chisholm Papers], Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

⁷⁸ Petry, *Can Anything Beat White*, 136-137.

⁷⁹ Waller, Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 14, 1903, BTW Papers; Fortune, “The Filipino: A Social Study in Three Parts,” 98.

Relations with White Officials and Teachers

John H.M. Butler reported that white officials were respectful, kind and helpful, from Elmer Bryan, the Acting Superintendent of Public Instruction, to the members of the Signal Corps and the Philippine Constabulary. While the officers of the Constabulary “worked hand in hand” with Butler, however, less is known of his relations with the white teachers stationed in Pangasinan.⁸⁰ White teachers rarely mentioned the presence of black teachers in the Philippines, even if they were stationed in the same province. There is some evidence that black and white teachers interacted socially, however. Butler reported that the trip to Manila, by way of the Mediterranean, was a pleasant one, and that it “was on the great sea that every body became companionable.” The teachers filled their days with literary programs, prayer meetings, cake walks, boxing bouts, a ship newspaper, and studying Spanish.⁸¹ In addition, Butler attended the American Teachers’ Camp at Baguio for at least three years, and possibly more.⁸² While at the camp, Butler must have interacted with white teachers on a social level. The camp was intended as a sort of normal institute for teachers, providing them with educational lectures as well as vocational training. However, the camp also served as a summer camp for government employees, with opportunities for recreational and competitive sports, hiking, and horseback riding. The teachers also ate their meals together in the mess hall, and enjoyed dances and camp fire nights in the evenings. *The Teachers’ Assembly Herald* declared that the benefits of the camp lay in the opportunities for “physical recuperation, for intellectual stimulus, and for the renewal of social ties.”⁸³

⁸⁰ Butler, “Early Experiences,” pgs. 234-236, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁸¹ Butler, “Early Experiences,” pg. 234, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁸² See *The Teachers’ Assembly Herald*, May 14, 1909 [labelled 1908], Vol. II, No. 31, 128; April 21, 1910, Vol. III, No. 11, 47; May 14, 1910, Vol. III, No. 30, 122. There is an H.M. Butler stationed in Pangasinan listed in the roster for 1909, but it is unclear if this refers to John H.M. Butler, who was stationed in Alaminos, Pangasinan, or Hampton M. Butler, who was stationed in Sorsogon. Butler is also pictured in a photograph of teachers at the Teachers’ Camp taken in 1912. “American teachers and visitors at lunch, Baguio Teachers’ Camp, 1912,” photograph Ca-4-5, Box 9, RG 350-P, NARA.

⁸³ “The Advantages of Attending the Vacation Assembly,” *The Teachers’ Assembly Herald*, April 1, 1908, Vol. 1, No. 1, pg. 2.



Figure 21: “American teachers and visitors at lunch, Baguio Teachers’ Camp, 1912” (RG 350-P, NARA; note John Henry Manning Butler standing at the back of the room, sixteenth from the left)

While white teachers do not seem to have recorded their interactions with black teachers, Josephine Twogood Gibson, the mother of Laura Gibson Smith, did briefly mention that there was a black teacher (Butler) stationed in the town in which she lived. Laura Gibson Smith came to the Philippines in 1917 with her husband, Earle, her son, Bertel, and her mother. Both Laura and Earle were appointed as teachers, and Gibson came for about six months to help with Bertel. As the family travelled from Manila to Cagayan by boat, Gibson noted in her journal that there were nine people in their party, including “one colored man, Mr. Butler, of North Carolina who has been a teacher in the islands for 10 yrs, a very intelligent man.”⁸⁴ One month later, she noted that she had been to a “Rally day” program, and heard the singing of “Mr. Butler who is a negro

⁸⁴ Josephine Twogood Gibson, Journal entry, June 3, 1917, Folder 1, Box 1, Laura Gibson Smith Papers [hereafter LGS Papers], Iowa Women’s Archive, University of Iowa.

from N.C.” and was a “fine man and a fine singer as well.”⁸⁵ Over the next several months, Gibson mentioned going to various school performances under his direction, and had praise for the work he did with the students. Although most of the journal makes no mention of Butler interacting with the family in a social or informal way, Gibson recorded going to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Moe, who were missionaries, for “short religious services” every Sunday, which they held for “the few white people” who lived in the town, as the regular services were conducted in the Ibanag dialect.⁸⁶ However, on October 8th, Gibson noted that there were not many people at the services that Sunday, as Mrs. Moe, who usually led the meeting, was out of town, Earle and Laura did not go, and neither did “Mr. Butler.”⁸⁷ It appears, therefore, that despite Gibson’s labeling of the service as “white,” Butler attended regularly, since she bothered to remark on his absence, something that would not make much sense if he went but rarely. Gibson never mentions social calls between Butler and the Smiths, nor his presence at any of the parties or dances that they attended, but it does not seem farfetched that if he attended their prayer meetings, he may have also been invited to secular gatherings as well.

Claiming and Creating Identity

Teaching in the Philippines offered opportunities to black Americans beyond access to a black community, however. As Marquardt’s story demonstrated, living in an imperial possession allowed these African Americans teachers to claim American citizenship and identity, and to have that claim recognized by white Americans. Butler made this claim clear when writing to the BIA of his early years in Zambales; moreover, he consistently portrayed himself as accepted and valued by both white military and civilian officials. Butler declared that the officers of the Constabulary “worked hand in hand” with him to build up the schools. He conceded that some Americans had tried to “arouse race feeling” but that he had “not returned

⁸⁵ Gibson, Journal entry, July 1, 1917, Folder 1, Box 1, LGS Papers.

⁸⁶ Gibson, Journal entry, June 25, 1917, Folder 1, Box 1, LGS Papers. Josephine also mentioned going to the “white peoples service” in her journal entry for July 8, 1917, and going to the Moe’s for the meeting for “Americans” on July 29, 1917.

⁸⁷ Gibson, Journal entry, October 8, 1917, Folder 1, Box 1, LGS Papers.

the compliment.” When “a campaign was once started on me,” Butler recalled that some Filipinos had come and “compared my skin with theirs. I compared my hair and showed that theirs was like the white man’s.” Butler claimed that the “lesson” (presumably that race had nothing to do with American citizenship) “had its effect.” Butler then declared: “I am every whit [an] American, one of the ‘first families’ of the nation, whose victories whether in the arts of peace or war give me joy, and whose defeat in anything honorable would make me feel the sting as much as any one else.”⁸⁸ While some white Americans had attempted to draw the race line against Butler, the Filipinos in Alaminos refused to go along, instead choosing to learn Butler’s “lesson.” Even those Americans who were inclined to, therefore, were unable to enforce racial hierarchies as they could in the United States.

Beyond claiming American identity, Butler argued that his presence in the Philippines was beneficial for empire. There was, he argued, a “lurking dread that the government would not deal entirely fair because of race.” Against this fear, Butler held himself up as “evidence of the good intentions of the government.” Butler declared that if more black Americans had been appointed to government positions, the fears of Filipinos “would have been greatly allayed and the clamor for autonomous rule been neither so great nor insistent as at present.” Indeed, Butler argued that throughout his time in the Philippines, every promotion or favor shown to him “was considered by the people as an augury [of] good intentions towards Filipinos.”⁸⁹ In this way, Butler tied his own advancement within the Bureau of Education to the eventual success of the educational mission, and the entire imperial project.

Demonstrating their fitness for colonial uplift, black teachers portrayed themselves as overwhelming successful in their school work, even in the face of substantial obstacles. Black teachers articulated similar narratives about the challenges they faced in reorganizing the schools as well as their pedagogical achievements. A standard narrative of struggle and triumph runs through the accounts of both Hunter and Butler: stationed in a hostile environment, rife with

⁸⁸ Butler, “Early Experiences,” 236-237, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁸⁹ Butler, “Early Experiences,” 238-239, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

ongoing or recently suppressed insurrection, and facing the hostility and distrust of the native population, the teacher impresses the town with his learning and determination, and ultimately wins the populace over to the idea of public education and helps to reconcile them to American governance.

For T.G. Steward, who began working to reopen the Zambales schools in November 1899, the hostile environment was very real, as the Philippine-American War was still raging in Luzon. However, Steward recorded that his reception by town elites was overwhelmingly kind. After a visit to the town of Castillejos, a town that Steward noted was “inhabited principally by Tagalogs,” the language group primarily associated with the revolution, Steward received letters of appreciation and praise from the mayor and another townsman. Steward’s audience “received with enthusiasm the eloquent discourse of the honored pastor,” who spoke in Spanish, and were pleasantly surprised to hear of the “humanitarian proposals of the government which is to foment progress in these islands.”⁹⁰ Of course, if trying to win local support would have been made more difficult by the wartime conditions, the authority Steward possessed as a military officer made his job easier. Indeed, the flattering reception that Steward received may have been at least partly due to the fear that municipal authorities who did not cooperate wholeheartedly with the schools might be singled out for investigation.⁹¹ Still, Steward seems to have achieved a certain level of success in his work. Rienzi B. Lemus, a soldier in the 25th Infantry, reported in 1902 that Steward had accomplished “excellent results,” and that some of his former students were so attached to him that they attended his religious services conducted for the Americans.⁹²

While Bedford B. Hunter’s also began teaching while stationed in Cagayan with the 49th Volunteers, his experiences did not resemble Steward’s account of a welcoming and eager

⁹⁰ Steward, “Two Years in Luzon: II. Examining Schools, Etc.,” *The Colored American Magazine* (January and February, 1902): 170.

⁹¹ Peter J. Tarr, “The Education of the Thomasites: American School Teachers in Philippine Colonial Society, 1901-1913,” (PhD Diss, Cornell University, 2006), 126-127. White suggested that this was the reason that enthusiasm for education had seemed to peak during the military government, and dropped off soon after the inauguration of the civil administration.

⁹² Rienzi B. Lemus, Letter to *The Indianapolis Freeman*, March 8, 1902, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 310.

population. Working in the office of the Sergeant Major, Hunter “decided to do something for the uplift of those about me,” and so “picked up a few urchins who were hanging around our office and persuaded them to come every evening and study English.” Soon, Hunter recalled, he had a regular class of twenty students. While on a furlough to Manila, Hunter heard about the call for American teachers, and applied for a position. Accepted and allowed to choose his station, Hunter chose to return to Cagayan, where he “knew so well my services were needed,” and began teaching in May, 1901.⁹³

Hunter described his presence in the schools as tolerated by the local population rather than welcomed. As the first government teacher in the province, Hunter traveled around Iguig looking for schools, following the sounds of mass recitation and study. Hunter recalled that he would

...walk about and listen and soon be rewarded by hearing the school. Here I would enter, unwelcome of course, and take charge of the class for an hour or so and then inquire the way to another school. Generally the Maestro would reply with an upward toss of the head, lips protruding as far as he could extend them, with a “Jiu” or “Turi,” meaning “there” so I would hie out in the direction his chin pointed, as I had learned to ask for no more information. After walking about some fifteen minutes I would catch the hum of another school.⁹⁴

The townspeople, Hunter wrote, abided his instruction because he did not seem to be doing very much. But once an entire “boat load of Americans” arrived, including eight to ten new teachers, a high school principal and a division superintendent, “a general complaint went up that we did not know what we were doing and could not possibly teach their children much less to teach them a language.” Hunter and the other American teachers, however, ignored the protest and “invaded” the private schools for a few hours every day, “putting word after word into the eager open-mouthed children as a bird feeding so many young ones,” and instructing native teachers for a half hour after school. As a result of their persistence, Hunter reported that within a month they were able to hold a public demonstration of the children’s knowledge of

⁹³ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pgs. 298-299, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁹⁴ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pg. 299, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

English, which was “met with much applause,” and which helped to overcome much of the opposition of the town, allowing the pedagogues to “proceed as we saw fit.” Despite increased public support for the schools, there were still more obstacles to be surmounted, including the resistance to co-education, as well as the desire of the older people to be taught utilizing methods with which they were comfortable. In both cases, however, Hunter declared that headstrong persistence eventually won out against all such difficulties.⁹⁵

In 1905, the Bureau of Education transferred Hunter to Tuao, which presented a new challenge. Hunter depicted his experiences there as fraught with obstacles, which he overcame through perseverance and dedication. He was the only American in the immediate area, which had no telephone or telegraph, and no doctor closer than twenty-five miles away. Moreover, according to Hunter, the town had been the site of the worst fighting in North Luzon “between Americans and Insurrectos,” and “it was understood that we should expect some rough handling.” Two other American teachers had been previously assigned to Tuao, but had been “either driven out by bad treatment or starved out.” Hunter claimed that he had “plenty of experience in both bad treatment and starving but refused to leave.”⁹⁶

By his own account, Hunter encountered enormous opposition to everything he tried to do from municipal officials.⁹⁷ Attempting to raise money to build a new schoolhouse, Hunter decided to stage a play to bring in the required funds. When everything was ready, however, the Municipal Treasurer informed him that it was illegal to sell tickets to a theater or open one

⁹⁵ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pgs. 299-300, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁹⁶ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pg. 302, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁹⁷ The Municipal Treasurer of Tuao was almost certainly Filipino, as were almost all municipal officers. Provincial officers were both American and Filipino, according to the official rosters of government employees. The typical arrangement seems to have been a Filipino Governor, an American Treasurer, and a Filipino as the third member of the provincial board, though of course there were American governors and Filipino treasurers as well. In 1908, the governor of Cagayan was a Filipino, Antonio Carag, the treasurer was an American, George P. Banner, and the Division Superintendent of Education was also an American, J.J. Coleman. During this period, the District Superintendents of Education would have all been American (except for Najeeb M. Saleeby, a Syrian immigrant to the U.S., who was the Superintendent of Education for Moro Province). Camilo Osias was appointed the first District Superintendent in 1915. See, *Official Register of the Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, 1902-1913*, and *Official Register of the Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, 1914-1921*, both in Library Materials, RG-350, NARA; also see *Official Roster of the Bureau of Education* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1906).

without a license. Hunter and his wife traveled six hours to Tuguegarao, in the middle of the rainy season, to speak with the Provincial Treasurer and Superintendent, and returned with a letter of official approbation for the play. The play went on, though it did not raise the necessary funds to build the school.⁹⁸

Hunter had further problems with municipal officials when provincial funds were allocated to build a school in the center of town. By his account, all of the principales of the town were determined to derive personal benefit from its construction. A rumor circulated that “there was something crooked about the building of the school house,” and Hunter’s pay was suspended as he found out that he was being investigated. The result of the investigation, however, cleared Hunter of any guilt, and the matter was effectively dropped. The school house was completed, and stood for Hunter as “a monument of victory over ignorance, insurrection and dishonesty. Trees are now growing on the soil, which the people boasted could not be grown because the blood of their martyrs was spilled there. The same people now send their children or grand children to school in the same building over which Old Glory waves in triumph.”⁹⁹ Despite all the difficulties faced, Hunter declared that it was the American teachers, “the hardest worked and poorest paid bunch in the Islands,” who had been “crowned with the brightest halo of success.”¹⁰⁰

John Henry Manning Butler also depicted his early teaching experiences as a process of overcoming serious obstacles to achieve success, within a very unstable context. He reported that when he began teaching in the spring of 1902, his district was being terrorized by an infamous “insurrecto” leader, who collected tribute and targeted those who cooperated with American authorities, including the mayor of Alaminos. Butler declared that a prior American teacher had “left in disgust” and that he had been sent “as a forlorn hope.” The religious schools of the town were well established, and the students attended these rather than the public schools.

⁹⁸ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pgs. 303-304, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

⁹⁹ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pgs. 305-307, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁰⁰ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pg. 298, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

Butler alleged that as the 25th Infantry had been stationed there previously, public opinion held that “a colored man could not [be] learned enough to teach.”¹⁰¹ While the signal corps operator attempted to dissuade people from this belief, for the first few weeks after his arrival, Butler had only a few students. When a public entertainment was held by one of the private schools, he attended, and spoke afterward with the priest, who was favorably impressed with Butler’s knowledge of religion and Latin. The next day, Butler was offered a position as a teacher of English in the college. Butler declined at first, but after consulting with his deputy superintendent, accepted the offer, taught for three weeks and, intending to draw the boys into the public schools, resigned as soon as he “found that the boys liked me.”¹⁰² Through perseverance and hard work, Butler raised his attendance, and also opened a girls’ school and an adult night school. Despite ongoing fighting between Americans and Filipinos which disrupted school for a time, Butler declared that the “educational leaven was at work,” as the “impression gained ground that English was very easy, anybody could learn to speak it, and that it was a passport to great things in the future.”¹⁰³

Carter G. Woodson indicated in *The Miseducation of the Negro* that a successful teacher was one who could adapt to the conditions and peoples among whom he was placed. He argued that the teachers sent by the government to the Philippines, while “highly trained” at “institutions like Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Chicago,” were often failures because they failed to take local contexts into consideration. Woodson also gave the counterexample of a businessman in the Philippines who became a teacher. The man had no formal background in pedagogy, but “he understood people,” and was able to make his lessons relevant and accessible to Filipinos by

¹⁰¹ Butler, “Early Experiences,” pg. 236, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. Butler’s claim is significant, given black soldiers’ assertions that Filipinos were friendly to them, and without prejudice. Whether true or not, however, by contrasting himself to black soldiers, Butler made a claim to exceptional learning and qualification.

¹⁰² Butler, “Early Experiences,” pg. 236, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹⁰³ Butler, “Early Experiences,” pgs. 236-237, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers. While Carter G. Woodson and Frederick Bonner left no record of their teaching success, both were described in their BIA files as having provided “entirely satisfactory” and “very satisfactory” service while in the Philippines, and both were recommended for reinstatement. Frank McIntyre, Letter to U.S. Civil Service Commission, December 12, 1907, Folder 8898, Box 533.; Charles H. Magee, Letter to J.G. Collicot, Box 70, “John H.M. Butler,” Personal Name Information Files, both in RG 350, NARA.

teaching about José Rizal rather than George Washington, and by adapting lessons to use objects familiar in the Philippines, such as the song, “Come Shake the Lomboy Tree.”¹⁰⁴ While Woodson had graduated from college before going to the Philippines to teach, the point seems to be that, rather than relying on abstract ideas about instruction, school success was derived from an attempt to understand the people with whom one was placed, and to adapt to conditions on the ground.

Negotiating Race in America’s Colonial Possessions

Race relations in empire were often complicated and nuanced in different ways than at home. In the Philippines, class, education, and nationality modified and moderated traditional racial hierarchies and boundaries. Of course, white racial prejudice did follow the flag, and many white American soldiers treated black soldiers and Filipinos alike, even to the point of using the same racist slurs to refer to both.¹⁰⁵ John Calloway reported in November of 1899 that the “whites have begun to establish their diabolical race hatred in all its home rancor in Manila, even endeavoring to propagate the phobia among the Spaniards and Filipinos so as to be sure of the foundation of their supremacy when the civil rule that must necessarily follow the present military regime, is established.”¹⁰⁶ White Americans, including officials as high up as William H. Taft, were disturbed at the close ties developing between black soldiers and Filipinos, to the point that black troops were withdrawn from the Philippines for a time in 1902.¹⁰⁷ As Scott Brown has argued, the “lesson” drawn from David Fagen, who defected from the 24th Infantry and fought for two years with the Filipino army, was that all black soldiers, especially those who showed sympathy for and affinity with Filipinos, were potential defectors.¹⁰⁸ This belief led to especially harsh penalties for black soldiers who defected, and even for soldiers, like Calloway,

¹⁰⁴ Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1933; reprint, Chicago: African American Images, 2000), 152-153.

¹⁰⁵ Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 243-244.

¹⁰⁶ John W. Calloway, Letter to the *Richmond Planet*, November 16, 1899, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 252. Gatewood misspells Calloway’s name as “Galloway.”

¹⁰⁷ Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 242-243.

¹⁰⁸ Brown, “White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen’s Rebellion,” 165-166.

who merely voiced their opposition to America's colonization of the Philippines in a letter to a Filipino friend. The example of Fagen influenced the decision to execute two black defectors from the 9th Cavalry, despite the fact that President Roosevelt had commuted the death sentences of fifteen white soldiers convicted of the same crime.¹⁰⁹

However, T.G. Steward used his rank as an officer to fight against such discrimination. When a group of white volunteers "indulged in some vile cursing" as they rode past him, Steward, ordered his driver to overtake the group and "read them a lecture." The soldiers denied they had "said anything disrespectful" and begged Steward to "let them pass on."¹¹⁰ Steward also declared that, despite the attitudes of some of the white Americans in the Philippines, Filipinos treated African Americans as equals. While staying at a boarding house in Manila, Steward was visited by a friend, Lieutenant Ballard. The proprietor, Maria Torrent, put him in a room with white Americans, one of whom, a government employee, objected to Ballard's presence. When Torrent told the "boor" that "Mr. Ballard was a gentleman and would be treated as such," and that he was "a person without breeding and without shame," the man left the house without paying his bill. The "fiery Spanish lady" then complained to the custom house, where the man was employed, and "soon 'Dick' found himself an Othello without occupation."¹¹¹

Just like white soldiers, white teachers brought their racial prejudices with them to the Philippines. Bess Priestley reported that two of the teachers near her and her husband were southerners and "could hardly stand it that President Roosevelt entertained Booker T. Washington at dinner." The Priestleys found it diverting "to start them off on the subject and all join in to keep them going."¹¹² Despite their role as social emissaries, the teachers also extended these prejudices to the native population. While not a universal trait, some white teachers

¹⁰⁹ Scott, "White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen's Rebellion," 172.

¹¹⁰ Steward, Letter to *The Cleveland Gazette*, January 19, 1900, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 263-264.

¹¹¹ Theophilus Steward, Draft of Letter to *The Christian Recorder*, reel 4, Steward Papers; and Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*, 339-340. This appears to be a reference to a speech in William Shakespeare's *Othello*, in which Othello declares, "Othello's occupation's gone." It is unclear whether Steward meant to indicate anything beyond a flowery way to say that the man was fired.

¹¹² Bess Priestley, Letter to "Dear Mommy," December 8, 1901, Folder 5, Herbert Ingram Priestley Letters, 1901-1904 [hereafter Priestley Letters], Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

denigrated Filipinos by comparing them to African Americans. The Coles did this with particular frequency. In addition, Herbert Priestley wrote that Filipinos were “much below the negroes in capacity and industry,” though they did “not have the repulsive personal characteristics that the negroes usually have.”¹¹³ Elizabeth Willis, a teacher from South Carolina, declared that Filipinos were “about as capable of self-government as Beech Island darkies under that preacher over there.”¹¹⁴ This tendency does not seem to have been restricted to southern teachers, moreover, as the Coles came from Michigan and the Priestleys from California.

The most strident racial prejudice and violence was mostly confined to Manila, where the largest numbers of both white and black Americans would have congregated at one time. In the provinces, black teachers especially would have been insulated from the worst white racism because of their position as government employees. Bedford Hunter reported that he liked the Philippines because he did not encounter “the poisonous prejudice” there as at home, and a “man has a chance to rise according to his ability.”¹¹⁵ This was partially due to Hunter’s position within the civil service, and partially because of the necessity for the U.S. government to convince Filipinos that race would not be a barrier to equality. In addition, the relatively small number of American teachers in the Philippines would have made it easier to recognize and acknowledge the merit of the black teachers among them.

Some black soldiers shared their white peers’ scorn for Filipinos, self-consciously distinguishing themselves from Filipinos in order to make claims to inclusion in American civilization. In one particularly vehement letter to Booker T. Washington, Osceola Jones declared them to be cowardly, roguish, “ignorant half starved, half armed savages,” who were “not fit to live.” While there were some “very intelligent people” in the islands, Jones wrote that

¹¹³ Herbert Priestley, Letter to “Dearest Mommy,” January 31, 1904, Folder 29, Priestley Letters.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Willis, Letter to “Dearest Mother and Father,” December 26, 1910, Folder 13, Box 10, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Papers [hereafter Willis DeHuff Papers], Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

¹¹⁵ “He Likes the Philippines,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, June 2, 1905, pg 1.

they were “few and far between.” Such conditions, he concluded, made “life a burden for the civilized American soldier.”¹¹⁶ Even Frank R. Steward, a captain in the 49th Infantry and the son of the celebrated chaplain Theophilus Steward, used the epithet “gugu” while describing battles with Filipinos. Steward went on to boast of putting his “legal training into use” in his position as provost judge for San Pablo, declaring that “my humble and honorable court has extensive jurisdiction.”¹¹⁷ Black soldiers who employed these sorts of racial stereotypes seem to have done so in order to mark their own difference from and superiority to Filipinos. Chaplain George W. Prioleau, of the 9th Cavalry, declared that Filipinos were not ready for self-government because “comparatively speaking,” they knew very little about government and nothing about “commercial and agricultural business.” There were “some intelligent men among them,” Prioleau conceded, but they were “so conceited” as to think that what they did not know already was “not worth knowing.”¹¹⁸ The implicit comparison here seems to be with black Americans, who did know about these things and were, therefore, ready for full citizenship.

However, while some African Americans drew sharp distinctions between themselves and Filipinos to highlight their own achievements and level of civilization, most viewed Filipinos more favorably. Robert L. Campbell, a clerk for the 49th Infantry, stationed in Tuguegarao, Cagayan, argued that the “native of this section of the country are not half so ignorant” as he was led to expect by those who were “narrow-minded” and “not desirous of giving all peoples their dues.” Campbell concluded that he did not regret coming to the Philippines, but that he would not go into the army again, as he believed it was “wrong and terribly wrong” to fight for such a cause.¹¹⁹

Many black Americans, moreover, felt a sense of racial identity with Filipinos, and believed that the feeling was mutual. Theophilus Steward reported that when he arrived in

¹¹⁶ Osceola Edward Jones, Letter to Booker T. Washington, November 4, 1900, in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Vol. 5, 668-669.

¹¹⁷ Frank R. Steward, Letter to Thomas H.R. Clark, *The Washington Bee*, April 6, 1901, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 295-296.

¹¹⁸ George W. Prioleau, Letter to *The Colored American*, July 13, 1901, in Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 301.

¹¹⁹ Robert L. Campbell, Letter to Booker T. Washington, December 24, 1900, reel 159, BTW Papers.

Manila he was “almost embarrassed by the attentions shown me by the common people.” He soon discovered that “race meant something to them,” as they would place their hands along those of black soldiers, saying “We are all the same.”¹²⁰

Some black soldiers recorded striking up close friendships with Filipinos. John W. Calloway of the 24th Infantry, while stationed in San Isidro, Nueva Ecija, became friendly with Thomas Consunji, an employee of the civil government, who shared his interest in issues of race, nationalism and nation-building, geopolitics, and industrial and vocational education. As Scott Brown has noted, the backdrop of war and empire allowed “both men to project themselves as racial or national leaders who played a vanguard role in the uplift of their peoples.” Calloway sympathized with Consunji’s desire for an independent nation, and felt deeply that Americans were “morally wrong” with regard to the Philippines. However, he urged a gradual approach to Consunji, advising him to focus on the uplift of the Filipino masses, teaching them sanitation, clean living and high ideals, and that “liberty of action” would come.¹²¹

Excluding Hunter’s power struggle with municipal authorities, relations between African Americans teachers and Filipinos seem to have been remarkably cordial. Of course, it was in the interest of black teachers to present things in this light, and conflict almost certainly occurred between individuals at times. In one such incident, Carter G. Woodson clashed with a Filipino named Marcos Ventus while on a trip to San Juan de Guimba in May of 1904. The substance of the disagreement is not known, but as a result of the encounter, Woodson filed official complaints against Ventus, an employee of the Census Bureau, and soon after requested a transfer to another station. An investigation into the affair cleared Woodson of all responsibility, and Ventus was suspended by the Philippine Commission. In June, Woodson was transferred to Pangasinan Province, where he would “be free from the hardships and troubles” that he had met

¹²⁰ Steward, “The Color Problem World Wide,” reel 4, Steward Papers.

¹²¹ Brown, “White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen’s Rebellion,” 166-167. This friendship led to serious trouble for Calloway when Consunji, who was suspected of being a Nationalist spy, was raided by the military and Calloway’s letter was found. He was dishonorably discharged in 1901 and shipped back to the United States [Brown, 168]. As noted elsewhere, however, Calloway had found his way back to the Philippines by 1903, and was living in Manila and serving as the editor for *The Philippines Weekly*.

in Nueva Ecija.¹²² This incident, while clearly upsetting enough to Woodson to motivate him to travel to Manila to make an official complaint, and perhaps to request a transfer, was not so discouraging as to make him want to leave the islands. Indeed, Woodson's overall experience was positive enough to encourage both his brother and sister to seek information about employment opportunities there.¹²³

One good indication of the relations between African Americans and Filipinos is the comparatively high incidence of intermarriage. After his inspection of Luzon, T. Thomas Fortune argued that there "seemed to be a thorough understanding between the black and brown man, in so far that they married and gave in marriage and enjoyed a social intimacy which was far from being true between the whites and the Filipinos." Fortune continued that white Americans never married Filipinos, choosing instead to cohabite, and abandoning their partners and any offspring behind when they returned to the United States.¹²⁴ Of course, Fortune was wrong that white Americans did not marry Filipinos; they did, though as noted in Chapters Two and Four, the marriages seem to have caused more of a scandal in the white expatriate community than the black. W.W. Marquardt claimed that there was opposition to such unions, reporting that when one of the best students in the Tacloban High School married a black sergeant, a black dressmaker at the army camp declared that she and the other black women were going to ostracize the bride. Marquardt continued that a Filipino also objected to the match "because such weddings tend to darken the race which is dark enough already."¹²⁵ Given the number of weddings which took place, however, it does not seem that this opposition was widespread.

¹²² Patricia Romero, *Carter G. Woodson*, 39-41. Unfortunately, the letters that document, although sparsely, the run-in between Woodson and Ventus, once stored in a trunk in the basement of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, went missing in the decades after Romero finished her dissertation. It has been speculated by staff at the ASNLH, now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, or ASAALH, that the documents were either lost or stolen during the move to Howard University.

¹²³ Bessie A. Woodson, Letter to Bureau of Insular Affairs, August 30, 1904, and R.H. Woodson, Letter to Clarence Edwards, August 31, 1904, Folder 8898, Box 88, RG 350, NARA.

¹²⁴ Fortune, "The Filipino: The Filipinos Do Not Understand the Prejudice of White Americans Against Black Americans," *The Voice of the Negro*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (May, 1904): 200. See also Gatewood, *Smoked Yankees*, 303.

¹²⁵ Marquardt, "American Darkies," pg. 76, Vol. 8, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

On the other hand, not all such relationships resulted in marriage, and even many long-term cohabitations and marriages between Filipino women and soldiers of both races were marked by unequal power. In his memoir about his time as a soldier in the 24th Infantry in the Philippines, Richard Johnson recalled that half a soldier's monthly pay of fifteen dollars was enough to sustain an entire Filipino family, and that "when some of the soldiers offered this as a monthly allowance to possess a woman, many of those of weaker will fell for the temptation." Johnson added that some soldiers "found a lead to contact with the women by becoming friendly with the children." Giving part of their rations to the children hanging around the mess often gave the soldiers a way to meet the rest of the family, and "perhaps an elder sister."¹²⁶ Antoina Penaflor, the widow of Eugene H. Grills, a black soldier stationed in her town, recalled in 1972 that she first met her husband "when he began bringing food to our house during the war. He was good to us."¹²⁷

This does not mean that relations between the two groups were always based on mutual respect, however. Indeed, just as with white Americans, black Americans could have close friendships, and even marry Filipinos, and still believe the mass of the population unfit for self-government. Bedford B. Hunter declared that while he was still serving in the army, he had the opportunity to study "our little Brown Brother" and was initially impressed in his conversations with "the better class of Natives," and was "fully convinced as to their intelligence and their readiness for Independence." By 1913, however, Hunter had begun to doubt this opinion, believing that he had mistaken "aptness in memorizing orations" for cleverness.¹²⁸ When recalling the early years of teaching, Hunter wrote of the isolation and hardship in being stationed away from "other Americans, amid a strange people, with strange customs and stranger ideas of honesty and friendship, and whose hearts still beat against the intrusion of the American," while "striving to help and uplift of an ungrateful people."¹²⁹ Despite his misgivings

¹²⁶ Ngozi-Brown, "African American Soldiers and Filipinos," 48.

¹²⁷ Era Bell Thompson, "Veterans Who Never Came Home," *Ebony*, October 1972, 106.

¹²⁸ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pg. 298, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹²⁹ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pgs. 300-301, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

about Filipino aptitude and his feelings of alienation, however, Hunter cohabited with and eventually married a Filipina, Paz Montilla, in 1907. In wedding Montilla, who was from a wealthy and prominent family, Hunter would have been marrying into an entire network of kinship and patronage.

The class dimensions of the complex relations between black teachers and Filipinos can further be seen in Hunter's frequent clashes with the elites in his town. He made a habit of inviting the young people of the town to his home for dances at least two nights a month, a practice that annoyed some of the town's *caciques*, or land-owning elites, but which certainly endeared him to its youth.¹³⁰ These parties also provided Hunter with another opportunity to challenge the power of the elite townsmen. At one such dance, Hunter was informed that the band was leaving, as "Captain Cacique" had told them they had played enough. Hunter immediately delivered "an impromptu lecture," which "broke the power of the Cacique, as far as the band was concerned at least." Hunter noted that the Filipinos "as a rule treated us very kindly," but that the town's bosses were "afraid that we would undo them or find out too much of what was really going on," and so did anything "they could to make our lot as hard as possible, so that we would become discouraged and leave." While this strategy succeeded with some, Hunter declared that it only made him "more determined to stay with them."¹³¹ This explanation for the hostility of the town's elite makes sense, especially given the history of the region as a strong supporter of independence.

Hunter's transition from soldier to teacher, and his sometimes contentious relationships with the elites of his town, indicates the fundamental tension of black Americans' position in empire. Black teachers justified their role in the Philippines partly by the racial sympathy which they claimed existed between themselves and Filipinos. At the same time, however, their presence within empire was justified on the premise that they were more racially fit, more civilized than their charges. Hunter could, therefore, praise the achievements of his pupils and

¹³⁰ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pg. 305, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

¹³¹ Hunter, Letter to the Director of Education, July 7, 1913, pg. 305, Vol. 2, Box 6, Marquardt Papers.

the advancement of Filipinos in general, and even marry a Filipina, and at the same time deny that Filipinos were prepared for the responsibilities of self-government.¹³² To allow that Filipinos were advanced enough, civilized enough to govern themselves would have been tantamount to an admission that he and the other teachers were no longer necessary.

“The Race of Color”: Black Americans and Transnational Perspectives on Race

Like white Americans, black Americans were aware of the expanding imperial sphere, and cognizant of the potential opportunities it offered, both in the Philippines and beyond. Prior to his service as a chaplain in the 25th Infantry in the Philippines, Theophilus G. Steward served as a missionary in South Carolina after the Civil War and in Haiti from 1873 to 1891. Two of his sons, Frank R. Steward and Gustavus Adolphus, also served in the Philippines, Frank as a captain in the 49th Infantry, and Gustavus as a teacher in a “small school at Agno,” Zambales, the province where Theophilus was stationed.¹³³ Another son, Theophilus Bolden Steward, wrote to the Bureau of Insular Affairs in 1916 asking about employment opportunities in Haiti. The BIA responded that the State Department was responsible for making those appointments, and that they were transmitting his application there.¹³⁴

John H.M. Butler was also highly aware of potential opportunities in other sites of empire. In 1916, W.W. Marquardt, the Director of Education, wrote to the BIA at Butler’s request to recommend him for “any position which may be created in case school work in the Danish possessions is undertaken by the government.” Marquardt praised Butler’s work and reputation highly, and urged that he be considered for such a position.¹³⁵ In 1921, he got Frank

¹³² Hunter, “A Voice from the Philippines,” *National Review*, September 18, 1913, pg. 1.

¹³³ Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*, 317; William Seraile, *Voice of Dissent: Theophilus Gould Steward (1843-1924) and Black America* (New York: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1991), 142. Gustavus had wanted to go to Africa as a missionary, but his parents were concerned that, at nineteen, he was not ready for such a venture. Instead, Theophilus got his son a position in Agno. Gustavus A. Steward is listed on the roster of teachers for 1902; *Official Register of the Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, January 1, 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 51. However, he is not listed on the roster for 1903.

¹³⁴ Assistant to the Chief of BIA, Letter to T.B. Steward, March 17, 1916, “Theophilus Bolden Steward,” Box 619, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

¹³⁵ Marquardt, Letter to Frank McIntyre, September 13, 1916, Box 88, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA. The Chief of the BIA, Frank McIntyre, responded that the treaty “contemplating the purchase of the Danish West Indies” had not been signed, and it was not known whether those islands would come under the BIA, but that

W. Carpenter, the chairman of the Finance Commission, to write to the BIA, recommending him to head public instruction in Haiti. Carpenter, the first civilian governor of the Moro Province from 1913-1917, declared that many of the best teachers working in his province had been trained schools under Butler's supervision.¹³⁶ Carpenter continued that Butler was a man of "excellent presence" who commanded "the respect of his Caucasian associates," and declared that he would "without hesitation" chose Butler to organize and direct the "public schools in any country in which the mass of the people are of African descent, in the certainty that he would develop their best potentialities of citizenship and good qualities."¹³⁷ McIntyre responded that he would be happy to recommend Butler if the U.S. undertook educational work in Haiti, but that at present schools were conducted largely by French missionaries and in French.¹³⁸

At the same time that black Americans in the Philippines were looking to other arenas of empire for potential opportunities, however, they were also expanding their views on race beyond national boundaries. The experience of participating in empire in the Philippines had broadened the context in which black Americans, especially those who became close to Filipinos, such as teachers, understood the struggle for racial equality. In a draft of an article on "The Color Problem World Wide," T.G. Steward quoted a Filipino journalist, who wrote that the "principal causes of the evil" between Americans and Filipinos lay in "the difference which has been established between the *race of color* and that calling itself superior." Noting that the writer had grouped "all the pigmented peoples" under the "race of color," Steward argued that it

Butler's name had been added to a list of people interested in applying for positions there. Frank McIntyre Letter to W.W. Marquardt, October 23, 1916, "John H.M. Butler," Box 88, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA. The Danish West Indies, or Danish Antilles, consisting of the islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, were sold to the United States in 1916 for twenty-five million dollars.

¹³⁶ In 1914 the Moro Province was renamed the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

¹³⁷ F. W. Carpenter, Letter to Frank McIntyre, June 17, 1921, "John H.M. Butler," Box 88, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

¹³⁸ Frank McIntyre, Letter to F.W. Carpenter, July 26, 1921, "John H.M. Butler," Box 88, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA. In 1915, U.S. Marines invaded Port au Prince in response to domestic instability and to protect American strategic and financial interests in the region. The U.S. established a puppet government and ruled the country until 1934. As the first black Republic in the Americas, of course, the racial context of Haiti was significantly different from that of the Philippines. It is significant that both T.B. Steward and Butler expressed interest in obtaining a position there. Given Carpenter's recommendation of Butler, it is possible that both men hoped that African American men might gain leadership positions over a colonizing effort in a black nation.

was “not Christianity” that was “dividing the world but color. The color line is an awful fact and on it the world’s great battle is to come, either economically or with the sword.” While Steward noted that African Americans were “accustomed to think the color question an American question, and to regard the Negro race as the only race affected disadvantageously by it,” his experience in the Philippines convinced him that it was “a World-wide question,” and one which established the “most important cleavage among men.”¹³⁹

Hunter also adopted this view during his time in the Philippines. In a letter written to the editor of the *National Review*, Hunter declared that the clamoring of Filipinos for independence was largely due to the fact that “they have heard and seen so much of the white man’s prejudice and of his treatment of colored races, they have come to choose self government or destruction rather than suffer the humiliations handed out to other colored races who have come in contact or under the domain of American whites.”¹⁴⁰ A year later, in a letter to the same man, also the editor of the *Topeka Plaindealer*, Hunter praised African Americans papers for “getting together and making a united stroke against injustice and all working in harmony with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.” If these papers would include “all colored races in your fight,” Hunter advised, “success will sooner crown your efforts.”¹⁴¹ The experience of empire, then, helped to broaden the racial perspective of both Steward and Hunter, encouraging them to draw links between colored peoples around the globe, and to envision themselves as part of a transnational community of color, bound by common goals and aspirations.

Conclusion

Participation in empire allowed black teachers, as with white teachers, to take advantage of multiple opportunities which were largely unavailable in the United States. For African

¹³⁹ Steward, “The Color Line World Wide,” reel 4, Steward Papers. Interestingly, Steward noted in his autobiography that he drafted this article in 1900, three years before W.E.B. DuBois would declare that the “the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line.” Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry*, 344; and Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 13.

¹⁴⁰ Hunter, “A Voice from the Philippines,” *National Review*, September 18, 1913, pg 1.

¹⁴¹ Hunter, “Life in the Philippines,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, June 19, 1914, pg 1.

Americans, however, beyond the ability to earn a good salary and to rise professionally, teaching in this context provided a vehicle for claiming inclusion in American identity, and portraying themselves as ideal agents of civilization and racial uplift. They discovered in the process that while daily negotiations between African Americans and Filipinos seem to have been cordial overall, they could also be fraught with political tensions, as Bedford B. Hunter's experience attests. Moreover, as was the case with white teachers, it was possible for black teachers to develop close relationships with individual Filipinos while still denying the capacity of the general population for self-government.

The experience of empire was also significant for African Americans' later lives. For black teachers, the experience of being a respected figure of authority paved the way for leadership roles later in life. For Woodson and Bonner, this meant involvement with the NAACP and other organizations fighting for racial equality. For Steward and Hunter, their experience in the Philippines led them to understand African Americans as part of a global struggle against racial oppression by the "colored races." The two world wars have often been pointed to as watershed moments in the politicization of black activists. The experiences of the black soldiers and teachers in the Philippines, however, demonstrate that this process had begun during the early years of American empire.

Examining the experiences of black teachers in the Philippines reveals the full complexity and significance of colonial negotiations. While all teachers, black and white, male and female, negotiated their way through these identities, the presence of black teachers interrupted the racial binary through which white Americans initially framed the colonial relationship. Black teachers skillfully played themselves off both white authorities and the local population, to argue simultaneously that they were better suited to be benevolent colonizers, and that they were representatives of American civilization. African American teachers' negotiations of colonial identities and relationships throws into stark relief that ways in which notions of race, gender, class and national identity were reconfigured in empire.

Conclusion

American teachers sought and accepted official positions within empire in order to pursue opportunities for financial and professional gain. In addition, teachers used their position as Americans, as well as gendered and racial identities, to present themselves as colonial adventurers and experts. Teachers' expectations regarding their role at time contradicted the discourse of benevolent uplift articulated by both the U.S. and the colonial government. The participation of white women and black men and women in empire, moreover, disrupted the narratives of white masculinity that suffused colonial discourse, as these teachers used their positions to assert their fitness to be agents of civilization and Americanization. These teachers engaged with and redefined notions of national identity and race; white women in order to present themselves using masculine ideas of imperial strenuousness, and black teachers in order to argue that they were the most fit to be agents of benevolent colonization and uplift.

Even as teachers altered and challenged the expectations of the colonial state, they were forced to confront the realities of colonization on the ground, including a context of ongoing warfare as well as an unfamiliar racial hierarchy. Moreover, despite their ability to enact some of their colonial fantasies, teachers soon discovered that many Filipinos were not disposed to play obedient Fridays to their Robinson Crusoes. Rather, Filipino students, teachers, and members of the community pushed back against teachers' visions of colonial power, articulating their own understandings of the colonial relationship and demanding respectful treatment and recognition of capacity and equality. The schoolhouse was an important site, therefore, of colonial negotiation and contestation. Struggles between students and teachers can be understood as micro contests over colonization; they not only mirrored the battles occurring on the national political stage,

but also shaped the tenor and terms of those battles. The politics of the schoolhouse influenced national politics as both a symbol of the colonial state and as a primary locus of imperial power.

Teachers also attempted to enact colonization on the ground in the domain of intimate interactions. Negotiations of colonial power blurred the lines between the public and private realms. Even as teachers asserted their power over day to day matters of municipal politics, socializing and domestic management, however, politicians, servants, and the community in general drew teachers into relations of reciprocity, demanding political and financial aid, interpreting teachers' actions and pronouncements, and defining the terms of the colonial relationship. While marked by unequal power, quotidian challenges to and redefinitions of the meaning and form of colonization allowed Filipinos to resist American authority and made the implementation of colonization on the ground a process of contest and negotiation.

The Legacy of American Education

In August of 1958, Elvessa Stewart returned to the United States after teaching for forty-five years in the Philippines. Stewart, who had come to the islands in 1912, was put in charge of Home Economics for the entire school system. During World War II, Stewart was interned by the Japanese, first in Bacolod, and then at the infamous Santo Tomas Camp. Through the help of Filipino friends who brought her food, Stewart survived, although her weight dropped from 145 to 80 pounds before the camp was liberated. In a paean to Stewart, Albert Ravenholt wrote that, as one of the "last pioneer American educators" in the islands, she symbolized the "tie that is at the core of the special and sometimes affectionate Philippine-American relationship." This "special" relationship had become even more central to American diplomatic goals in the context of the Cold War. As Ravenholt reflected on Stewart's "years of devoted service," he

declared that America's "national capacity for winning acceptance, throughout this region of Asia, of the democratic values we profess will depend largely upon the number of such Americans" who would be willing to come to the Philippines with similar dedication of purpose.⁷⁵²

Ravenholt's vision would come to fruition within three years. In 1961, the first Peace Corps volunteers arrived in the Philippines, sent as cultural diplomats to spread the new message of American "benevolence" across the globe. Filipinos quickly drew links between the old and new goodwill emissaries, demonstrating the ongoing significance of historical memory. The first group of volunteers was met at the Manila Airport by a banner welcoming the "New Thomasites." However, many of the new recruits rejected this comparison, seeing themselves as starkly different from their colonial predecessors.⁷⁵³ It is not surprising, however, that Filipinos would see a clear connection between the two generations of pedagogues. Indeed, the formation and organization of the Peace Corps was influenced by a former Thomasite, John S. Noffsinger, who taught in the Philippines from 1909 to 1912, and was a senior counselor in the Office of Public Affairs of the Peace Corps from 1961 until his death in 1966.⁷⁵⁴ In addition, the Progressive Era and the Cold War shared some key traits: a faith in the ability of the United States to shape the world in their own image, and in the potential for individuals to serve as effective cultural emissaries, spreading the word of and converting followers

⁷⁵² Albert Ravenholt, "Miss Stewart – 'Our Teacher!'," August 8, 1958, South Asia Series, Vol. 6, No. 6 (New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1958).

⁷⁵³ Jonathan Zimmerman, "Educating the Globe: America's Overseas Teachers and the Dilemmas of 'Culture,'" *Education Week*, October 11, 2006, Vol. 26, No. 7, accessed March 15, 2013, <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2006/10/11/07zimmerman.h26.html>. See also Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 4.

⁷⁵⁴ Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad*, 201; and Paul A. Rodell, "John S. Noffsinger and the Global Impact of the Thomasite Experience," in *Back to the Future: Perspectives on the Thomasite Legacy to Philippine Education*, ed. Corazon D. Villareal (Manila: American Studies Association of the Philippines in cooperation with the Cultural Affairs Office, U.S. Embassy, 2003), 31-41.

to the creed of Americanism. Finally, in both eras the U.S. government combined civilian goodwill missions with a strong military presence to suppress perceived anti-American movements. The legacy of the Thomasites, as the Peace Corps demonstrates, stretched far beyond the American colonial period, as the tremors of colonial education rippled outwards back to the United States and across the globe.

While Elvessa Stewart was not the only teacher to stay in the Philippines until almost the end of her life, the number of American teachers declined fairly steadily from May of 1902.⁷⁵⁵ In 1905, the number of American teachers allowed by law to be employed was reduced from 1000 to 861. In 1908, this number was lowered again to 795, although only 722 American teachers were employed at that time. From 1912 to 1918, the number of American teachers decreased from 658 to 406. Their ranks continued to thin out, until by 1925 there were only 305 Americans employed by the Bureau of Education. As the number of American teachers dropped, the number of Filipino teachers rose accordingly. Yet Americans maintained control over the highest positions at the Bureau of Education.⁷⁵⁶ Some Filipinos, of course, did achieve high positions within the Bureau of Education. The top spots, however, the Secretary of

⁷⁵⁵ Bedford B. Hunter lived in the Philippines until 1940, while John Henry Manning Butler spent the rest of his life in the islands, dying in 1946. United States 84th Congress, *House of Representatives Report No. 2192: Relief of Certain Aliens* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956), 21-23; and "John Henry Manning Butler Death Report," American Consulate General, November 24, 1947, *Report of the Deaths of American Citizens*, Box 464, RG 59, NARA.

⁷⁵⁶ Camilo Osias became the first Filipino Division Superintendent in 1915. In 1917, he became the Second Assistant Director of Education. The first Filipino Second Assistant Director of Education was Jose Escaler, appointed in 1916. In 1917, Alejandro Albert was appointed the Assistant Director of Education, and became the Under Secretary of Public Instruction the next year. Felix Roxas served as the Acting Secretary of Public Instruction in 1917, the only Filipino to do so before 1935. *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippines Islands, 1913-1935*, in Library Materials, Record Group 350, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park [hereafter RG 350, NARA].

Public Instruction and the Director of Education, remained the province of Americans, as did the majority of division superintendent positions.⁷⁵⁷

This decline in numbers must be understood in the context of Philippine, American, and global history. While movements toward Filipino involvement in governance began during Theodore Roosevelt administration, mostly notably with the shift to a bicameral legislature with the creation of the Philippine Assembly in 1907, the real watershed moment came with the election of Woodrow Wilson, and the inauguration of a Democratic regime in both the U.S. and the Philippines. Francis B. Harrison was sent to Manila to replace W. Cameron Forbes as Governor-General, and promised Filipinos that: “Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence.” To this end, Filipinos would immediately constitute a majority in both the upper and lower houses of the legislature, and would be hired to replace Americans in government work wherever possible.⁷⁵⁸ This policy of replacing Americans with Filipinos became known as “Filipinization,” and it did not end with the Governor-General. While the changes were not “so sweeping as might have been expected,” John D. DeHuff, the Second Assistant Director of Education, noted, still, “all the former American members of the Commission and a number of bureau chiefs” were fired, “some of them rather unceremoniously and with considerable publicity.”⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ *Reports of the Director of Education, 1908-1925*, in Library Materials, RG 350, NARA. Interestingly, the gender of ratio of teachers flipped at some point. At least by 1918, there were more female teachers (191) employed than male teachers (177). This is perhaps not surprising, given that there was an ongoing world war. However, this trend continued until at least 1922. Indeed, the gap between men and women widened, with 202 female teachers and 134 male teachers employed that year.

⁷⁵⁸ John D. DeHuff, “Memories of Orient Seas,” pgs. 385-386, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Papers [hereafter Willis DeHuff Papers], Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; and Kimberly A. Alidio, “Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation: Racial Discourse, U.S. Colonial Education and Filipino Ethnicity, 1901-1946” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 85.

⁷⁵⁹ DeHuff, “Memories of Orient Seas,” pgs. 387-388, Willis DeHuff Papers. DeHuff himself resigned not long after, to take a position in the Carlisle Indian School.

From this point on, many Americans saw the writing on the wall. In 1913, five hundred Americans, either unwilling to serve under Filipino bureau chiefs or anticipating their own termination, resigned from the colonial service, and were replaced by almost one thousand Filipinos.⁷⁶⁰ Teachers were part of this exodus as well. From 1913 to 1914, the number of American teachers decreased from 612 to 538, the largest drop in employees for the period from 1901 to 1925.⁷⁶¹ As more Filipinos gained positions of prominence within the government, there was less willingness to accept that Americans ought to hold top positions, at a much higher rate of pay.

During this same period, the Jones Act of 1916 abolished the Philippine Commission and created a bicameral legislature for which representatives in both houses would be elected. In addition, the act reaffirmed the American commitment to Philippine independence.⁷⁶² By the end of Wilson's presidency, as Marquardt declared, most American were "taking for granted that the granting of independence" would happen soon.⁷⁶³

Even as World War I and various immigration laws limited the number of migrants coming to the United States from Europe and Asia, the number of Filipino migrants rose sharply in the 1920s and early 1930s.⁷⁶⁴ As Filipino migrant labor spread

⁷⁶⁰ Alidio, "Between Civilizing Mission and Ethnic Assimilation," 85.

⁷⁶¹ *Reports of the Director of Education, 1908-1925*, in Library Materials, RG 350, NARA. There also seems to be a certain amount of nostalgia in teachers' recollections from this period. In 1913, the Bureau of Education requested teachers who had come in the early years of colonial education to send in their recollections of that time. These responses were collected and preserved by W.W. Marquardt. In many of the letters, teachers refer nostalgically to "the days of empire," as though something special about the early year of colonization was irretrievably gone. See "Early Experiences of American Teachers," pgs. 222-367, Vol. 2, Box 6, Walter W. Marquardt Papers, Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Note especially the recollections of May Faurote, pg. 276, and Louis H. Lisk, pg. 324.

⁷⁶² H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 116.

⁷⁶³ Walter W. Marquardt, Letter to John D. DeHuff, April 14, 1919, Vol. 8, Box 5, Walter W. Marquardt Papers [hereafter Marquardt Papers], Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

⁷⁶⁴ Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 19.

along the West Coast, Filipinos increasingly became the targets of nativist attacks. In a partnership of strange bedfellows reminiscent of early debates over American empire, nativist and anti-imperial politicians joined forces to pass the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934.⁷⁶⁵ In this context, as Paul Kramer has argued, the road to Philippine independence can be “seen less as an early act of ‘decolonization’ than as the triumph of an exclusionary racial formation over the colonial regime’s inclusionary racial premises.”⁷⁶⁶

The Philippines did become independent, on July 4, 1946. By this point, however, the islands had suffered over four years of brutal occupation by the Japanese. In addition, Manila had been virtually decimated, first by the Japanese, and then by the Americans. In 1946, Esteban Abada, the new Director of Education, wrote to W.W. Marquardt that the Bureau of Education was confronted with conditions that “bore striking resemblance to those that confronted the American maestros at the turn of the century.” Of the school buildings existing in 1941, Abada reported, about eighty percent had been destroyed, along with school supplies and furniture, and teachers were forced to hold classes in bullet-riddled buildings, tents, or “under the spreading branches of a mango tree.”⁷⁶⁷

American teachers were drawn to the Philippines in order to take advantage of opportunities that were unavailable at home. The colonial period, however, was a slow process of the colonial government scaling back the number of American teachers, and these teachers deciding that the islands were no longer the frontier of opportunity that they had envisioned. Yet even as the teachers found themselves pushed out of the

⁷⁶⁵ The Tydings-McDuffie Act allowed for the creation of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and for full independence within ten years.

⁷⁶⁶ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 32.

⁷⁶⁷ Esteban R. Abada, Letter to W.W. Marquardt, July 26, 1946, Folder 7, Box 7, Marquardt Papers.

Philippines, they were able to use their experiences there to move to other sites of opportunity. For some teachers, then, leaving the Philippines was not the end of their sojourn, as they moved to implement colonial education in new locales. This movement created a transnational network of pedagogues, linked by their common experience in the Philippines.

Several of the American teachers were able to parley their experience in the Philippines into positions in sites of domestic colonization – the Indian schools. Nina and Perry Sargent, who had worked in Indian schools in Montana before 1901, went back to the Indian schools (this time, in New Mexico) upon their return in 1903.⁷⁶⁸ John D. DeHuff, after his salary was lowered by five hundred dollars, resigned his position to accept a teaching position at the Carlisle Indian School.⁷⁶⁹ The DeHuff eventually transferred to an Indian school in Santa Fe, where Elizabeth became famous as a writer of Native American stories.

Mary Helen Fee retired from the Philippine Service on June 10, 1916.⁷⁷⁰ After failing to find a satisfactory position in the United States, Fee accepted a position as a canteen volunteer with the Red Cross in France in August of 1917.⁷⁷¹ In January of 1921, Fee wrote to General John J. Pershing and asked him for help getting reinstated in the Philippine service in order to be transferred to federal service (she was technically too old). After Pershing's intercession on her behalf, the BIA immediately went to work

⁷⁶⁸ Louis D. Baun, Letter to Mother, February 8, 1903, *Serving America's First Peace Corps: Letters of Louis D. Baun, Written en route to; and from the Philippines, September 12, 1901 – March 30, 1903*, ed. A. Ruth Sayer (Wakefield, RI: A. Ruth Sayer, 1971), 65

⁷⁶⁹ DeHuff, Letter to Frank Crone, May 21, 1914, and "John D. DeHuff Resigns in States," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, May 23, 1914, Scrapbook 2, Box 2, Willis DeHuff Papers.

⁷⁷⁰ Letter to Disbursing Agent from the Director of the Civil Service, April 26, 1916, "Mary Helen Fee," Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

⁷⁷¹ Fee, Letters to General Frank McIntyre, February 5, 1917, and February 24, 1917, and Letter to Disbursing Agent, August 20, 1917, "Mary Helen Fee," Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

trying to find a position for Fee, first offering her a job in the Philippines for \$1800 a year. However, Fee turned this offer down, declaring that as she had “taken an open stand in antagonism to immediate independence in the Philippines” she felt “that any work I should try to do there would be seriously handicapped by a natural antagonism of the Filipinos themselves to one who openly opposes their racial aspirations.” Instead, Fee requested a position in an Indian school on a remote reservation.⁷⁷² Eventually, Fee was given a position in an Indian school in Salem, Oregon, at \$760 per year.⁷⁷³ By June 27, 1923, Fee had transferred to the Volcan Day School outside of San Diego.⁷⁷⁴

There were also opportunities for teachers from the Philippines further afield. David Barrows noted that there seemed to be “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 was “greatly impressed,” he continued, that the work in which the United States was engaged, of bringing “a backward people up to the front of civilization” was not “not an isolated phenomenon,” but “going on all over the world,” and declared his faith that America could “lead the way” in this movement.⁷⁷⁵

As part of this reformation, Harry Erwin Bard, a former teacher in the Philippines, was hired in 1909 as the Superintendent of Primary Instruction in Peru, where he served

⁷⁷² Fee, Letter to Charles Walcutt, January 20, 1921, “Mary Helen Fee,” Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

⁷⁷³ Charles Walcutt, Letter to General John J. Pershing, February 3, 1921, and Note of Transfer to Indian Service, “Mary Helen Fee,” Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

⁷⁷⁴ Fee, Letter to Superintendent C.L. Ellis, June 27, 1923, cited in Irving G. Hendrick, “Federal Policy Affecting the Education of Indians in California, 1849-1934,” *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer, 1976): 174.

⁷⁷⁵ David P. Barrows, Letter to Casper Wistar Hudgson, May 14, 1909, Folder 11, Box 1, David Prescott Barrows Papers [hereafter Barrows Papers], Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

for several years.⁷⁷⁶ Bard returned to Peru in 1920 as the head of an educational mission, and brought several other former Thomasites with him, including Glenn A. Caulkins, the former Superintendent for Mindanao and Sulu, and Frank L. Crone, the Director of Education of the Philippines.⁷⁷⁷ Peru was not the only country where former Thomasites found opportunities. George T. Shoens, the soldier-turned-teacher who rose to become the Division Superintendent for Camarines Province, became an educational adviser for the Ministry of Public Instruction of Nicaragua.⁷⁷⁸ The teachers' experience in the Philippines was crucial to this movement abroad. Participation in colonial education there established their credentials for educational reform in other countries. Equally important, Thomasites like Bard and Crone looked to the Philippines to fill the ranks of these new educational missions. American teachers in the Philippines, then, became part of a colonial network that stretched across the globe.

Rather than seeking their fortunes abroad, some teachers turned to the struggle for opportunities at home. For at least two of the black teachers in the Philippines, the struggle for civil rights became central to their lives. While it is likely that both Woodson and Bonner were disposed to fight for African American freedom before they went to the Philippines, while in the islands both men would have experienced treatment that was significantly different from what they could expect in the United States. This is not to say that racism was not prevalent in the Philippines; merely, as I have argued, that as government teachers, Woodson and Bonner were placed in a position of elite power

⁷⁷⁶ Barrows, Letter to Casper Wistar Hudgson, May 14, 1909, Folder 11, Box 1, Barrows Papers; and William A. Moore, Letter to Francis Burton Harrison, September 11, 1913, "Harry Erwin Bard," Box 45, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA.

⁷⁷⁷ See "Glenn A. Caulkins," Box 108, and "Frank L. Crone," Box 137, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA. It does not appear that Bard was much of a success, and was replaced by 1922. See "Changes in the American Educational Mission of Peru," *School and Society*, May 6, 1922, Vol. XV, No. 384, pg. 503.

⁷⁷⁸ Note, "E. Joe Albertson," Box 13, Personal Name Information Files, RG 350, NARA. See also George T. Shoens, *Report on the Public School System* (Managua: Tip. Alemana de C. Heuberger, 1920).

and influence, and had the support of most government officials. Black teachers would have likely experienced a reaction similar to black veterans, who found racial oppression difficult to swallow after fighting for their country. The sharp contradiction between the experience of teaching in the Philippines and coming home to a country at the height of Jim Crow oppression certainly would have highlighted not just the injustice of America's racial hierarchy, but also that it could be otherwise.

Carter G. Woodson resigned from the teaching service in 1907, going home by way of Asia and Europe, and studying European history for a semester in the University of Paris. In 1908 and 1909, Woodson appeared interested in returning to the Philippines, but the combination of study at Harvard, as well as persistent stomach troubles, prevented him from taking up teaching work in the islands.⁷⁷⁹ In December of 1911, Woodson again took the teacher examination, noting that he would accept a salary of \$1800.⁷⁸⁰ He also wrote to the Director of Education to inquire about reinstatement, but was informed by the Acting Director of Education that there was no assurance that he could be given a position, as an agent had been sent to select teachers for the next year, and that if reinstated, Woodson's salary would be \$1,200 and his assignment "would have to be subject to the needs of the service upon your arrival here."⁷⁸¹ Given such a lukewarm response it is not surprising that Woodson did not return to the Philippines. Instead, he

⁷⁷⁹ Carter G. Woodson, Letter to the Director of Education, June 19, 1908; Letter to Chief, Bureau of Insular Affairs, September 30, 1908; 1st Indorsement, November 14, 1908; Letter to BIA, July 15, 1909; and C.C. Barnett, Letter to BIA, July 15, 1909, Folder 8898, Box 88, Classified Files, 1898-1914, RG 350, NARA. It is possible that Woodson was genuinely ill, although historian Jacqueline Goggin has noted that, at the same time that he was preparing to leave for the Philippines, Woodson was offered a teaching job in Washington at a comparable salary to what he was offered by the Bureau of Education in the Philippines and which would allow him to finish his Ph.D. at Harvard. Moreover, the physician who wrote his note was his cousin, Clinton Constantine Barnett. Jacqueline Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 23.

⁷⁸⁰ "Results of Examination," December 27, 1911, Folder 8898, Box 88, Classified Files, 1898-1914, RG 350, NARA.

⁷⁸¹ Acting Director of Education, Letter to C.G. Woodson, June 24, 1912, Folder 8898, Box 88, Classified Files, 1898-1914, RG 350, NARA.

went on to found the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, *The Journal of Negro History*, to teach at Howard University, and to become a passionate and active member of the Washington, D.C. branch of the newly-formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Frederick Bonner also became involved in the work of the NAACP after his return to the United States. The Bonners left the Philippines in 1914, after twelve years and three children born in the islands. In 1917 they moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where Frederick became a public accountant, as well as the President of the Colored Business and Professional Men's Association of New Bedford.⁷⁸² From 1938 to 1940, Frederick served as the President of the New Bedford branch of the NAACP.⁷⁸³

Reflecting on the legacy of American empire, John DeHuff mused that "if the advent of the United States into affairs oriental has brought sweeping changes in the Philippines, what shall we say of the effect in the contrary direction?" One of the primary changes, he claimed, was that America's colonization of the islands had "taken more of our people into foreign parts for a considerable stay than anything that ever happened before, or since, or both together."⁷⁸⁴ This movement of Americans into, and away from, and through empire has had long reaching effects on the histories of both nations.

The story of the Thomasites is crucial to understanding the history of American empire. The inclusion of multiple and varied actors in the Philippines, all with their own

⁷⁸² Thomas Yenser, editor, *Who's Who in Colored America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America*, Third Edition (Brooklyn: Thomas Yenser, 1932), 43-44.

⁷⁸³ Robert C. Hayden, *African-Americans and Cape Verdean-Americans in New Bedford: A History of Community and Achievement* (Boston: Select Publications, 1993), 33.

⁷⁸⁴ DeHuff, "Memories of Orient Seas," 410, Willis DeHuff Papers. DeHuff might well have added the movement of Filipinos to the United States as part of this great change.

understandings and expectations of their imperial roles, complicates the traditional narrative of empire as the extension of the state, and white male supremacy, abroad. By interrogating the role of the American teachers as imperial mediators, charged with actually implementing colonial policies on the ground, and positioned between the state and the Filipino people, a more nuanced picture of empire emerges. The interactions between the American teachers and Filipinos illustrate the complex negotiations in which all participants in empire engaged. Furthermore, these exchanges illuminate the complicated and often contradictory ways that notions of race and gender actually functioned in, and were altered by, empire.

The project of American education in the Philippines was in some ways unique, especially in terms of the number of teachers sent out as government employees. However, the experience of the American teachers illuminates how notions of race, gender, class, and national identity were worked out, negotiated, and redefined on the ground, a process which transcends the history of American empire. Examining ways in which white women and black men and women teachers negotiated these identities in a colonial context disrupts traditional binaries, revealing the ways in which they were interrelated, modifying, informing, and articulating each other. Refusing to be defined by the markers of identity which would have retarded their progress at home, white female teachers presented themselves as strenuous adventurers and imperial professionals, while black teachers presented themselves as participants in and shapers of American civilization.

By examining the process of colonization neither from the top down nor the bottom up, this dissertation focuses on the arena where the contestations and negotiations of empire can be seen most clearly. The teachers' positions as imperial mediators allowed them to understand and implement empire in a local context in ways that

deviated from the expectations of the colonial state. They were able to juxtapose themselves against both the power of the colonial state and local populations. The myriad interactions between teachers and the colonial state, and teachers and Filipino students, teachers, servants and community members reveal that the history of empire on the ground was not only a story of colonizer versus colonized, or hegemonic power inflicted upon and resisted by the common multitudes. Rather, the process of colonization included matrices of actors attempting to negotiate the day to day interactions of empire and to articulate and pursue their own identities, desires, and understandings of the colonial relationship.

The experience of the American teachers in the Philippines demonstrates the limited ability of goodwill colonizers to Americanize by suasion (a false strategy to begin with, given that teachers often resorted to petty violence). Thomasites could not and did not prevent the continuance and growth of a Filipino independence movement, or of peasant revolutionary movements like the pulahanes or the Huks. Most teachers were not able or devoted to doing what the colonial state expected of them. At the end of the day, the Thomasites were not dedicated to their own success, particularly once they realized that uplift, with all its implications of inferiority, would not be gratefully received by an eager and admiring populace. Rather than opening their minds, the awareness that many Filipinos thought themselves quite civilized enough tended to harden the teachers' racial convictions and prejudices. Concerned with their own visions of empire, the Thomasites never really tried to understand the people they were charged to change so dramatically.

Teachers still experienced many personal benefits from empire, as discussed above. Moreover, while their ability to Americanize Filipinos was limited, they (and the education they provided) did have an enormous impact on Philippine culture and history. Many Filipinos did benefit from the educational opportunities presented by the colonial

state, obtaining government jobs, or learning at least limited English. Many others were able to go to Hawaii or the United States to work when other Asians were excluded, though Filipino migrant laborers, especially in California, increasingly met with racial antipathy and violence. However, education did not have the democratizing effect that teachers expected. It did not disrupt, for the most part, traditional networks of power and patronage.

The legacy of American education in the Philippines is a conflicted, ambivalent one. During the 2001 centennial celebrations of the arrival of the Thomasites, the teachers were both remembered in glowing panegyrics and condemned as racist colonizers. This contested memory reveals the individual nature of empire: the memory of colonization is often based on personal experiences and relationships. Therefore, it was possible for some Filipinos to remember individual Americans with great fondness, while other bemoaned teachers' prejudices and the effects of colonial education.

The Peace Corps tried to learn from the mistakes of previous colonizers, including the Thomasites. The volunteers tried harder to understand the culture of the people they were there to help. Yet in this project as well remained a seed that was the fundamental flaw of aid missions: a conviction of the U.S. government that Americans had answers, including modern technology and ideas, that others did not possess and could not do without. The experiences of the Thomasites, then, demonstrates that people (in the Philippines or in the poorest regions of the United States) do not like to be told how they are deficient and what they must do to change. Projects of uplift imposed from outside, however well intended, are often predestined to fall short of their goals.

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