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## **Gleaning from the Archives of the Pensionado Story**

### **Abstract**

From 1903 to 1943, over 14,000 Filipino scholars were sent to the United States to study under a U.S. colonial scholarship called the Pensionado Program. The story of the program was documented in 1943 by Kenneth Munden, Assistant Archivist in the Division of Interior Department Archives, at the behest of the office of the Secretary of the Interior, which was then charged with investigating U.S. overseas territorial policies. The report was based almost entirely on the records of the former Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department. In his foreword to Munden's report, Herman Kahn, Chief of the Department of Interior Archives, praised the work as a valuable resource for "historical investigations in the field of American colonial policies." This Scalar Project annotates Munden's report. I frame this work as an act of gleaning that harvests seemingly trivial pieces of information in the report and adding exposition through rich footnotes drawn from extant scholarship and personal narratives and illustrations. The goal is to reorient and reanimate the Pensionado story and thereby critique the racist discourses subtending the Pensionado program, which were left implicit in Munden's original document.

## Introduction

As I was writing my thesis project for a masters degree in American Studies at Columbia University, I found a number of primary source materials about Filipino painter **Victorio Edades** (1895-1985), who was among the earliest participants of the Pensionado program as a scholar at the University of Washington from 1919-1928. I was preparing to write about the early years (1905-1914) of the Pensionado program to foreground the conditions in which Edades found himself in the United States but this rich material remained tangential to the larger argument of the thesis. The course in Advance Reading in Asian American Studies gave me this chance to revisit the archive and critically re-read the Pensionado story through an act of gleaning—a term whose historical definition piqued my interest: “gather (leftover grain or other produce) after a harvest.”<sup>1</sup> A number of references in painting, especially of the 19th century, help explain what this act physically entailed and meant. It was a practice described in the Hebrew Bible as a legally enforced entitlement in Christian Kingdoms for the less fortunate to harvest leftover crops from farmers’ fields after they have been commercially harvested or on fields where it is not economically profitable to harvest. In this paper, I define “gleaning” as an act of textual intervention—of annotation and footnoting (a form of writing, literally from below), and illustration—to repurpose Munden’s report. The objective is to critique the racist discourses that framed the Pensionado program and the commissioning of the report by the Department of the Interior. In this humble attempt to reanimate historical records, I wish to uncover new insights and information on the Pensionado program. What follows is the first part of Kenneth Munden’s report, “Los Pensionados: The Story of the Education of the Philippine Government Students in

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<sup>1</sup>Simpson, J. A., and E. S. C. Weiner. 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

the United States 1904-1943,” in his own words. My annotations and illustrations may be seen in the digital interface of the Scalar platform.

## **The Early Years (1901-1914)**

### **Genesis of the Pensionado Program**

The **Schurman Commission**<sup>2</sup> to the Philippines, appointed by President McKinley in 1899, found that the only educational advantages attainable by the common people of the Archipelago were those afforded by the primary schools. Moreover, the “wretchedly inadequate provision” that there should be two primary school teachers (one male and one female) for each 5000 inhabitants was never carried out.<sup>3</sup> The only official institution for secondary education in the Islands was the College of San Juan de Letran, which was administered by the Dominican Friars, Manila. It had two normal schools, one for the education male and the other for the education of female teachers.<sup>4</sup> Although a School of Arts and Trades, a School of Agriculture, a

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<sup>2</sup> On January 20, 1899, President McKinley appointed the First Philippine Commission (the Schurman Commission), a five-person group headed by Dr. Jacob Schurman, president of Cornell University, and including Admiral Dewey and General Otis, to investigate conditions in the islands and make recommendations. In the report that they issued to the president the following year, the commissioners acknowledged Filipino aspirations for independence; they declared, however, that the Philippines was not ready for it. Specific recommendations included the establishment of civilian government as rapidly as possible (the American chief executive in the islands at that time was the military governor), including establishment of a bicameral legislature, autonomous governments on the provincial and municipal levels, and a system of free public elementary schools.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Philippine Commission to the President (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), I, 17. The Educational Decree of 1863 provided a free public education system in the Philippines, managed by the government. The decree mandated the establishment of at least one primary school for boys and one for girls in each town under the responsibility of the municipal government, and the establishment of a normal school for male teachers under the supervision of the Jesuits. See, Estioko SVD, Leonardo (1994). *History of Education: A Filipino Perspective*. LOGOS Publications, Inc. pp. 163–200. Primary education was also declared free and available to every Filipino, regardless of race or social class. Contrary to what the propaganda of the Spanish–American War tried to depict, they were not religious schools; rather, they were schools that were established, supported, and maintained by the Spanish government. See, Quezon, Manuel Luis (1915), "Escuelas públicas durante el régimen español" [Public schools during the Spanish regime], Philippine Assembly, Third Legislature, Third Session, Document No.4042-A 87 Speeches of Honorable Manuel L. Quezon, Philippine Resident Commissioner, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States during the discussion of Jones Bill, 26 September – 14 October 1914]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-37.

Nautical School, a School of Painting and Sculpture,<sup>5</sup> a Military Academy, and several theological seminaries were found to be still in operation in 1900, the only remaining institutions for higher learning were the **Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomas**, and the Royal College of San Jose.<sup>6</sup> “In old days,” wrote the Commissioners, “it was not altogether safe for a native to avail himself fully of the educational facilities theoretically afforded him at the institutions within the Archipelago, and if he went abroad to pursue his studies he was a marked man after his return.<sup>7</sup> This fact was strikingly illustrated in the case of Dr. Jose Rizal, who was eventually executed without cause. His fate has been shared by many other prominent Filipinos in the past.”<sup>8</sup>

In view of these facts, the Commission concluded, it had to be admitted that the average native had never had a fair opportunity to show what he could do. On the contrary, the Commission was disposed “to credit him with ability of no mean order” and to recommend that the government to be established for the Philippines should promptly provide for the establishment of “an adequate system of secularized and free public schools.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The Academia de Dibujo y Pintura (English: Academy of Drawing and Painting) was an institution for artistic instruction in Manila, Philippines founded in 1821 by Damián Domingo with the support of the Real Sociedad Economica Filipina de los Amigos del Pais. The academy closed in 1834 but re-opened in 1845 with funds bequeathed by Queen Isabela II. In 1891, the school would become known as the Escuela Superior de Pintura, Escultura y Grabado. While the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura refers distinctly to the institution established in 1821 and re-established in 1845 under the benefaction of the Sociedad Economica de los Amigos del Pais, it is officially considered to be the forerunner of the School of Fine Arts, which is the present-day College of Fine Arts of the University of the Philippines.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 35-40. The Colegio de San José became the San José Seminary of the Ateneo Municipal de Manila.

<sup>7</sup> The plot of Jose Rizal’s novel *Noli Me Tangere*, revolves around Crisostomo Ibarra, mixed-race heir of a wealthy clan, returning home after seven years in Europe and filled with ideas on how to better the lot of his countrymen. Striving for reforms, he is confronted by an abusive ecclesiastical hierarchy and a Spanish civil administration by turns indifferent and cruel. The novel suggests, through plot developments, that meaningful change in this context is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. See Luis Francia, “Introduction to Jose Rizal’s *Noli Me Tangere*,” in Rizal, Jose. 2006. *Noli Me Tangere*. London, England: Penguin Classics.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 40-41. Jose Rizal, one of the most conspicuous figures in Philippine history, was active in bringing social and political pressure to bear against the Spanish on behalf of the Filipinos in the 1990’s. The anniversary of his execution by the Spanish became a holiday in the Philippines.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 41. The goal to secularize education proved to be controversial even during the early years of the Pensionado program as we shall see later in the chapter when the Catholic league opposed the idea of sending dominantly-Catholic Filipino schoolboys to Protestant schools and having them live with Protestant households.

Under the American Military Government of the Philippines (1898-1901), military officers were used to open as many schools as possible, but the schools that were established were poor and there was no attempt at gradation of pupils. The Filipinos were reported eager to learn English, but outside of Manila very little instruction in that language was given.<sup>10</sup>

In Iloilo, for example, the military authorities, before opening the schools, took a census of the children of school age, and in order to “feel the pulse” of the public on the subject they questioned the parents as to whether they would send their children to the public schools when opened.

The reply, wrote **Brigadier General R.P. Hughes**, very generally came in the form of a query:— “Are you going to have English taught?” On being answered in the affirmative they said their children would be sent. But the difficulty in getting teachers of English for the Visayan Department is simply insurmountable. I have made efforts in every direction that promised results and it is with great personal regret that I have to acknowledge myself beaten.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Report of the United States Philippine Commission [1900] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 106-107.

<sup>11</sup> Brig. Gen. R.P. Hughes, U.S. Vols., Commanding Dept. of the Visayas, to the Adjutant General, October 11, 1900, in BIA 365-15.

The diversity of the native dialect<sup>12</sup> and the fact that the majority of the inhabitants did not understand Spanish<sup>13</sup> caused the Taft Commission to the Philippines, in its 1901 report, to make the following observations under the heading, “Sending Students to America:”

*It is recognized by the more intelligent persons in the different parts of the archipelago that the quickest and surest way for Filipino youth to acquire the English language and to arrive at an understanding of the Western Civilization as it exists in America is to live among Americans in the United States and be taught in American schools. Acting on this knowledge, many parents have already enrolled their sons in American schools, and in certain provinces, the several towns are making provisions to send and maintain a boy in some school in the United States.*

*Many propositions have already been made, both by persons in America and by persons in the Philippines, looking to the use of the funds of the insular government for this purpose. Hitherto, however, it has been considered expedient to allow individual and local zeal to carry on the works; yet the commission is aware of the immense advantage*

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<sup>12</sup> This is a misnomer by Munden. There are some 120 to 187 languages, not dialects, spoken in the Philippines, depending on the method of classification. Almost all are Malayo-Polynesian languages native to the archipelago. A number of Spanish-influenced creole varieties generally called Chavacano are also spoken in certain communities. See, McFarland, C. D. (1994). "Subgrouping and Number of Philippine Languages". *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. 25 (1–2): 75–84.

<sup>13</sup> Spanish was never the lingua franca in the archipelago under Spain. The friars documented the different native languages and served as the mediators between the local populations and the Crown. When the friars established institutions of higher education in the late 16th century, Spanish was the medium of instruction. A Spanish-speaking native elite class, called “Ilustrados,” emerged in the 19th century, but for the most part, the general population did not speak Spanish. For an overview of general Spanish literacy in the Philippines at the time of US colonization, see Rodao, Florentino. “Spanish Language in the Philippines: 1900-1940.” *Philippine Studies* 45, no. 1 (1997): 94–107. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42634215>. The policy implemented by the United States instituting the English language as the primary language to be used as a medium of instruction was a long-range policy to bolster the annual increase of the number of English speaking persons in the Philippines. However, in spite of this, the Spanish language maintained its resilient hold on the educational system. This was because many private educational institutions - characteristic of the educational system during the American period - particularly those administered by religious orders, persisted in teaching in Spanish, therefore maintaining a considerable number of young Spanish speaking Filipinos.

*which will accrue to these islands by the extension of this practice. In no other way can young Filipinos, whose ancestors have been physically and intellectually removed from contact with modern life, acquire a thorough knowledge of Western civilization.<sup>14</sup> When, therefore, the public schools are thoroughly organized, it may be good to hold out the privilege of some years of residence in an American institution of learning as a reward for extraordinary achievements on the part of some of the most proficient pupils in the public school of the islands.<sup>15</sup>*

The Commission's report of the following year again stressed the "great need of properly trained Filipino teachers" and the "paramount importance (of) the problem of securing them."

The **normal school of Manila**,<sup>16</sup> the provincial schools, and the normal institutes in several

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<sup>14</sup> Taft's statement deliberately misses the fact that the Philippines was part of the Spanish empire, which was a Western imperial power. Nevertheless, given the peripheral status of the colony, Taft noted the enthusiasm for higher education. Here we notice that there was much delegation to local Filipino authorities for the success of a public education program, relying on their "zeal to carry on the works".

<sup>15</sup> Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the Period from December 1, 1900, to October 15, 1901 (2 vols.; Washington : Government Printing Office, 1901), I, 147-148.

<sup>16</sup> ARCILLLA, JOSE S., and JOSE S. ARCILLA. "La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Instrucción Primaria, 1865-1905." *Philippine Studies* 36, no. 1 (1988): 16-35.

The Philippine Normal University was originally established as the Philippine Normal School (PNS), an institution for the training of teachers, by virtue of Act No. 74 of the Philippine Commission enacted on January 21, 1901. It opened on September 1, 1901 on the site of a former Spanish normal school in the Escuela Municipal in Intramuros. See, MEANY, JAMES J. "Escuela Normal de Maestros." *Philippine Studies* 30, no. 4 (1982): 493-511.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/42632632>. Also, CARMEN, MARIA. "The Superior Normal School for Women Teachers in Manila 1893-98." *Philippine Studies* 2, no. 3 (1954): 217-30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42719086>.

Savellano, Julieta M. "Teacher Education in the Philippines." *Philippine Studies* 47, no. 2 (1999): 253-68. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42634316>. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42633060>.

For later accounts of the Public Education system. See, LYONS, NORBERT. "The Uneducated Filipino an Obstacle To Progress." *Current History (1916-1940)* 24, no. 5 (1926): 724-29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45335725>.

Sanguinet, E. H. "Adaptation of the Schools to the Social Order in the Philippine Islands." *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 8, no. 7 (1935): 421-27. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2960795>. E. H. Sanguinet who took his Ph.D. at Teachers College of Columbia University wrote in his doctoral dissertation a searching analysis about the home and industrial life of the Filipino people as a basis for schoolwork. "The development of the public-school system in the Philippine Islands probably ranks among the outstanding events in the history of modern education. Thirty years ago public education for the masses was nonexistent. Today the Filipino people point with considerable pride to a system of free, public schools, housed in modern school buildings and roughly comparable in pupil enrollment and number of teachers to that of New York City."

See Counts, George S. "Education in the Philippines." *The Elementary School Journal* 26, no. 2 (1925): 94-106. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/995649>. Influential Education theorist George S. Counts notes: "Since the opening of the Twentieth Century one of the boldest experiments in human enlightenment ever attempted has been in progress in the Philippine Islands"

districts were occupied in preparing Filipinos for work in the public schools, but in addition, the Commission recommended:

*It would be well for the government to undertake to send to America and maintain in certain normal schools there a considerable number of Filipinos who give evidence of good ability and the other qualifications requisite for a teacher. The academic subjects in which they might receive instruction in America can very well be taught in the Philippines, but, in addition to this formal instruction, it is impossible to provide her a substitute for the object lessons in American civilizations which they will receive in spending three or four years in different parts of the United States. The most valuable lessons of civilization can not be taught by precept, but only by example. There will be no difficulty in obtaining free tuition in the schools of the required standing, so that the expense to be borne by the government would be confined to the transportations and maintenance of the students for the time being. The services which these young persons would render on their return furnish ample justification for the expenditure on the part of the insular government.*<sup>17</sup>

The educational authorities in the Philippines had, in fact, from the beginning of the civil government, determined upon a plan to send students from the Philippines for their education and even “complete Americanization.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission [1902] (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903)II, 880.

<sup>18</sup> Educational Agency report No. 3 p. 2. See Appendix of this study for a complete list of Philippine Educational Agency reports in the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the custody of the National Archives. See, Hunt, Chester L. “The ‘Americanization’ Process In The Philippines.” *India Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1956): 117–30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45071116>. Americanization was seen as both an act duty and charity under the policy of benevolent assimilation. “Most of the world regarded this statement as merely an attempt to cloak imperialistic motives in pious terms. The Filipinos regarded themselves as already civilized and Christian, and only the force of arms persuaded them to accept American rule. Americans, for the most part, accepted the doctrine in



In the fall of 1902, the members of the Federal Party petitioned the Philippine Commission to enact legislation providing for the sending of a hundred students to the United States, at the expense of the Philippine government,<sup>19</sup> for education in academic and special professional branches. A bill was accordingly prepared by Dr. Pardo de Tavera, a Filipino member of the Commission. While his bill was pending before the Commission, Dr. Tavera entered into correspondence with a number of United States institutions of learning, but since he was not fluent in English he availed himself of the services of **William Alex Sutherland**. Mr. Sutherland, who was to become the most important individual to be connected with the early period of the pensionado movement, was at that time a translator in the office of the Executive Secretary and formerly an instructor in Spanish at the University of New Mexico.<sup>20</sup> As a result of his correspondence, the conditions upon which Filipino students would be admitted, the terms for tuition and other expenses, the scope of curricula, and the adaptability of the schools to the Philippine government's purposes were all accurately determined. In this manner there also was determined, "almost unconsciously, the spirit with which these students would be received by the faculties and school authorities, and by reflection also the manner in which the members of the Student bodies of the respective schools would receive the Filipinos."<sup>21</sup>

In the meanwhile, considerable interest in the proposals to provide for the education of Filipinos in the United States had been around in this country, **as shown in the press** and by

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good faith. They combined a dislike for a colonial empire with a deep-seated faith in the superiority of their own culture. To them, the obvious procedure was first to 'Americanize' the Filipinos and then let them run their own affairs."

<sup>19</sup> This is an often overlooked bit in the study of the Pensionado program, that Filipinos actually had to petition colonial authorities to legislate a scholarship program and that they had volunteered to shoulder the expense of education. As a result, many other Filipinos applied to US colleges and universities outside of the patronage of the Pensionado Act, with communities often pooling resources to pay for tuition, allowance, and transportation fares.

<sup>20</sup> William Howard Taft, Secretary of War, to Col. Clarence R. Edwards, Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, October 22, 1904, in BIA 363-138.

<sup>21</sup> Educational Agency Report No. 3, pp. 14-15

suggestions submitted by representatives of important educational and eleemosynary<sup>22</sup> groups to officials of the United States Government. **William H. Brearley**, the corresponding secretary of the New York Baptist Mission Society, in a letter to President Mckinley, suggested that 100 Filipino boys be brought to the States for a year's education, the expense of which (estimated at 150 USD for each boy, exclusive of transportation!) was to be raised by popular subscription.<sup>23</sup> It was proposed that these boys should live in private homes, but that not more than one should be placed in any one town.<sup>24</sup> Indicative of the interest of the general public is the letter of a citizen of La crosse, Wisconsin, who wrote the President that he would be "willing" to develop patriotism among the Filipinos by teaching them popular songs. This letter was referred by the President (through the War Department) to the Civil Governor of the Philippines.<sup>25</sup>

The agency of the Federal Government that at that time exercised supervision over the civil affairs of the Philippine Islands was the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.<sup>26</sup> Its chief, Colonel Clarence R. Edwards realized that if large numbers of government-supported Filipino students were sent to the United States the Bureau of Insular Affairs would be responsible ultimately for their progress and welfare. Colonel Edwards undertook therefore, the assembling of such facts as would enable him satisfactorily to perform such functions, and for this purpose solicited the advice of many experienced educators. In this connection the interest

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<sup>22</sup> A rather archaic word in the notes by Munden, meaning: relating to or dependent on charity; charitable, OED, *op cit*.

<sup>23</sup> The project of colonizing the Philippines was domesticated by allowing private citizens to volunteer as foster parents or community patrons of the Filipino pensionados.

<sup>24</sup> Brearley to Mckinley, February 1, 1901, in BIA 363-8.

<sup>25</sup> BIA 363-18.

<sup>26</sup> Created as the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs on December 13, 1898, the Bureau was originally charged with "all matters pertaining to the customs of the Islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Philippines, and all civil affairs relation to those islands as distinguished from matter of a military character connected with the government of the islands." The name of the agency was changed in 1900 to Division of Insular Affairs, and in 1902 to Bureau of Insular Affairs. The administration of the civil government of the Philippine Islands was the most important function exercised by the Bureau during its forty-one years of existence. Kenneth Munden, comp. Records of the Bureaus of Insular Affairs Relating to the Philippine Islands, 1898-1935: A list of Selected Files (Washington: The National Archives, 1942), vii-xii.

and help of **Professor James T. Young**, instructor in the government of colonies and dependencies at the University of Pennsylvania, may be mentioned. In response to Edwards' request for his views on the matter of bringing the Filipinos to this country "under an agreement whereby they could be placed in desirable homes throughout the entire country and attend the public schools."<sup>27</sup> Professor Young replied by referring to the "remarkable" work done along similar lines by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico. He had (he wrote) just had a long conference with Dr. Brumbaugh, who inaugurated the Puerto Rican plan, and had learned that the three distinct groups of students had been sent to the United States, including about forty-five at Carlisle Indian Training School,<sup>28</sup> about 150 under private auspices, and a small number supported by an appropriation of Puerto Rican government. Yet another group was composed of twenty girls and boys turned over to Booker Washington and distributed by him to various colored institutions in the South. The results of all these experiments convinced Professor Young that younger children were the most successful. "There is one very important point which I feel should be carefully regarded by the Philippine Commission," he wrote Edwards. "The children should be sent at an early age; in fact as soon as they can safely be allowed to leave their parents. Of course they mature much earlier than our own boys and girls and therefore it would be safe to

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<sup>27</sup> Edwards to Young, March 31, 1905, in BIA 363-40.

<sup>28</sup> See, Fear-Segal, Jacqueline, and Susan D. Rose, eds. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1dwssxz>. The Carlisle Indian School (1879–1918) was an audacious educational experiment. Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, the school's founder and first superintendent, persuaded the federal government that training Native children to accept the white man's ways and values would be more efficient than fighting deadly battles. The result was that the last Indian war would be waged against Native children in the classroom. More than 8,500 children from virtually every Native nation in the United States were taken from their homes and transported to Pennsylvania. Carlisle provided a blueprint for the federal Indian school system that was established across the United States and also served as a model for many residential schools in Canada. The Carlisle experiment initiated patterns of dislocation and rupture far deeper and more profound and enduring than its founder and supporters ever grasped. Carlisle Indian Industrial School offers varied perspectives on the school by interweaving the voices of students' descendants, poets, and activists with cutting-edge research by Native and non-Native scholars. These contributions reveal the continuing impact and vitality of historical and collective memory, as well as the complex and enduring legacies of a school that still affects the lives of many Native Americans.

send them to America at the age of twelve, selecting for education in American preparatory schools only the best and most steady of the older boys.”<sup>29</sup>

In the spring of 1903 **Colonel Edwards** went to St. Louis to look over the grounds that had been assigned the Philippine government for the great exposition of the following year. Traveling on the “diplomatic train,” the Colonel had many opportunities to talk with representatives of the various foreign governments, especially the Chinese Minister, who told him what great good had come of the sending by the Chinese government of students to the United States. “Naturally the first crop was so progressive,” Edwards wrote to Young, “that most of their heads were cut off,<sup>30</sup> but the last experience China has gone through has suggested to the Government the wisdom of again inaugurating the system, and he brought over some sixty Chinese children that are being placed in various minor institutions, and the Minister tells me that the Government proposes to appropriate a considerable amount for this purpose every year.”<sup>31</sup>

It is not intended in this study to unduly emphasize the part played by James T. Young in the movement to educate Filipino youth in the United States, but merely to offer him as an example of the many American educators who from the beginning interested themselves in the movement. Young’s own attitude toward his achievement in this respect is well illustrated in an

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<sup>29</sup> Young to Edwards, April 11, 1903 in *ibid.* Young later collected and sent to Edwards data on the experiences of Germany, Great Britain, and Holland. In Germany, for example, few attempts had been made by the Colonial Administration to send natives from the German colonies to Germany for education, and such experiments had been confined to Togo and Kamerun. BIA 365-47.

<sup>30</sup> Clarification: US-educated scholars were beheaded in China. As late as 1950, Su-shu Huang (黄授书, 1915-1977) who earned his PhD from the University of Chicago in 1950 refused to return to China, claiming that since he was a member of the American Astronomical Society, he could be beheaded. However, later he was among the Chinese Americans to visit China. During his second trip to China he died of a heart attack in Beijing on September 15, 1977. Photo: Photo 33: Su-shu Huang (Courtesy the University of Chicago Photographic Archive). See, Frederic Xiong, “The Untold Stories: The University of Chicago-educated Chinese PhDs of 1915-1960, Research Paper: University of Chicago,” Accessed 1 December 2021.

[https://liblet.lib.uchicago.edu/documents/2183/Research\\_Paper\\_about\\_Chinese\\_PhDs\\_at\\_UChicago\\_by\\_Frederic\\_Xiong\\_9\\_18\\_2020.pdf](https://liblet.lib.uchicago.edu/documents/2183/Research_Paper_about_Chinese_PhDs_at_UChicago_by_Frederic_Xiong_9_18_2020.pdf) See also, Ling, Huping. “A History of Chinese Female Students in the United States, 1880s-1990s.” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, no. 3 (1997): 81–109. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27502196>.

<sup>31</sup> Edwards to Young, May 6, 1903, in BIA 365-40.

incident that occurred after the Philippine government had made provisions for the education of some of its youth in the country. When a reporter of the Philadelphia North American called at his home with the proof-sheet of a story announcing that “through the instrumentality of Dr. James T. Young...100 Filipino youths are to receive the advantages of an American education,” Young immediately wrote Colonel Edwards that he was “completely mystified” as to how he became the hero so circumstantially described in the story, as he had done no more than discuss the plan with officers of the Puerto Rican Department of Education.<sup>32</sup> “I am afraid you are too modest,” Edwards replied; “—your suggestions to me have been of value in presenting this proposition to the Philippine authorities, and if the plan accomplishes what we all hope it will be thanks enough for all.”<sup>33</sup>

One of the more feasible proposals for education of Filipinos in this country was submitted to the War Department by **Lieutenant Colonel R.H. Pratt**, superintendent of the **Indian Training School at Carlisle**,<sup>34</sup> Pennsylvania. Pratt referred to the fact that he had begun to accept Puerto Ricans at Carlisle in 1899. “Nearly all,” he wrote, “have been fed out from the school into our general school system in the same manner as we have always pushed out our Indian pupils.”<sup>35</sup> Commenting on this proposal, and the proposal that the Filipinos be sent to educational institutions for negroes, Colonel Edwards wrote as follows to Professor Young:

*“Personally, I do not believe it is wise to send Filipinos to Booker Washington’s institution or to the Carlisle Indian School any more than I would send white children there. The good that has grown out of the experiment in Puerto Rico of sending them to*

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<sup>32</sup> Young to Edwards, October 25, 1903, in BIA 365-50.

<sup>33</sup> Edwards to Young, October 28, 1903, in *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Fear-Segal, Jacqueline, and Susan D. Rose, eds. Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations. University of Nebraska Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1dwssxz>.

<sup>35</sup> Lt. Col. R.H. Pratt to Adjutant General, December 5, 1902, in BIA 365-25.

*Carlisle School is all due, I fancy, to Colonel Pratt, who has seen that they were properly placed in families and have the advantage of school.*"<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand, Colonel Edwards secured the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission in making arrangements "for a number of colleges and schools through-out the United States to give free scholarships to Filipino lads, the expenses of whose transportation and maintenance could be borne outside of the schools or colleges...."<sup>37</sup>

## 2.The First Hundred

On August 26, 1903, the Philippine Commission enacted the first legislative measure for the education of Filipinos in the United States at the expense of the Philippine government.<sup>38</sup> This act provided for the holding of examinations each year, under the direction of school division superintendents, to secure lists of qualified students from sixteen to twenty-one years of age. For the fiscal year 1904, the act authorized the Civil Governor to appoint 100 students for education in the United States, thirteen of whom should be selected and appointed for instruction in "agriculture and the useful mechanical arts and sciences and twelve for such course of special instruction approved by the Civil Governor, as they may elect." The total cost of education and maintenance of each student was not to exceed 500USD per annum. Each appointee would be required to adhere to whatever rules and regulations might be adopted, to make an oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, and to sign an agreement:

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<sup>36</sup> Edwards to Young May 6, 1903, in BIA 363-40.

<sup>37</sup> Edwards to Senator W.B. Allison, January 25, 1901, in BIA 365-1.

<sup>38</sup> Philippine Commission Act No. 845, August 26, 1903., "An Act providing for the education of Filipino students in the United States, and appropriating for such a purpose the sum of seventy-two thousand dollars, in money of the United State." Certified copies of the acts of the Philippine Commission, the Philippine Legislature, and the Philippine Assembly are in the custody of the National Archives. Dr. Sutherland recalled that after the passage of the Pensionado Act, Governor William Howard Taft remarked, "well, it is your baby, now take care of it."

*That upon the termination of his studies in the United States, conformity with this Act and the terms of his appointment and agreement, he will return to the Philippine Islands, and within two months after his return will take a Civil-Service examination, competitive or noncompetitive, in the discretion of the Civil Service Board, to qualify in such grade or for such office or position under civil-service rules as he may elect, and that if certified for appointment by the Civil Service Board and appointed from such certification to any office or post in the civil service at any time within one year after his return, he will accept such appointment...*

Act 845 provided further for the appointment of an agent to manage the affairs of the students, such an agent to be under the supervision of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to which he was required to render quarterly reports “of the health, welfare, and progress of each student.” To this position the Civil Governor, on August 28, 1903, appointed the aforementioned William Alex Sutherland, who assumed his duties the following September 1.<sup>39</sup>

Sutherland was determined in choosing the 100 students for the first year to select seventy-five from the public schools throughout the Islands, leaving twenty-five to be appointed at large by the Civil Governor. Apportionment was based roughly upon the population and importance of the different provinces. Nearly every province was a school division and in each there was an American school superintendent. The superintendents and the provincial governors (nearly all of whom were Filipinos) were jointly entrusted with the selection of suitable candidates from their provinces or school districts.<sup>40</sup> The twenty-five selected at large were

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<sup>39</sup> Educational Agency Report No. 1, p.1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.1-2. The following telegram was sent to each province, “After a conference with the Division superintendent of Schools (or the provincial governor) selected for appointment as Students in the United States at the expense of the government, ...Filipino students of the public schools, between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. Each candidate is subject to examination in Manila and in case of rejection, his expenses to Manila and return home will be paid by the government. Each student must be of unquestionable moral and physical qualification, weight being given to social status. He must be well advanced in English, Mathematics, History, Geography, and of exceptional general intelligence. We must have the best boys in your province. Appointees must sign an agreement to conform to

chosen by a committee composed of a member of the Philippine Commission, the Executive Secretary, and Mr. Sutherland. Each of the candidates was required to undergo a test in English, and those appointed had “considerable fluency” in that language.<sup>41</sup>

The term “Los Pensionados” to designate the government-supported students appears to have been used widely in the Philippines from the beginning of the movement, and it may be noted here that this term was eventually adopted by the Philippine government. “*He aquí la lista completa,*” a contemporary account in a Manila newspaper began, “*por orden alfabético de apellidos, de los jóvenes que embarcaron para los Estados Unidos el día 9 del actual, pensionados por el gobierno filipino, con objeto de terminar sus estudios en la metrópoli...*”<sup>42</sup>

The pensionados, then, between the time of their arrival in Manila and the date of sailing, as also during the thirty-day voyage across the Pacific, were fully instructed by Mr. Sutherland as to their clothing, personal habits, and behavior, and lectures on the customs and characteristics of Americans were given them daily. “As one result,” Sutherland reported, “about forty boys, virtually all who used tobacco, were influenced to give up smoking (!).”<sup>43</sup> So great was the enthusiasm over **their departure throughout the Philippines** that a special operatic performance was given in the Student’s honor at the largest theater in Manila. A great rally was held the morning of their departure at the headquarters of the Federal Party, speeches being delivered by Civil Governor Taft, Commissioners Smith and Tavera, and several prominent Filipinos. A procession headed by the ninety-eight students<sup>44</sup> and accompanied by half-a-dozen

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reasonable regulations to enter the Philippine Civil Service upon return to the Islands, for a period equal to that spent in the United States at government expense. Every qualification mentioned is imperative. Expenses of appointees will be paid by the government after embarkation at Manila for the United States. Telegraph selections immediately in the name of yourself and Division Superintendent and hold candidates in readiness to proceed at once, one telegraphic order, to Manila and the United States. Certify immediately this telegram to the Division Superintendent of Schools. Prompt action is desired. Taft, Civil Governor.”

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>42</sup>BIA 363-59.

<sup>43</sup>Educational Agency Report. No. 1, p.3.

<sup>44</sup>One had been detained in quarantine, and another was delayed in his journey to Manila. Ibid.



brass bands, numerous civic organizations, and thousands of citizens marched to the wharf. All the accommodations of the S.S. Rohilla Maru, which belonged to the Toyo Kisen Kaisha was the largest boat plying between Manila and Hongkong, had been reserved, “and the voyage to the latter port was made without incident of note, if we except the crowding of ninety-eight persons into accommodations intended for about eighty.” At Hongkong the students were transferred to the S.S. Korea of the Pacific Mail Line, and their journey continued on October 13.<sup>45</sup>

Thus began the voyage of the first Filipino pensionados to come to the United States. Under Sutherlands’s careful instruction the month on board was well spent, and much improvement was shown by all the students, especially “in matters of table etiquette and personal habits.” Once or twice a day, Sutherland gave them military drills, the benefit of which became apparent upon their landing at San Francisco, “when the body of bewildered youths, involved for the first time in the hurry and bustle and confusion of American city life, was far more easily and effectively handled, in moving about the town, from the wharf, through the Customs’, to the shops and the railway stations, than would have been possible had this training not been given them.”<sup>46</sup>

Upon reaching San Francisco on November 9, 1903, Mr. Sutherland purchased suitable clothing for all the students,<sup>47</sup> and on November 11 the entire party left for southern California by special Southern Pacific Railway cars. One imagines with amusement the spectacle of Sutherland herding his young charges from the hotel to the San Francisco depot: there had been no time to purchase trunks for new clothing, and consequently each student was required to carry

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 5. “The comment, “ Sutherland adds, “from passengers and ship officers alike, concerning the conduct of these young men, most frequently heard during the whole long passage, was ‘what gentlemanly set of boys; I never though they were so well-bred’”

<sup>47</sup> It was necessary to procure almost a complete outfit for each student since the heaviest clothing brought by any student from the Philippines was lighter in weight than the lightest commonly worn in the United States. Again, the styles of certain clothing and hats worn by the students at the time of leaving Manila, were such that they would have attracted attention, particularly that of Americans of the younger generation.” *Ibid.*, 9.

a number of paper packages. “It rained... most of the bundles burst, and collars, ties, and many other articles of men’s wearing apparel were scattered from San Francisco to San Diego.”<sup>48</sup>

From Los Angeles the pensionados were distributed on November 12 and 13 to Santa Barbara, Ventura, Hueneme, Santa Paula, Claremont, Redlands, Riverside, Santa Ana, San Diego, National City, Compton, and Whittier.<sup>49</sup> Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California, who had been a member of the Philippine Commission from 1900 to 1902, had made the necessary arrangements for receiving the students into public schools of California’s seven southern countries.<sup>50</sup> The climate of this region was considered to be similar to that of the Philippines and consequently the most advantageous for the students. Moreover, Sutherland reported, California’s public school system was “among the best in the United States, and the advantages of its schools were freely, even urgently, offered for this purpose.”<sup>51</sup>

In accordance with plans worked out in advance, Sutherland allowed the original pensionados to remain in California the whole of their first school year, at the end of which they reunited in Santa Barbara. During this summer interval four teachers were employed and classes were held each forenoon in English, Algebra, History, Civics,<sup>52</sup> Geometry, Arithmetic,

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. The two students who had been delayed at Manila arrived December 1.

<sup>50</sup> Bernard Moses to Governor Luke E. Wright, March 1, 1904, in BIA 365-110. During the Christmas holidays of 1904 Professor Moses visited a number of the county school superintendents who had assembled for a conference in Los Angeles, and received universally favorable reports concerning the conduct and progress of the students. He wrote Governor Wright that he had no doubt but that the policy inaugurated would be of very great advantage to the Philippines, “ for it recognizes the fact that civilization cannot be taught by precept but by example. (Emphasis mine). The responsibility of determining how far this policy shall be pursued rests upon you and your associates, and will doubtless be more or less influenced by the state of the funds.” Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Educational Agency Report No. 1. pp. 6-7

<sup>52</sup> The report of the instructor in civics was as follows: IN Civics we took a birds eye view of governments ast to kinds, then made a study of constitutions, touching on the nature of constitutions in general. This was followed by an examination of the defects in the Articles of Confederations and how those defects were remedied by the new Constitution. The UNited States Constitution was then taken up and each branch of government was studded from a detailed outline. The method followed was to give a general talk on each division of subdivision of each branch, followed by the reading, by the Students , of the clauses of the Constitution pertaining to the subject under discussion. Explanation of terms and expressions followed. Questions from the class on obscure points were freely encouraged. Questions by instructors on the work previously covered were from time to time thrown in. Special emphasis was laid on the stability and permanence of our institutions... The Departments of the Executive, State, Treasury, War, etc. and the different Bureaus, were taken up in detail. The object has been to give a clear idea of the

Trigonometry, and vocal music. Afternoons were given to recreation, and evenings were spent in literary and musical entertainments such as debates or concerts. The students formed baseball, tennis, basketball, and **sipa** teams, competing with town teams or with each other. The students' progress in becoming "Americanized" was shown in their choice of subjects for the four public debates to which the citizens of Santa Barbara were invited:

Resolved, That the capital punishment should be abolished.

Resolved, That Caesar was a greater general than Napoleon.

Resolved, That in the present Eastern conflict the causes of civilization would be better served by the victory of the Russians than by that of the Japanese.

Resolved, That free trade should be established between the Philippines and the United States.

The last question in particular attracted a large audience and despite the fact that Santa Barbara was near the center of the best-sugar industry,<sup>53</sup> the affirmative decision of the judges was highly applauded. A final entertainment in honor of the citizens of Santa Barbara was given by students on July 29, 1904.<sup>54</sup>

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nature of a government founded on broad liberal principles....The result has been, I think , the giving of those who never made a study of our Constitution, a fair idea of its purport and provisions and those who had work in this line see new points of view, thus preparing all for a more extended study of laws, institutions and history. Lastly we took a hasty glance at the general provisions of International Law." Educational Agency Report No. 4 p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Betteravia (from French betterave "sugar beet roots") was a community in northern Santa Barbara County, California on Betteravia Road, six miles west of Santa Maria. It is notable as a rare ghost town on the Central Coast of California. Betteravia was a company town founded on the former Rancho Punta de Laguna around the turn of the 20th century and existed for nearly ninety years. The Union Sugar Refining Company established a sugar beet farm here in 1897.[2] At one time this community supported a population of 350 residents, the vast majority of whom were employed by the Union Sugar Company, now a part of Sara Lee Corporation. See Bright, William (1998). 1500 California Place Names: Their Origin and Meaning. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 5-6. Preserved in the BIA records is a copy of the program, which included the "Fra Diavolo" overture played by the students' orchestra, a "farce" called "Women's Rights at Kettlewell," and a "farcelet" called "The Soldier's Return."

The pensionados had been urged to economize after coming to the United States in order that they might visit the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis<sup>55</sup> en route to their permanent schools in the East. On August 5, the entire body of students arrived at the exposition grounds, where a large room and several smaller ones had been prepared for them in the Philippine Constabulary quarters. During the month of their visit the pensionados served the Philippine Expositions Board three hours daily by performing clerical work, compiling juries' awards, and acting as guides to visitors. "The splendid exposition displayed by the Philippine Government was the best part of the education received by the students while at the Fair, for they received a broader and complete knowledge of their own country, of its products and its industries, than their whole life in it had provided them before leaving the Islands."<sup>56</sup> On August 13, Philippine Day at the exposition, the boys participated in a great parade,<sup>57</sup> which was reviewed by the Secretary of War and other officials. The march continued several miles through the exposition grounds, and as the day was exceptionally hot many soldiers and sailors (but no students) were overcome. As the students passed in review they greeted the Secretary of War with a number of yells, one of which was "Taft, President 1909!"<sup>58</sup>

### 3. Racial and Religious Difficulties

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<sup>55</sup> The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, informally known as the St. Louis World's Fair, was an international exposition held in St. Louis, Missouri, United States, from April 30 to December 1, 1904. Local, state, and federal funds totaling \$15 million were used to finance the event. More than 60 countries and 43 of the then-45 American states maintained exhibition spaces at the fair, which was attended by nearly 19.7 million people. It is commonly thought that the St. Louis exposition only displayed native subjects from the Philippines but there were other performances such as the Parade of Progress which included a military regiment in its narrative of progress under US colonialism. For an overview of the exposition see Paul Kramer, "Making concessions: race and empire revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901–1905." *Radical History Review* 1999.73 (1999): 75-114.

<sup>56</sup> Munden, 6-7

<sup>57</sup> The "parade of progress" included hundreds of young men dressed as scouts and doing military drills. The young men, who included the first 100 pensionados among their ranks, were presented as the last stage in an evolutionary schema of development. See Talitha Espiritu, "Native subjects on display: reviving the colonial exposition in Marcos' Philippines." *Social Identities* 18.6 (2012): 729-744.

<sup>58</sup> Educational Agency Report No. 6, p. 7.

The problems incidental to placing the students permanently in preparatory schools and colleges were great, as a review of Superintendent Sutherlands's early reports will reveal. His fears regarding the schools in states having large negro populations were justified. "...Not the school, but the sentiment is at fault," he reported. And while for reasons of climate, system of education, and other cogent ones, this section should have been the one, logically to receive the students, in their major part, in order to avoid all possibility of unpleasantness or mistreatment, no students are to be placed at any point where they will be thus exposed."<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, five students were enrolled in the law department of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville—"the Southernmost school in which I feel safe in locating my dark-complexioned charges..."<sup>60</sup> There was evidence of discrimination against Filipinos elsewhere, as in Indiana, where a bill was introduced in the state legislature to prohibit marriage between Filipinos and Americans.<sup>61</sup> "It was found," Sutherland reported, "That while the proposed bill seemed to be aimed especially at the Students attending the University of Indiana at Bloomington, the students themselves had given no

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<sup>59</sup> Educational Agency Report No. 5, p. 15.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 The results of this decision were unfortunate and in 1905 the students at Knoxville were moved further north "because of the sentiment which seems to exist among certain people antagonistic to these students." Educational Agency Report No. 5, p. 5. That Filipino students were placed in the law department of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville at this time, when schools were still segregated, is puzzling. For reference, the first African-American student admitted to the University of Tennessee was Theotis Robinson, Jr, in 1961.

<sup>61</sup> Fears of miscegenation were drummed up in the American Press as our sample news clippings illustrate. Jennifer Hallock writes "There were the romances, especially those between Filipino men (the majority of pensionados) and American women." She cites the example of James Charles Araneta (from a wealthy Filipino family) who stayed two years with the Newell family in Berkeley, California, and when he left he took their sixteen-year old daughter, Lillian, with him. "As the Aranetas were well-connected in the new American administration—Negrense sugar barons!—the news reports on the match were both breathless and lurid at the same time. It was national news, from the front page of the San Francisco Call to the Des Moines Register to the Pittsburgh Press." See, "Berkeley Girl won by a Filipino," *The San Francisco call*. [volume] (San Francisco [Calif.]), 20 Feb. 1906. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1906-02-20/ed-1/seq-1/>>

Also Posadas, Barbara M., and Roland L. Guyotte. "Aspiration and Reality: Occupational and Educational Choice among Filipino Migrants to Chicago, 1900-1935." *Illinois Historical Journal* 85, no. 2 (1992): 89–104. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40192594>.

reasonable cause to presume that such a measure was for.”<sup>62</sup> Sutherland explained the United States Government’s attitude toward the classification of Filipinos as negroes<sup>63</sup> to several state senators, including the one who had introduced the measure, and was informed that the bill would not be pressed to passage.<sup>64</sup>

Further difficulties were encountered when Catholic organizations and the Catholic press in general became critical of Sutherland’s apparently accidental policy of placing the pensionados in non-Catholic institutions. The Catholic argument was to the effect that sufficient care had not been taken by the Philippine government in ensuring to the students the same religious influence that surrounded them at home and that should be continued to them there.<sup>65</sup> Sutherland explained to Colonel Edwards that none of the schools attended by the students had been selected either for its religious influences or on account of the lack of them. “I have deemed

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<sup>62</sup> See THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND CATHOLICS, 1882-1919. By Frederick J. Zwierlein. Published by the Rev. Victor T. Suren, Director of the Central Bureau of the Central Verein, St. Louis, Mo. 1956. Pp. xiii, 392. Also, Costa, H. de la. Review of *AMERICAN BEGINNINGS IN THE PHILIPPINES*, by Frederick J. Zwierlein. *Philippine Studies* 6, no. 3 (1958): 348–58. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42719393>. De la Costa writes, “The hostility to Catholicism of the Filipino teachers referred to was doubtless due to the anti-clericalism generated by the recent Revolution and might in time have passed away. But a more permanent anti-Catholic bias was given to the Philippine public-school system when the insular government decided to send future teachers to the United States for study. The group sent in 1903 was put under the charge of a Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, who placed all of them in Protestant schools. Father Wynne, editor of the Jesuit Messenger of the Sacred Heart, took the trouble to write to all the principal Catholic educational institutions in the United States, asking them if they had been approached regarding the Filipino students. Ten replied that they had simply been asked for their catalogs or information about their terms. Three, Georgetown University, St. Mary’s Institute (Dayton), and Mt. Angel Seminary (Oregon), upon being contacted further, had offered free tuition. However, the students were sent to none of these. They were sent instead to Oberlin College (Ohio), Dixon College (Illinois), Milliken school (Decatur, 111.), and the University of Penn (Knoxville, Tenn.), all of them, according to Father Wynne, definitely Protestant schools. The Episcopalian St. Andrew’s Brotherhood was entrusted with the task of selecting lodgings for them. Those assigned to the State Normal School at Westchester, Pa., were scolded for not attending Protestant chapel exercises and ordered to do so. In nearly all the other institutions inducements were offered to the Filipino students to do the same. Mrs. Sutherland, who was apparently put in charge of the girl students, took them to a Methodist church in St. Louis.”

<sup>63</sup> See Coloma, Roland Sintos. “Destiny Has Thrown the Negro and the Filipino under the Tutelage of America’: Race and Curriculum in the Age of Empire.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 4 (2009): 495–519. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20616446>. “Since Filipino/as were discursively configured as “Negroes,” the schooling for African Americans became the prevailing racial template for the colonial pedagogy of Filipino/as.”

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Secretary of War, 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 46. As a former Spanish colony, the Philippines is a predominantly Catholic country. The argument presented by the Catholic press reveals that fears of the protestantization of the Philippine population extended from the Philippine Church to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. See “Victory for Catholic Press: Justice Will Be Done in Placing Catholic Filipino Students in Educational Institutions,” *The Catholic Telegraph*, vol. 73, no. 46, 17 November 1904.

it of the utmost importance,” he wrote to avoid any just criticism by either Catholics or non-Catholics and have therefore entirely disregarded all of my actions in this connection to the matter of denomination in the school selected.” In the absence of any stated preference of the student or his parents, therefore, the criteria upon which his selections and recommendation had been based were 1. The suitability of the school to the needs of the student in the matter of courses offered; 2. The cost of living of the locality; and 3. The standard of refinement and the morality of the community. It could not be said that the state institutions were denominational, and the private institutions to which the Filipinos had been sent weren't denominational in the sense that attendance at religious services was required. Nor was “any official notice taken by the authorities of the schools of the religion of the pupils nor any attempt made by them to influence in any way, much less to coerce, the students in their religious practices.”<sup>66</sup>

Similar sentiments were expressed in Professor Sutherland’s “Open Letter” of October 1, 1904 to **Joseph A. Weber**, Secretary of the Federation of Catholic Societies at Philadelphia. Replying to the charge that Secretary Taft, Colonel Edwards and those having these matters in charge, have selected denominational, Protestant Schools for the education of the Filipino government students, to the exclusion of Catholic schools, with the deliberate intention of proselytizing the said students, or as one paper states it, for their “protestantization,” Sutherland declared that he could not but believe that such a view must arise from the “inexcusable ignorance.” “Is this a Catholic School or a Protestant School? Has never been asked in consideration of the merits of a school for the Filipino Students...” “I will say,” he wrote, “that not a single one of the Filipino students during all the innumerable consultations that we have had on the subject of the school that they were to attend has ever asked me to be placed in a

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<sup>66</sup> Sutherland to Edward, September 28, 1904, in BIA 363-129.

school because it was Catholic. We have never in a single case discussed the religion or denomination of a school that they were to attend , for its selection or rejection.”<sup>67</sup>

On October 10, 1904, Colonel Edwards cabled Governor Wright, calling attention to the religious issue. Notre Dame, he said, has just waived tuition fees: it would relieve embarrassment if an announcement could be made that some of the twenty-eight students then en route from Manila could be assigned there. <sup>68</sup> Wright responded by cable on October 11 that he could see no objection to assigning Catholic students to Catholic schools. <sup>69</sup> On the same date, President Roosevelt sent the following telegram to Secretary of War Taft:

*There are certain subjects which, as I am infomed are not taught in Catholic colleges, or at least are not taught at all as they are taught in various State and non-sectarian colleges. These subjects are not engineering, architecture, and kindred matters of a technical nature. The Filipino students who wish to take courses of this kind will of course be allotted to colleges like the institutes of technology, polytechnic institutes, state agricultural colleges, and so forth. Academic, commercial, and law courses can be followed at the Catholic colleges, and Filipino students who are Catholics desiring to follow these courses, unless they express a wish to the contrary, must be given the chance to go to these Catholic colleges, and the offer to the Catholic colleges must be made in writing in terms that are impossible of misunderstanding.*<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Sutherland to Weber, October 1, 1904, in BIA 365-131. On October 6, 1904, President Roosevelt asked W. Leon Pepperman, Acting Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to “write to some of the leading Catholic dailies, calling attention to the open letter..., inviting the aid of these Catholic papers in determining the assignment of future students.” Such letters were written to the New Century (Washington), the Pittsburgh Catholic, Chicago Western Catholic, Boston Pilot, Northwestern Chronicle, Baltimore Catholic Mirror, and New World (Chicago). BIA 3650130 and 131.

<sup>68</sup> BIA 363-131.

<sup>69</sup> BIA 363-132.

<sup>70</sup> BIA 363-134.



Finally, October 17, Secretary Taft ruled that in a “system of public instruction in which the pupils are only in the school for a few hours during the day, and are still subject completely to the moral and religious teaching of their parents, and their home church, the government may properly decline the responsibility for the religious education of the pupils, but when the government takes pupils from their homes into a new and strange country, it can not properly rid itself of responsibility for the continuance of the same moral and religious surroundings that its wards had at home.” Sutherland was therefore directed to secure statements from the parents or guardians of pupils under twenty-one, or from the students who are twenty-one or over, as to their religious faith and as to whether attendance at a denominational school was desired. Every effort, the Secretary said, should be made to comply with the wishes of the adult student or of the parent or guardian. “...Mr. Sutherland should consult the ministers of the pupils’ religion resident in the neighborhood where the pupil will pursue his studies and invoke the aid of such ministers, not only in securing a proper boarding place but also in using their moral and religious influence upon the pupil to keep him on the path he should go.”<sup>71</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This Scalar project is still very much a work-in-progress, but we may restate the goals that have been fulfilled thus far: I was able to use extant scholarship and various media to update and expand the original findings of Kenneth Munden, which were based solely on material in the Archives of the Department of Interior. I deliberately chose annotation as my vehicle for

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<sup>71</sup> Taft to Edwards, October 17, 1904, in BIA 363-135. Blank questionnaires were distributed to the students by Sutherland’s circular letter of the same date. BIA 14383 and 14383-1. The question was finally resolved by circular no. 11 (series of 1905) of the P.I. The Bureau of Education, dated February 7, 1905, which directed division school superintendents to procure from parents of guardian signed replied to the following questions: 1. What religion does your son, or ward, profess? 2. What course do you desire your son, or ward to pursue in his studies in the United States? 3.) Do you desire that your son, or ward, attend a denominational school? If so, of what denomination? 4. Is it your desire that your son, or ward, be secured boarding accommodations in a family of any particular religion? If so, of what religion? BIA 363-155.

revisiting the history of the Pensionado Program. The annotation constitutes a form of counterhistory. Through footnotes (again literally, a “speaking from below”), I was able to interrogate the textualization of my country by the US colonial government, and showed how these discursive processes relied on racist assumptions about the Filipino people in relation to the purported superiority of Anglo-American culture. We did not only show this text to be inherently biased, imperfect, and contingent, we sketched the outline of an alternative history by showing what had been misinterpreted or excluded, and claiming in the process a privileged position outside the colonialist text and the authority of an “insider”-commentator to speak about and for the country. Here we are adopting a more transparent anti-colonial stance than did Munden who was, at that time an entry-level, functionary of the US government. He was employed by the Archive Section of the Department of Interior but was also enlisted as an officer in the US Armed forces.<sup>72</sup> In writing his version of the Pensionado Story, however, Munden was limited by matters of sources and form. He lacked source materials outside the archives of the War Department and was constrained by the mode and structure of a governmental report. A civic chronicle that devotes seven of its eight chapters to narrating accomplishments under successive American administrations and only one chapter to the critique of the program itself (this will come much later in the document and is not included in this study), Munden’s report delimited the space for interpretation and to discourse on adverse effects of the program.

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<sup>72</sup>Kenneth W(hite) Munden was born in Elizabeth City, NC, on February 16, 1912, to Joshua Warren and Elizabeth Jane (White). He attended Duke University from 1929 to 1931, and received his A.B. from George Washington University in 1943. Munden married Lia Ghezzi on August 24, 1946. They had two children: Robin Ghezzi and Gordon Ghezzi. Munden served in the Army from 1942 to 1948. Munden returned to work as an archivist for the Department of the Army serving from 1948 to 1958, returning to Army Reserve during 1951-1952. In 1958, Munden returned to the National Archives as Chief of Special Projects, leaving that position in 1968. He served as editor for the *American Archivist* (1960-1968) and the *American Film Institute* (1968-1972), and as an archival consultant for the Department of the Army (1972-1974), and as historian for the Office of Economic Opportunity (1972-1973). Kenneth W. Munden died September 17, 1974. He was interred at Arlington National Cemetery. See “Kenneth W. Munden, Personal Papers,” John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum The John F. Kennedy Library, Accessed 1 December 2021. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/KWMPP>

I attempted to repurpose the archive to narrate a story that does not privilege the colonial administrations' view. However, despite its advantages, it must be said that annotation is an auxiliary rather than autonomous form. Footnotes dictate a discontinuous commentary that lacks the fullness and coherence of a narrative and does not quite displace the main text as the primary narrative. Moreover, our attempt in its present form does not question the validity of the colonial archivist's historiographic mode and its rules of evidence and persuasion. Thus our annotations — many of which are clarifications and thus, explanatory in nature — serve to complement as much as subvert the official American account. The Scalar Project has been a tentative exploration, a shadow history, a prospectus for a national history rather than that history itself.

Particular to the section we examined, Kenneth Munden wrote briefly about the racism and general intolerance of American society into which these pensionados were integrated but he was constrained to rely on the reports that reached the archive. Of particular interest was the representation of Filipinos as being equivalent to the American “negro” in discussions about education. Handwringing about miscegenation between Filipino Pensionados and US citizens prompted political lobbying in Indiana. Meanwhile, the administrators of the program constantly worried about their “dark-skinned wards” being subjected to racist attacks. One report could represent the many other unreported incidents. What the archive implicitly tells us is that the Pensionado Program as a component of the general policy of Benevolent assimilation of the US colonial government in the Philippines, exposed the exclusionary racial politics of the United States that had been naturalized and thereby rendered invisible in the archive of the Pensionado Program.

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