

## **The *Ilustrado*'s Orphan: Generational Misrecognition and the Filipino Self**

**Isaac Donoso**

Universidad de Alicante

### **ABSTRACT**

From being the language of the first Republic of the Philippines, Spanish practically vanished in the archipelago. Its disappearance was not a natural process, but a projected program aimed at erasing its role in building the Philippine nation and the Filipino self, starting from childhood. By constructing a new historical narrative and pedagogical intervention taught to infants, the United States of America created a generational break between Filipinos that ended in the estrangement with the written national heritage. This paper focuses on the beginnings of the process towards de-Hispanization during the first part of the American period, and the human and cultural consequences of such for generations of orphans without forefathers.

*Keywords:* *ilustrado*, liberalism, education, Spanish, English, American imperialism, generations, childhood, diglossia, heritage

## The *Ilustrado* and the Philippine Enlightenment

The access to European knowledge, Latin and Spanish languages, was mainly monopolized by ecclesiastical people in the Philippine archipelago in the early modern era. As they did with other Spanish territories, religious orders took strong control of education and the printing press. A long battle between liberal and conservative parties, between republicans and royalists took place throughout the nineteenth century in Spain and the colonies, as well as State confiscations (*desamortizaciones* or Spanish confiscations). A growing anti-clerical movement emerged (Caro Baroja). In the process, the whole continental territories of America obtained independence. The specific Asian nature of the Philippines –isolation and lack of a strong creole population–retarded the political processes that were happening in Spain and America towards Liberalism (Nolasco).

Thanks to the economic opening of the Philippines to foreign investments, the direct connection with Spain across the Suez Channel, and the greater development of communications, a bourgeois middle-class emerged. Laic education was implemented since 1863, and the burning political Spanish debate between Liberalism and *Ancien régime*–which in the short period of forty years caused three civil wars in peninsular soil– entered the archipelago at last. The Filipino intellectual was going to be part of this intricate conundrum.

Creole society was concentrated in old urban centres and haciendas. Meanwhile, the economy altered the country, particularly due to rich Chinese mestizos in search of social space.<sup>1</sup> Districts like Binondo, Santa Cruz, and Quiapo transformed the urban landscape to be the commercial and economic nucleus of the country, the residence of the bourgeoisie. Escolta was the address of Philippine modernization. According to scholars such as Grifol y Aliaga, Sánchez y García, Alzona, Santamaría, Fox, Villarroel, Donoso, and Bazaco (*History of Education*), accumulation of wealth, social mobility, and incipient public and civil education facilitated the acquisition of Spanish language.

The process was a *continuum*, similar to the one taking place in Latin America, as a consequence of a long cultural, political, and racial *mestizaje*, and the maturity of a new society (Zialcita). It began in the last part of the sixteenth century and the beginnings of the seventeenth, when the printing press was manufactured in the Parián by the sangley Juan de Vera and the Dominican Blancas de San José, and a generation of *ladinos* adopted Western civilization (Pinpin; Woods). Fernando Bagongbanta was one of the first in the archipelago to write literature in Spanish (Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism* 57), his bilingual poem *Salamat nang ualang hanga/ Gracias se den sempiternas* (1605), which was considered a milestone:

Salamat nang ualang hanga  
 gracias se den sempiternas,  
*sa nagmasilang nang tala*  
 al que hizo salir la estrella:  
*macapagpanao nang dilim*  
 que destierre las tinieblas  
*sa lahat na bayan natin*  
 de toda esta nuestra tierra. (Lumbera, *Tagalog Poetry* 241-244)

After centuries of producing Baroque and Neoclassical literatures in Spanish (Donoso, “La literatura filipina”), with remarkable works in Latin (McManus and Leibsohn), and a massive proliferation of grammars and vocabularies, *awits*, *corridos*, and *komedyas* in vernacular languages (Sueiro; García-Medall; Eugenio), the nineteenth century witnessed a frenetic intellectual production in shaping a common national aspiration. Chinese and Chinese mestizos were important in this spirit (Tan; Wickberg), together with creoles and Spanish mestizos, *gobnadorcillos*, and the indigenous elite (Inarejos). To be sure, the use of Spanish was instrumental for social capital acquisition in a society where barriers were being contested in parallel with accumulation of wealth.

The educated were generally the opulent, but not always. Liberal ideas and social mobility gave space for a vibrant youth, sometimes inclined towards what was called *filibusterismo*. Therefore, it was appropriate to differentiate the *principal* from the *ilustrado*, though sometimes the two were related and confused (Hau). Rizal gave the clearest examples of both in his novels through the characters of Capitán Tiago and Filósofo Tasio. The reader of *Noli me tangere* can perfectly understand the divergence between materialism and humanism. However, historiography sometimes has reduced the complexities to social divide and racial hierarchies. As Rizal points out, the *ilustrado* was the aspiration of the Filipino, the freethinker (*librepensador*) that rules his own self.

## Spanish Language in the Liberal Philippines

Through a Royal Decree on December 20, 1863, a public primary education was enforced upon the whole archipelago. The Normal School was established in 1865 and handbooks about pedagogy were published (*Elementos de pedagogía*). The government was taking steps towards a more secular education, with curricula based in art and letters, science and engineering in the islands (*Escuela de Manila*), and Tagalog taught in the Peninsula (Coria). A new Philippine bourgeoisie was seeking secular knowledge, in the Philippines and elsewhere, and the Spanish language was a clear instrument for agency:

For nationalists, Castilian was supposed to be the route to modernity. Progress came, so they thought, in gaining access to the means with which to communicate directly with authorities and with others in the world. It followed that the Spanish language was a means of leaving behind all that was 'backward' and 'superstitious,' that is, all that came under the influence of the friars. To learn Castilian was to exit the existing order of oppression and enter into a new, more 'civilized' world of equal representation. (Rafael, *Promise of the Foreign* 28)

The Filipino could challenge power using the Spanish language, and in this sense to contest the political hierarchy. Eventually, the role of the parish priest as mediator decreased and the civil administration encouraged the participation of local civil servants. Within this context, the Filipino *ilustrado* was able to generate talent, thought, and professionals to compete with the peninsulares.



**Fig. 1:** Main patio of Escuela Normal new Arroceros building in 1887

Source: *Álbum Escuela Normal de Manila*, Exposición de Madrid, 1887, p. 6.

Liberal ideas reached the country to denounce the conservative *Ancien Régime* still predominant in the Spanish archipelago. Gregorio Sancianco, Pedro Paterno, Trinidad Hermenegildo Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes, Epifanio de los Santos, Graciano López Jaena, Marcelo Hilario del Pilar, José Rizal (Claudio, *Jose Rizal*) and many others, thought in Spanish and wrote the manifestos to win the future, influenced by Spanish Republicans, such as Francisco Pi y Margall or Miguel Morayta (Sarkisyanz). A new Spain was moving the new liberal Philippines:

No Filipino exemplified [like Pedro Paterno] in such flamboyant fashion the appetite of the colonized for learning in a century that saw an unprecedented expansion of scientific knowledge in Europe. Rizal and Pardo were themselves remarkable Renaissance intellectuals, steeped in the sciences and humanities [...] Paterno was well-read, an attainment he ostentatiously displays in his bibliographic citations and annotations [...] Claiming the Olympian view, he chastised European observers of the Philippines for their failure to see local culture in the context of universal evolution. (Mojares 91)

One main problem of Philippine *nacionalismo* was defining first what was the *nación*, and the *cultura nacional*. The first step was to analyze the archipelago before the coming of the Spaniards. This was evident in the works of Pedro Paterno, such as *La antigua civilización tagalog (apuntes)*, *Los Itas*, y *La familia tagalog en la historia universal con un apéndice*. He referred to himself with the bombastic name “Pedro Alexandro Molo Agustín Paterno y de Vera Ignacio (*Maginoo* Paterno), Doctor en Jurisprudencia” (Mojares 11). Under the title of *Maginoo* (lord), Paterno tried to obtain genealogical legitimacy to pre-Hispanic ancestry. Yet Pardo de Tavera emphasized the inconsequence of this ethnic essentialism, since *nacional* meant something constructed generation after generation:

Lo que pertenece a nuestros padres es diferente del patrimonio de nuestros abuelos. Lo que es nuestro es una conjunción de lo que han ido dejando las generaciones, sujetas a las mutaciones impuestas por el progreso y la civilización.<sup>2</sup> (He criticizes *Filipinistas* for their failure to define what they mean by ‘nationality’ and argues that what they point to as ‘Filipino’ is in fact colonial Hispanic culture, the *mentalidad latina* Spaniards propagated in the country; Mojares 11)

The Church was obviously a pivotal hindrance to defining *nación* for Filipinos, inheriting the peninsular debate for a liberal State.<sup>3</sup> Due to the excessive mediation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Filipinos encountered decisive problems to ‘touch’ the colonial administration, to make the government in Madrid listen.<sup>4</sup> Aiming to join the modern debates for which they have been educated after the liberal

reforms, the ilustrados articulated original narratives and viewpoints, first to enrich a discussion that was European in nature, and second to apply Liberalism to the archipelago.

In addition, a new belief entered the Philippines and the whole Western and Westernized world—Masonry. Christianity was then contested, and new rational dogmas emerged (Vergara; Utor; Barzanallana). Beyond the activities and rites in the lodges, Masonry offered to Filipinos a modern alternative to ecclesiastical dominion. Some ilustrados were masons, but some were not. As noted by Marcelo H. del Pilar (1888, 1889), the significant thing is that by mastering the Spanish language, Filipinos entered completely in all the Spanish debates, and they became equipped to challenge the almighty rule of Christianity.

### **American War: From *Reconcentrados* to *Escuelas***

When the first Republic of the Philippines (1898) was suppressed by American military aggression (S. Tan), ilustrados faced far more complex and unexpected problems. To contest Church medieval power was an easy-win debate with liberal ideas. It was another matter to contest the military power of the United States and, afterwards, the *benevolent assimilation* of the most self-proclaimed liberal nation of the world:

Finally, it should be the earnest wish and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule. (McKinley 777)

Republican William McKinley proclaimed in December 21, 1898 the policy of “Benevolent Assimilation.” Filipinos were going to be considered under a cultural *tabula rasa*.<sup>5</sup> Decades and centuries of Western thought in the Philippines were obliterated; martyrs in the name of progress—Gómez, Burgos, Zamora, Rizal—died in vain; the only real civilization was the one taught by soldiers-soon-to-be-teachers: “Hence as the Philippine-American war that killed nearly two hundred thousand civilians and nearly twenty-thousand Filipino soldiers subsided, and ideological intervention was urgently felt. The pacification effort took the form of soldiers being enlisted as teachers” (Roma-Sianturi 7).

As personally revealed by Reynaldo Ileto in his recent book *Knowledge and Pacification*, it was critical “to pacify the enemy” after the war (Ileto). To be sure, American troops received—far after the war ended—instructions to change the

military operations. Weapons rested and soldiers tested the bondage obtained by promoting schooling rather than concentration camps, *reconcentrados* (Jones):

In the very beginning of the American colonial enterprise, as rebellious areas were brought under control, soldiers were directed to put away their weapons, set up schools, and begin the teaching of English that would soon be taken up by professional teachers en route from America; thus, cooperation with the American government was associated directly with access to education. (McMahon 23)

This was not the first time that a policy of colonial education was imposed. In fact, France and Great Britain were implementing similar policies in Algeria, Indochina, India and other locations. The cultural and intellectual consequences for the colonized – it is interesting to read the experience of the Kenyan Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and of course the Tunisian Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized* – were also described in sociological and psychological terms. The pioneering effort to explain in detail the whole process of personal and cultural alienation as consequence of an imposed education (and the means to escape it) was produced by the Brazilian Paulo Freire. He applies concepts as anti-dialogics, banking education, alienation, and des-humanization in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970):

The desire for conquest (or rather the necessity of conquest) is at all times present in antialogical action. To this end the oppressors attempt to destroy in the oppressed their quality as 'considerers' of the world. Since the oppressors cannot totally achieve this destruction, they must mythicize the world. In order to present for the consideration of the oppressed and subjugated a world of deceit designed to increase their alienation and passivity, the oppressors develop a series of methods precluding any presentation of the world as a problem and showing it rather as a fixed entity, as something given – something to which people, as mere spectators, must adapt. (Freire 139)

Benevolent Assimilation was given to the Philippine population as a gift, as assumed mandatory rule. The colonizer does not entertain the worldview of the colonized and does not allow dialogue. By using the word (*logos/λόγος*), it is an act to consecrate the myth, the propaganda of the imperial myth:

Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization. This is why, as we affirmed earlier, the pedagogy of the oppressed cannot be

developed or practiced by the oppressors. It would be a contradiction in terms if the oppressors not only defended but actually implemented a liberating education. (Freire 54)

Having these concepts in mind, we can figure the process to consecrate in practical terms the guidelines depicted in “The White Man’s Burden,” a programmatic poem written by Kipling in 1899.<sup>6</sup> In a century where Anglo-Saxon imperialism dominated the globe, colonial expansion was justified in terms of order, progress, and civilization, as noted by Frederick Funston, the American General who captured Aguinaldo: “They [Filipinos] are, as a rule, an illiterate, semi-savage people, who are waging war, not against tyranny, but against Anglo-Saxon order and decency” (McMahon 35).

The introduction of teaching was another military activity for the American army, part of the pacification campaign soon to be develop on a wider scale by civil teachers. Education, as a pursuit of enlightenment and knowledge, was not the goal of the soldiers. It was rather military discipline and control of *pueblos*: “The primary goal of the army’s teaching program was not to educate Filipinos, but rather to pacify them by convincing them of American good will. The army’s schools were, in effect, a mere adjunct of its military activities” (May 137).

## **Ilustrados and the Benevolent Assimilation**

T. H. Pardo de Tavera predicted the consequences of the Anglo-Saxon conquest and prepared the path to accommodate the American new colony and the English language:

As Pardo subsumes race to nation so does he subordinate nation to ‘civilization’. Pardo’s view of historical process is of a unilinear, civilizational advance, with the Greek giving way to the Roman, and now the Anglo-Saxon [...] Reflecting Kant’s vision of an evolution from barbarism to civil society to a ‘universal civil society’ that transcends the rivalries of competing states, Pardo envisions a convergence of races, cultures, and nations in a ‘world civilization’ under the rule of Reason. (Mojares 199-200)

He lamented the poor state of science in the archipelago, blaming the *especulaciones bizantinas* (“Byzantine speculations”) based on rhetoric, poetry, and aesthetics. The focus in the humanities prevented, according to Pardo de Tavera, the development of a knowledge based in scientific analysis: “We have dedicated out time to achieve literary careers, to exercise our knowledge in Byzantine speculations, and we have not realized that the forces that propel humanity towards progress are neither philosophy nor rhetoric, but simply chemistry and mechanics” (Mojares 192).<sup>7</sup>



*El legado del ignorantismo*, “Legacy of ignorantism,” published May 4, 1920 in *El Debate* by Pardo de Tavera, is a censure of Catholic education in the islands. It is surprising, this insistent focus, since public and laic education was already implemented, as mentioned. But more surprising is its explicit exhortation that progress does not need philosophy and rhetoric. Pardo de Tavera, a Spanish creole, who is a doctor, pharmacist, botanist, orientalist, linguist, historian, anthropologist, and booklover argues that progress will be obtained with chemistry and engineering. His scientific and racial backgrounds are in plain contradiction with his condemnation of the Human Sciences and the Spanish language. In fact, he was the first and practically sole ilustrado to welcome the English language:

That decision was not universally popular. *Ilustrados* and a sizable segment of the *principalía* spoke Spanish, and before the Revolution, had sent their children to private schools run by religious orders where Spanish was the language of instruction. No doubt, the decision to use English made the American-run schools unattractive to some of the elite. In subsequent years, many *ilustrados* and *principales* continued to send their children to private schools. (May 142)

The contradictions of the fact seem to answer Pardo de Tavera’s racial preference for a white government in the Philippines rather than one that is the product of Malolos. He was securing his position within a new political scenario. On the other hand, an important section of the ilustrado defended another model of education, one linked with Liberal values and European letters:

For an entire generation of Filipino intellectuals who participated in the 1896 Revolution and were reared in or exposed to the writings of Balzac, Zola, Galdós, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Flaubert, and Maupassant, the moralizing of Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell seemed a useless curiosity, distracting Filipinos from the urgent challenge of a drastically changed political environment. (San Juan, *History and Form* 43)

The main problem presented in this setting was survival. Life was prior to any intellectual challenge. The words of Rafael Palma running from American troops explain the feelings that dominated the Philippines in those years: “All was desolation and tears around us. Whole towns lay in ruins; whole families evacuated their towns to avoid falling into the hands of the Americans [...] Everybody helped protect widows and orphans” (Palma, *My Autobiography* 36).

To be sure, the twentieth century in the Philippines saw a devastating cultural experiment, similar to the one perpetrated by the French in Algeria (Donoso, *Enseñándole su lengua*). The nation was suppressed by the military, and members of

the government of the Republic of the Philippines were exiled to Guam in 1901. For the Americans, these Philippine officials were insurgents, *insurrectos*. Like the British conquest of Egypt in 1882, the defense of the legal Egyptian government of Aḡmad ‘Urābī represented a ‘revolt’ (Mayer; Cole). The rightful defender of the land was a rebel, exiled or eradicated. In the meantime, the economy and the elite were oriented towards the new colonizer:

The *ilustrados* who were Spanish-oriented were soon to fall victims to the impact of Saxonization [...] The American system of education started the Americanization process. The children of the elite became American-oriented and a new horde of American-educated Filipinos increased the tribe of colonial supporters. (Constantino, *The Making of a Filipino* 121)

The European Enlightenment defined the intellectual foundations of the Philippine Revolution and the political institutions of the First Republic in 1899 (Ileto 1979; 2003). The Spanish language created the national symbols of the Republic—the anthem and the constitution. *La Solidaridad*, *El Renacimiento*, and *La Independencia* were part of the national construction of a republican society. However, a sordid violence diminished rapidly the enthusiasm for independence and sentenced several generations in the archipelago to obedience. It is famous the order “*Kill every one over ten*” by General Jacob Hurd Smith in Samar, and the reaction of the *New York Evening Journal* in May 5, 1902, asserting laconically “*Criminals because they were born ten years before we took the Philippines.*”

The description offered by John Morgan Gates is quite revealing of the state of fear dominating the Filipino population then regardless of place or social class. Filipinos were forced to obey the teacher holding a rifle:

Some enlisted men could interpret the new policy as one of “taking no prisoners” with MacArthur “sweeping everything as he goes,” and officers could write of substituting “the effective noose for the futile school-book.” The cruelties and abuses that appeared in increasing numbers during 1900 continued, and those men who so desired could interpret the new pacification policy as a sanction for such action. Although crimes against Filipinos continued throughout 1901, the men who committed or tolerated cruelty and uncalled for severity represented only a fraction of those in responsible positions in the Philippines. (Gates 216)

The humanistic bastions of the Philippine political-cultural nationalism were at the historic juncture to defend the battle against imposition. Literature in Spanish became an intellectual weapon, and with the word, Filipinos defended the empire of justice and yowled the short life of the heroes. Cecilio Apóstol (1877-1938) paid

tribute to Apolinario Mabini (1868-1903), first member of the Philippine government, in the poem “Sobre el Plinto” (1915). It begins with a revealing quotation from Horace—*Justum et tenacem propositi virum*:

In front of the eternal granite symbol,  
consecration of your civil palms,  
mental peak, sublime paralytic,  
nine million souls acclaim you today.

Time, which ruthlessly devours  
noble memories worthy of history,  
over the red horizon of the past  
preserve and magnify your memory.

Today, like yesterday, the crowd cheers you,  
The sage praises you, the sistrum celebrates you;  
and it is current, for the empire of your fame,  
your investiture as prime minister.

The ephemeral state that you concocted died,  
without any other, neither previous nor analogous;  
but your spiritual government subsists,  
your original Decalogue is in force. (Martín 24)<sup>8</sup>

However, the military punishment was severe, and the social engineering was fast and appealing—progress, democracy, modernity and, most importantly, pensions to study in the United States. Within a short period of time, a new elite of Filipino *pensionados*, trained in American universities, disrupted the foundations of Philippine nationalism. Political parties were organized in what Anderson calls “*cacique* democracy” (Anderson; Cano; Iletto 289-310):

The fading away of nationalism as the guiding spirit and paramount value in Filipino politics might be said to have begun with the founding of the *Nacionalista* Party of 1907. Its leaders were untrue to their party’s proud name [...] The *Nacionalista* campaign for independence-without-nationalism ended with the inauguration of a republic in the Luneta on 4 July 1946. (Corpuz 2: 670)

This is where the generational conflict between a Spanish-speaking society educated in poetry and humanism was supplanted by an English-speaking youth educated in mechanics and nursing. The idealism of the generation that created the Republic was followed by the utilitarianism of clientelism (Cullinane). No one says it better than Nick Joaquín (1917-2004), the Philippines’ best English-language writer: “A people that had got [sic] as far as Baudelaire in one language was being returned to the abc’s of another language” (170-171).

In fact, the importance of the Oedipus complex in the history of contemporary Philippines remains tangible, which Nick Joaquín masterfully described in *The Woman Who Had Two Navels*. Important contemporary and current Filipino writers and intellectuals are in fact descendants of Spanish-language writers. They need somehow to diminish the importance of their relatives (sometimes until oblivion) for them to be relevant within the Philippine literati (Donoso, *Enseñándole su lengua*). They need to eradicate the past and start from zero. An example of this is José García Villa:

Villa is the exemplary case of the offspring of *ilustrado* gentry who rejects his class origin but paradoxically valorizes the cast privilege of the artist [...] Despite his ultra-vanguardist alienation, Villa's art cannot deny the influence of over 300 years of Spanish-Malayan cultural interaction (San Juan, *Writing* 101).

They need to create a career in the shadow of the master: "The diplomatic and journalist career of Carlos Romulo epitomizes this generation condemned to a parodic mimesis of the worst expressions of Anglo-Saxon chauvinism" (San Juan, *History and Form* 43). Even worse, sons and daughters of brilliant Filipinos published their memories and legacy in translations. One case is the autobiography of Rafael Palma, only accessible in the English translation by his daughter Alicia Palma Bautista: "I began the translation of my father's autobiography on October 24, 1941" (Palma, *My Autobiography* iii).<sup>9</sup>

We must mention at last the dramatic role of Claro Mayo Recto (1890-1960). Throughout his life he defended the original values of Filipino nationalism. In his writings he followed not only the most rooted literary heritage, but at the same time designed the intellectual terrain to defend civilization in the Philippines. He was the most constant Filipino defender of the Philippine character of the Spanish language:

It was not so easy for Recto to accept supinely the new dispensation. As a member of a Spanish-oriented family, he found acceptance of the new "barbarians" difficult. Language was a barrier, and his Castilian upbringing and education constituted a strong defence against thorough brainwashing [...] He believed that the Spanish tongue should have been preserved if only to combat the inroads of the new conquerors. (Constantino, *The Making* 26-32)

*Oración al dios Apolo* (1910) is a long poem with allusions invoking the empire of reason against force. Western values moulded the modern Filipino for revolution

and freedom. Now an Asian nation fights Western despotism with a deeper and more refined Greco-Roman tradition:

Father of Harmony, source of lyrical graces,  
 that in piafantes steeds you explore the azure:  
 stop the nervous momentum of your strong bridles  
 before the hymn that the Youth prays for you.  
 We love you, Father Apollo, for your thyres of roses,  
 for your beautiful pegasi, for your car of light,  
 because you have the lyre, and the flute and the fife,  
 syringa, psaltery, sistrum and lute. (Recto 13-16)<sup>10</sup>

## American Education as Colonial Weapon

Scholarship on the America's educational imperialism in the Philippines is quite extensive nowadays, clarified in many aspects.<sup>11</sup> However, a part of the historiography still assumes uncritically and with an ambivalent consideration some of the mottos of the "Benevolent Assimilation." Agoncillo's words are symptomatic:

American's greatest achievement in the Philippines was the introduction of the public school system. It was not a system based on the life beyond, but one based on life on earth. It emphasized honesty, civic consciousness, cooperation with the government in its works of advancing the welfare of the people, mutual help, love of labor, and advancement of learning. (224)

Just to problematize the argument in the following pages:

Another bad result of the American occupation was the "brainwashing" of the Filipinos through the educational system. Because the Americans dictated the educational policies of the Filipinos, subjects taken in the schools lay more emphasis on American culture and history than on Philippine culture and history. (Agoncillo 229)

Although Agoncillo irremediably moved historiography towards a new criticism, some of his appreciations still connects with traditional truisms. Consequently, the more aseptic positions try to label a Manichean orientation about the history of American education in the Philippines:

One side argues that the American common school system was an improvement over the private, elitist Spanish version and ushered in literacy and democracy in the country (Karnow 1989; May 1980). The other

side contends that the American curriculum served as a “mis-education” since it depicted the United States as a benevolent hero that rescued the country from Spanish theocracy and native primitivism. (Coloma 20)

Actually, to set a variety of storylines shadows the main object under the hermeneutic circle, in which academic paraphernalia disguises the sharp meaning of the word. To be sure, María Teresa Pineda-Tinio clarifies any uncertainty in a brief but decisive review (which appeared a century after the events under discussion took place):

The Thomasites were principally a second army of occupation whose role was to capture the “hearts and minds” of the masses of the Filipino people, while seventy thousand U.S. troops turned the Philippines into what General Smith called “a howling wilderness [...] This is not an old idea but an established one. It is not dogma; it is simply the truth. (Pineda-Tinio 582)<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps it is necessary to dive into personal narratives to obtain a detailed picture of the huge changes suffered by the generations of Filipinos during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, private genealogies have been a productive genre in modern Philippine letters. The micro level offers, from the subject, a story that cannot be silenced under the wide rhetoric. Accordingly, the intellectual experience assessed by Reynaldo Ileto in *Knowledge and Pacification* completes the self-analysis of a Philippine genealogy (Ileto).<sup>13</sup>

The strong industrial and imperial development of the main western nations translated the concept of “progress” into two key concepts: democratic politics and Darwinian utilitarianism. Its translation in cultural terms was the superiority of Western culture over *venality and oriental barbarism*. There is a clear colonial program behind this motto, as denounced at the turn of the century by members of the Anti-Imperialist League:

Du Bois saw the incentive behind this ‘modern colonial system’ as economic. He was at a point in his career where he perceived racism as intimately bound up with capitalism. He considered this step toward colonization of the Philippines as galvanized by the markets, cheap labor, and natural resources it promised. (McMahon 42)

The “Manifest Destiny” required an educated, indoctrinated political body, an elite formed according to the American way of life, ready for capitalism rather than liberalism. The natural consequence was clientelism, debtor politicians and subordinated technocrats. At the end, a huge amount of children were forced to become part of the colonial setting and forced to climb: “Hence the language

became, for tens of thousands of ambitious, upwardly mobile Filipinos, the gateway to social, political, and economic advancement” (Anderson, “Hard to Imagine” 105). “Benevolent Assimilation” was, in this sense, forgetting the past, alienating the self, and copying the USA:

If the Filipino had to be educated or shaped into a good colonial model, in conformity with the American ideals, he had to be taught the American brand of English by American teachers and to use American-oriented textbooks. The English language became the common denominator which separated the tiny well-educated Filipinos and the masses [...] The net impact of the American colonial education on the three successive generations of Filipinos is that their colonial mind had not gotten out of the colonial incubation of dependence and culture of underdevelopment. (Quiason 63)

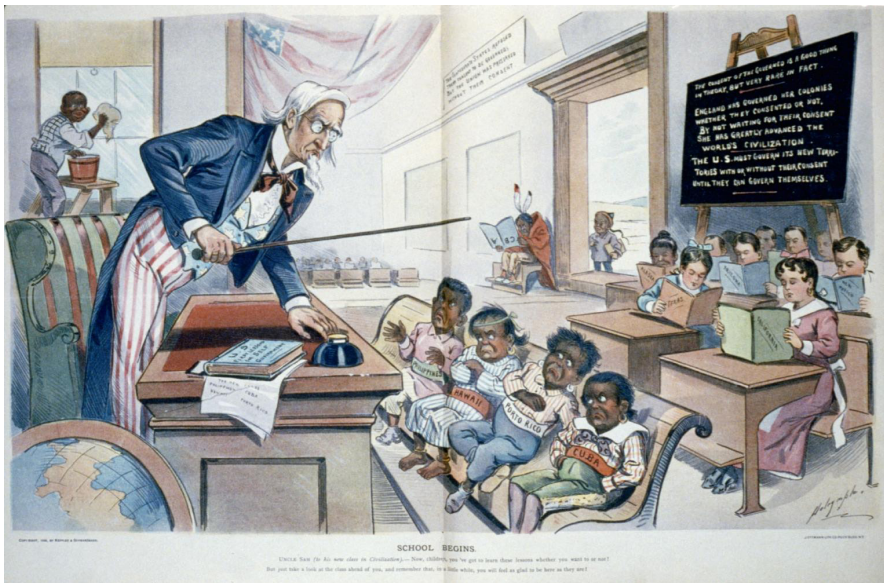
It is from this point that the inevitable generational split between parents facing colonial intervention and their children –already educated in the civilization of the colonizer– originated. When these children became adults and expressed concerns about communicating themselves and recognizing themselves within society, they realized a borrowed voice. Their parents did not understand them and they did not understand their parents, and then, inexorably, the expression was just imitative. The imitation of the models of the colonizer decisively affected the production of ideas: imitation rather than expression, abc rather than Baudelaire.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps a graver symptom was how Filipino children internalized the degradation of the self and the imposition of a racial divide in a school system established for equality and liberty. The following anecdote is revealing:

The superiority which the Tagalog feels over other tribes, for example, is evidenced by an anecdote. José, a Tagalog boy, came to Camarines Sur with his American teacher, transferred thither from a Tagalog province. As a matter of course he was able to converse with his Bicol schoolmates only in English. During a few moments of leisure one day, his teacher jokingly said: “José, which do you think are the better people, the Tagalogs or the Bicol?” José answered never a word until several moments had passed; then, Yankee-like, he responded by asking another question: “Mr. C—, which do you think are the better people, the Americans or the Bicol?” (Freer 284)

Certainly the Philippines was condemned to suffer one of the most aggressive cultural engineering processes ever experienced, with a linguistic substitution that perpetuated diglossia and colonial dependence. Nick Joaquin’s words are a

testament to the irreversible generational crisis between intellectuals condemned to ostracism, and the new *pensionado* clients and partisans. Meanwhile, the fathers read Rubén Darío and Balzac, the children sand the alphabet and performed industrial training, manual work rather than intellectual cultivation, manpower rather than humanism, and spoke English to enter the capitalist world, rather than Spanish or any other Philippine language to enter the self.



**Fig. 2:** Louis Dalrymple, "School Begins," *Puck magazine*, January 25, 1899, pp. 8-9.

Caption: "School Begins. Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization): Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!"

## Disorienting the Pearl of the Orient

In order to break the continuum that ended in the Philippine Revolution and the first Asian Republic, American propaganda divided the history of the archipelago into two colonial processes: on one side the old, dark, and tyrannical Spanish period, and on the other the modern, democratic, and brilliant American one. A continuation of the natural cultural course developed by Filipinos in the Modern Age was not possible. The division not only sanctioned as natural the replacement of a colonizer by another, but also moved towards the anticipating idea of a bad colonizer replaced by a good one. It was easy in this context to design a coherent



policy of self-justification in the eyes of Filipinos: “The Americans are actually the second colonizer, a position that very much influenced their policies and ways of managing the native population” (McMahon 4).

The narrative was supported by continuous messages that enforced and fixed the permanent idea—the “Black Legend” against Spain and Hispanic culture. It was fitting that Filipino infants started their schooling days reading sections in English of Washington Irving’s *Tales of the Alhambra*:

Many are apt to picture Spain to their imagination as soft southern region, decked out with the luxuriant charms of voluptuous Italy. On the contrary, though there are exceptions in some of the maritime provinces, yet, for the greater part, it is a stern, melancholy country, with rugged mountains, and long, sweeping plains, destitute of trees, and indescribably lonesome, partaking of the savage and solitary character of Africa. (Irving 13-14)<sup>15</sup>

Jennifer M. McMahon explains in her book *Dead Stars* the literary impact of imperial aggression for both Americans and Filipinos. Authors such as Mark Twain censured the deplorable consequences that colonial expansion caused to the pristine American ideal.<sup>16</sup> Máximo Kalaw, Paz Márquez Benítez and Juan Laya deployed alienation and generational conflicts as consequences of the system of education and the American dream. Finally, McMahon reveals that there is nothing innocent in teaching *Tales of the Alhambra* to innocent Filipino infants:

Washington Irving’s *The Alhambra* is actually about Spanish culture, not American, and this is exactly the point. The society described in Irving’s *The Alhambra* is indolent, corrupt, and static [...] The two selections of *The Alhambra* chosen for this Bureau of Education textbook implicitly make the distinction between an indolent Spain and a progressive America. (McMahon 37)

It seems to that the key to formulating a colonial policy in the Philippines after a bloody war was to alter the achievements of the Malolos Republic. This was the success of a liberal project supported by many popular revolutions during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One need only read Reynaldo Ileto’s seminal work *Pasyon and Revolution* and Apolinario Mabini’s *La Revolución filipina*, to substantiate the whole social project that ended in Malolos; this social project was epitomized by José Rizal, seeking intellectual independence as the highest aspiration, and hope in a better future for young Filipinos. This is the sense of the poem “A la juventud filipina,” awarded in 1879 in the literary contest organized by the Liceo Artístico-Literario de Manila:

LEMA. - Grow, oh shy flower!  
(From a natural.)

Raise your smooth forehead,  
Filipino youth, on this day!  
Look resplendent  
your rich gallantry,  
beautiful hope of my country!

[...]

Come down with the pleasant light  
from arts and sciences to sand,  
Youth, and unleash  
the heavy chain  
that your poetic genius chains.<sup>17</sup>

The poet exhorts the youth to obtain freedom through education. Education is the fundament of knowledge. Rizal invokes the capacities of Filipino youth to seek knowledge, to go beyond the limits imposed by destiny and providence. His poetry exposes liberal ideas based on education, and this is precisely the main request of ilustrados: a liberal State and universal education. The first American colonial architects took note of these demands and designed a fitting agenda:

American propaganda notwithstanding, Spain had not condemned the Filipinos to abysmal ignorance. On the contrary, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, they were the most Westernized, sophisticated, modern elite in Asia. Rich families sent their sons to private Manila secondary schools and European universities and, by 1890s, some two hundred thousand pupils were in primary schools throughout the islands [...] Filipinos had tasted education and wanted more, and the U.S. Army saw on its arrival that their appetite could be turned against Aguinaldo's forces. (Karnow 200)

The role of José Rizal within this context is another main element “to pacify the enemy” for the purpose of schooling Filipino infants. Certainly, the case of Rizal's American reception produced an important amount of bibliography, since the postulates of Renato Constantino:

In his time, the reformist Rizal was undoubtedly a progressive force. In many areas of our life, his ideas could still be a force for salutary change. Yet the nature of the Rizal cult is such that he is being transformed into

an authority to sanction the *status quo* by a confluent of blind adoration and widespread ignorance of his most telling ideas. (Constantino, *Dissent* 125-126)

According to Constantino, the United States sponsored the consecration of Rizal as reformist and model student, rather than revolutionary and model freethinker. During the last decades the historiographical debate was rich. Indeed, Floro Quibuyen's *A Nation Aborted* is a remarkable landmark that details the Rizalian national project over plain reform. For our main purpose, it is interesting to include here a direct sample taken from *The Filipino Teacher*, a review managed by insular teachers to fit the American programs (and, at the same time, to demand for better salaries).<sup>18</sup> "Por la gloria de Rizal," is a speech in Spanish by Director of Education Frank R. White, where he depicts Rizal as the paramount of universal education:

When America came to the Philippines ten years ago announcing its intention to establish a system of free education for all the people, you promptly and with joy gave your applause to this purpose worthy of the government, and your help in any way possible for the development of the program. educational. We have had your ardent interest and your generous support, and we have been able, thanks to our combined efforts, to open 5,000 schools for the education of 500,000 children. Going back a few years before the memorable day when America came to these beaches, I see José Rizal as the main defender of universal education. (White 2)<sup>19</sup>

That "memorable day" when America entered Philippine shores was timely and fit Rizal's goals towards universal education. The next step was to excuse the incapacity of Spanish to be the lingua franca of the archipelago, and the necessity to replace it with English: "One of the many reasons for teaching English in the Philippines schools is the lack of a common language" (Freer 283). Deep down the reason was something else:

Thus, for strictly practical reasons, English was to become the lingua franca of the Philippines. Yet the decision, perhaps subliminally, also reflected a basic purpose of the Americans: They intended to Americanize the Filipinos, not Filipinize themselves. (Karnow 201)

No less than Cameron Forbes, Governor General of the Philippines between 1909 and 1913, confesses to the agenda behind the total elimination of Spanish in the public education imposed by the Americans:

As a practical matter the prevalence of English was foreordained [...] All that was needed was to extend primary education in that language as rapidly as possible, turn out by hundreds of thousands young potential voters who understood English and not Spanish, and these young people could be relied upon to do the rest (Forbes 2: 1447).

If there was a premeditated and well-planned purpose to cut with the past, to depict Spain and Hispanic culture as indolent and backward, how faithfully were the Americans going to teach the Spanish language in schools? The rhetoric was ready to advance the argument: 'Spanish was never spoken by the majority of Filipinos,' a motto that was repeated anytime the question surfaced. But to be honest, Spanish was the lingua franca of the archipelago, the language of professionals and institutions, of the court, the parliament, the government, the press, of the magistrates and lawyers, the language of the Constitution, the language of the Republic of Malolos.<sup>20</sup>

However, and due to American colonial engineering, Spanish was not the language of public education. The "English only rule [...] started the 'Americanization' of Filipinos" (Mindó 44.). If a parent wanted his or her child to study the Spanish language, private schools were the only option. As noted by Rafael Palma, English was becoming predominant even in private schools after the Americanization of the Jesuits in the 1920s (Palma, *Historia* 1: 377).

Again, it is possible to find here unclear statements along the historiography, which shadow the narrative with ambivalent contradictions. For instance, Benedict Anderson said in 1994 that, "while it is true that a number of powerful colonial officials despised Spanish (and Spanish culture), it cannot be said that it was a general American imperial policy to eliminate the language" ("Hard to Imagine" 104).

We understand in this sentence that, despite the propaganda noted by Jennifer M. McMahon, the American imperial policy did not have a direct purpose to eliminate the Spanish language in the Philippines. However, Anderson offers a different perspective:

Immensely confident of Anglo-Saxon world hegemony and the place of English as the language of capitalism and modernity, the colonial regime effortlessly extruded Spanish and so expanded an English-language school system that by 1940 the Philippines had the highest literacy rate in Southeast Asia. (Anderson, *Spectre* 210-211)

Certainly, a complete opposition between “no policy at all” and “effortlessly extruded” exists. We have already noticed Forbes’ confident statement about the natural imposition of English and American clientelism through education. Americans realized already the role of Spanish to intellectually empower Filipinos. Even the Thomasites considered that, if they were not around, Spanish will sustain a permanent opposition to their imperialism. A new “aristocracy” was needed, as explained by the Thomasite in Capiz, Mary H. Fee:

The wealthy citizens of Manila prefer to send their sons to the religious schools, and their daughters to the *colegios*, or sisterhood schools, of which there are many. While English is taught in all these schools, general instruction is in Spanish; the course of study include the usual amount of catechism, expurgated history, and the question-and-answer method of “philosophy” of the old Spanish system. If the American Government remain here, a new aristocracy, the result of the public school system, is inevitable. If it should not remain here, the Spanish-reared product will continue to hold its place. (149)

At the end, Benedict Anderson wrote what historiography did not want to accept:

Given that the elite of Rizal’s generation used Spanish comfortably as its lingua franca, we can scarcely doubt that, if the First Republic had been permitted to survive, its educational institutions would have spread Spanish rapidly as the national language (“Hard to Imagine” 104).

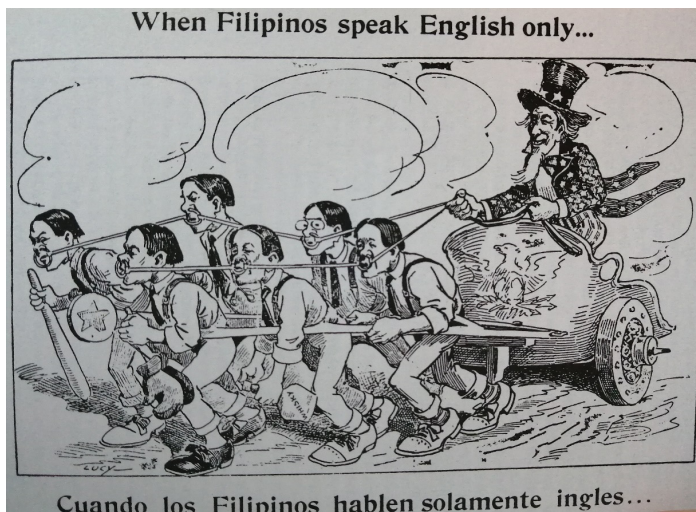
Spanish was going to be the national language of the Philippines. It seems to be, at the end, that the concepts of ‘historical forgetting’ and ‘cultural misrecognition,’ as employed and explained by T. Ruanni F. Tupas, fit very well with the American educational achievements in the Philippines (Tupas, “Bourdieu”; Tupas, “A Century of Errors”). By beheading the language of the nation, and domesticating the *ilustrados*, no solid contestation could be formulated against American colonialism. The mutilation was consummated, the forefathers spoke in a foreign tongue, and the intellectual orphans began with the abc of the American primer. This was the natural consequence of the *glottophagy* caused by the only and sole language of public instruction:

English displaced both Spanish and the vernaculars as the primary symbolic system through which Filipinos represented themselves, that is, constituted themselves as colonial subjects with specific positions or functions in the given social order [...] English become the wedge that separated the Filipinos from their past and later was to separate educated Filipinos from the masses of their countrymen. (San Juan, *Writing* 96)

An alienating world of new rules, orders and mandates crafted the colonial aftermath, where foreign elements were introduced to govern local realities. Cultural mutation, acculturation or cultural hybridization are phenomena especially associated with colonial or neo-colonial processes. Military enforcement or charming hypnosis undoubtedly constitute part of this cultural laboratory. Snobbism is the natural consequence between the degradation of the self and the enthronement of the alien, between the old *ilustrados*, and the new climbing *pensionados*.

Abandoning a language is not a mechanical exercise, but the penetration of a world in which one is forced to participate. The colonized culture therefore begins with the imitation of the colonizer, the enforcement of diglossia, and the officialization of a narrative that legitimize the new snobbery against the old times. Obviously, the colonized is never fully aware of the scope of the cultural engineering or is incapable to impede it:

But our distorted attitude to foreign languages is amply demonstrated in the cavalier attitude with which educators regarded and finally got rid of required Spanish learning. Part of the prejudice against Spanish is, of course, due to the great American-induced prejudice against the Spanish part of our history. But the prejudice has been counterproductive because illiteracy in Spanish has disable millions of Filipinos from reading into the archives of their past as well as linking with Spanish-using countries at the present without American English intervention. (Tinio 96)



**Fig. 3:** When Filipinos speak English only/  
Cuando los Filipinos hablen solamente inglés

*The Independent*, November 27, 1915

Source: Paredes, Ruby. *Philippine Colonial Democracy*, p. 48

## Infants as Target of Imperialism

At the end of the nineteenth century the Spanish administration in the Philippines managed to establish an effective system to regulate education from primary level to university through the Royal Decree of December 20, 1863. The Normal School was created in 1865, and modern materials were published as manuals and handbooks for teaching Spanish in the Philippines and Tagalog in Spain (Jacas; *Primer certamen*; Torre).

The United States took immediate control of the educational program and sent thousands of English teachers to the archipelago from 1901 onwards, supported by Worcester's propaganda. Indeed, racial paternalism, which saw Filipinos as a small tropical brown race, did not cease. The Filipino was a "little brown bother," in the words of the twenty-seventh American president and president of the Second Philippine Commission, William Howard Taft (Wolff). Surprisingly, Taft's judgements about the ilustrado refinement is quite the opposite of what he confessed in public:

The educated Filipino has an attractive personality. His mind is quick, his sense of humor fine, his artistic sense acute and active; he has a poetic imagination; he is courteous in the highest degree; he is brave; he is generous; his mind has been given by his education a touch of the scholastic logicism; he is a musician; he is oratorical by nature. The educated Filipino is an aristocrat by Spanish association. (Knoles 41-42)

The First Philippine Commission –the Schurman Commission– recommended a schooling system run by American soldiers and military chaplains. Given the shortage of instructors, the Taft Commission authorized the importation of teachers from the United States. More than a thousand teachers arrived to the country from 1901 to 1902, most of them on the S. S. Thomas ship, so they were called Thomasites (Roma-Sianturi). Alongside this pedagogical invasion, the Department of Public Instruction also transformed the Spanish Escuela Normal to the Normal School of the Philippines in 1901, the first educational center (precisely for teacher training) established by the Americans in the archipelago.

The Philippines then witnessed the emergence of waves of elementary students trained in democratic and Anglo-Saxon doctrine, from about 150,000 enrolled in 1901 to about one million students after just two decades. The great educational slogan was the imposition of English as the sole language of intellectual activity:

The language selected for the schools is English. It is selected because it is the language of business in the Orient, because it is the language of free institutions, and because it is the language which the Filipino

children who do not know Spanish are able more easily to learn than they are to learn Spanish, and it is the language of the present sovereign of the Islands. The education in English began with the soldiers of the American Army, one of whom was detailed from each company to teach schools in the villages which had become peaceful. When the Commission assumed authority it sent to the United States for 1,000 American teachers, and after the arrival of these pioneers in the Islands, a system of primary schools was inaugurated together with normal schools. (Knoles 45)

Yet the alphabet was not innocent. Printers who previously published booklets on the Christian doctrine, metrical romances, and revolutionary proclaims were now publishing primers and readers for subjects as important for Filipinos as the "History of the United States" (Recorder). Liberal and conservative ideas disappeared from the Philippine presses and books published in New York and Chicago were sent to the archipelago. For adults, this was a traumatic change; for children, a grubby game. Indeed, it is appalling to see the Tagalog edition of *The Baldwin Primer* by May Kirk, New York-Cincinnati-Chicago, American Book Company, 1902, one of the few booklets during the first American period that uses Tagalog:

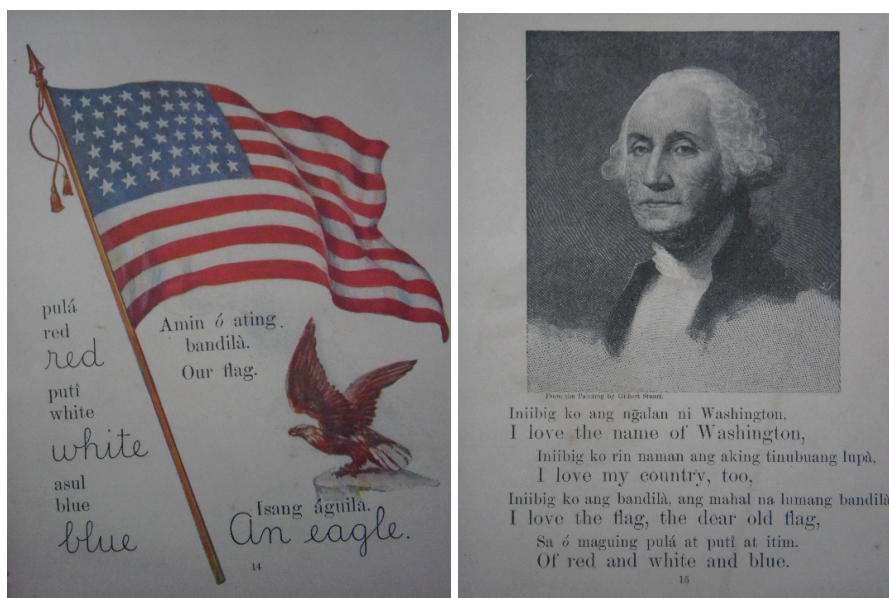


Fig. 4: "I love the name of Washington"

Source: Scripture, *The Baldwin Primer*, 1902, pp. 14-15

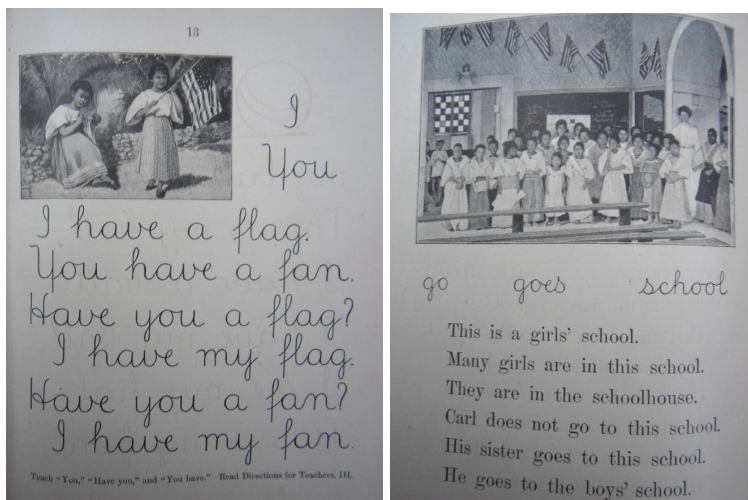


The use of Tagalog seems to respond to a preliminary need for the student to recognize the foreign language. However, the language policy aimed total immersion and the exclusive use of English to properly read “I love the name of Washington.”<sup>21</sup> But in this case, the two codes are arranged in *The Baldwin Primer*, first in Tagalog and then in English (Nepomuceno-van Heugten). It is curious to see the evident Hispanization of Tagalog, the American national symbols, and the imperialist doctrine taught in a reader of first letters to innocent toddlers. The cultural shock was inevitable:

It is as if an American child had to learn Turkish before he could be taught anything else. It is indeed a disheartening experience to visit a barrio school in the Islands, see this average child, sense his many imperative needs, but find him devoting most of his efforts to learning a distorted smattering of a language for which he has little need and which he will probably soon forget. (Prator 12-13)

But perhaps the worst in the spirit of the infant was not the difficult lesson itself, but the remarked racial difference (Kramer; Blanco).<sup>22</sup>

For using English as a medium of instruction, the Filipino student is generally conceded as inferior to his American counterpart, a condition the former finally accepts as something natural and inevitable. This fatal acceptance is compounded by the inferiority complex he develops because of the exclusion of his mother tongue in the classroom and his belief that the ability to speak English is the only measure of cultural refinement and intellectual achievement. (Parale 11-12)<sup>23</sup>



**Fig. 4:** Little Filipinas with the American flag inside and outside the classroom

Source: Gibbs, *The Revised Insular Primer*, 1906, pp. 13, 80

The Spanish language disappeared from national education and the mother tongues were undervalued or rejected within the classroom; the pedagogic alternative was a classroom filled with American flags and a teacher –usually a white governess educated in fine American colleges (Zimmerman)—that sometimes reveals judgments of unintentional racism and supremacy. Apathetic or idealistic, imitators of the Hispanic culture, for Mary H. Fee Filipinos do not realize the material benefits that the United States will bring to the islands. Surprisingly, she describes Filipinos as a people composed by poets and orators that have learned everything from the books:

Filipinos have come in contact, not with real *life* but with *books*, and their immediate ambition is to produce the things that are talked of in books [...] If here and there a single Filipino educated in Europe should dazzle society with novels or plays or happy speeches, most of his countrymen would be satisfied with his vindication of Filipino capacity. (Fee 145)

If, for American educators, Filipino literacy causes anger, poets and novelists were illusory, educated Filipinos in Europe were charlatans, and nationalist oratory was an exercise for the circus, certainly the work that these Thomasites intended to do was in fact to end the true creativity of their pupils. They did not seek students with capacity to express, but those that can imitate (Verzosa; Saleeby). In this case, the straight path to “progress” seems to be one that involves mechanical work and linguistic diglossia. The 1925 Survey of the Education System denounced this pathology as “the foreign language handicap”:

Whether rightly or wrongly, they decided against the widespread use of any one or several of the dialects and began to organize instruction in English. From that day to this, all educational problems in the Philippines have been foreign language problems. (Board of Educational Survey 127)

Thus, with thousands of teachers in the archipelago and primers filled with American flags and eagles, the United States has in 1902 an entire army prepared to begin one of the most exorbitant campaigns of alphabetization: the reduction of the entire Philippine school-age population to American glory. This was the goal of the first American Director of Education Fred W. Atkinson: “The home government demands rightly that as soon as possible the people of this Islands shall become Americanized. We must begin with the child. You cannot make Americans of the adult Filipinos [...] we may make of the child what we choose” (McMahon 50).

Glenn May portrays Atkinson as a *bon vivant* in Asia and describes Thomasites as ill-trained, regularly unsatisfied with the environment, and says school facilities

were “completely inadequate.”<sup>24</sup> Americans used the Spanish schools and the old Filipino teachers during the Spanish period (always begging proper payment). However, English was taught in place of Spanish. As a consequence, the majority of ilustrados and *principales* brought their children to private schools, where they could be educated according to Philippine cultural standards, until American pedagogy dominated the whole educational system.

In the end, the American work bore fruit, and overnight, the new Filipino generation became oblivious to their parents.<sup>25</sup> With an Oedipus complex, the romantic philosophers and poets in the Spanish language disappeared and their children plunged into the world of Englishes.

## CONCLUSION

The drastic minority position of the Spanish language after World War II, and its final elimination as an official Philippine language in 1987, had dramatic consequences for national heritage: the imprisonment of four centuries of history in forgotten libraries, the marginalization of the Filipino writer writing in Spanish, the necessity of translation, and the perpetual quest for a voice with which to express. As a result of being reduced to the limits of English, Filipinos became excessively folkloric or excessively cosmopolitan. Filipinas—an advanced and unique site of globalization—ended up believing the benevolent assimilation, forgetting the American conquest, and misrecognizing the long process of becoming Filipino:

Filipinos love their way of life. However, problems appear when they reflect on their identity and try to explain this to themselves, to fellow Filipinos, or to outsiders. This is not helped by the readiness of biased Anglo-Americans and fellow Asians who scorn the Filipino for not being truly Asian [...] Filipinos may be English-speaking but their culture is less known and less appreciated among the English-speaking public in Asia, Europe, or the Anglo countries than either the Tibetan or the Laotian. In the global competition for national prestige, the Ilocano, Tagalog, or the Visayan competes with one arm tied behind. (Zialcita 9-11)

## NOTES

1. The Chinese community played a relevant social, economic and cultural role indeed: “Chinese mestizos were a dominant social group [...] With their resources and position, they were the cultural vanguards of ‘native’ society, leading creators of a ‘Filipino-Hispanic’ identity in the nineteenth century” (Mojares 5).
2. Our translation: “What belongs to our parents is different from the heritage of our grandparents. What is ours is a conjunction of what generations have been leaving behind, subject to the mutations imposed by progress and civilization.”
3. The debate between the Liberal State and the *Ancien Régime* has deep roots and extended along the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some important references produced in the Philippines are: *Coloquio havido* 1813; Vélez; Lallave; Pazos; and Pellicena Lopez.
4. Perhaps this is part of the sense of the Rizalian “Touch me not,” *Noli me tangere*.
5. About the cultural impact of American imperialism in the Philippines see, from different points of view: May; Miller, Rafael (2000), and Salman.
6. There is a modern contestation to this program, in very different context, yet interesting to note in Easterly.
7. Our translation: “Dedicados a perseguir carreras literarias, a ejercitar nuestro conocimiento en especulaciones bizantinas, no hemos percibido que las fuerzas que impulsan a la humanidad hacia el progreso no son ni filosofía ni retórica, sino simplemente química y maquinismo.”
8. Our translation: “Ante el eterno símbolo granítico, / consagración de tus civiles palmas, / cumbre mental, sublime paralítico, / te aclaman hoy nueve millones de almas. / El tiempo, que devora despiadado / nobles recuerdos dignos de la historia, / sobre el rojo horizonte del pasado / conserva y magnifica tu memoria. / Hoy, como ayer, la multitud te aclama, / te elogia el sabio, te celebra el sistro; / y es actual, por imperio de tu fama, / tu investidura de primer ministro. / Murió el Estado efímero que urdiste, / sin otro alguno, ni anterior, ni análogo; / mas tu gobierno espiritual, subsiste, / está en vigor tu original Decálogo.”
9. We guess that the original Spanish version can perhaps exist in a neglected showcase with some of Palma’s files, secured in a private school in Manila.

10. Our translation: “Padre de la Armonía, fuente de gracias líricas, / que en piafantes corceles exploras el azur: / detén el nervioso ímpetu de tus fuertes bridones / ante el himno que reza por ti la Juventud. / Te amamos, padre Apolo, por tu tirso de rosas, / por tus bellos pegasos, por tu carro de luz, / porque tienes la lira, y la flauta y el pífano, / la siringa, el salterio, el sistro y el laúd.”
11. There is a large bibliography on American education in the Philippines, in many cases done by Filipinos, in many cases as doctoral dissertations, and evolving along the time in criticism. To mention some: Isidro; Guillén; Acierto, Santamaría Lardizábal; Alidio; Fauni; and Francisco.
12. Pineda-Tinio underlines in this review a short but demolishing criticism against post-colonialism as a way to academically endorse the colonial plot, give way to cultural accommodations and overshadow military and political impositions: “In the end, the ‘new paradigm’ that Ick claims to use is not much different from the nineteenth-century concept of ‘manifest destiny.’ [...] It is merely given a new name: ‘postcolonialism’” (583).
13. There is recently more consensus on undertaking a more critical perspective on education. See Bienvenido Lumbera, Ramón Guillermo & Arnold Alamon.
14. It is interesting to notice the ideas of Ernst Cassirer (2000) for this case, about the limits of imitation for self-expression and the tragedy of Culture dominated by natural and mechanical sciences.
15. Test in grammar, reading, spelling and composition as contained in Supplement n.º 21, series 1905, for Filipino children (copied in Mindo 11-12).
16. To the point to darken the flag in the essay *To the Person Sitting in Darkness*: “And as for a flag for the Philippine Province, it is easily managed. We can have a special one—our States do it: we can have just our usual flag, with the write stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and cross-bones” (McMahon 37).
17. There are many editions of this poem, between others: Retana 32-33; *Poesías por José Rizal* 92-93; *Discurso de Malolos* 134-135. Our translation: “LEMA.— ¿Crece, oh tímida flor! (*De un natural.*) / ¡Alza tu tersa frente, / Juventud filipina, en este día! / ¡Luce resplandeciente / tu rica gallardía, / bella esperanza de la Patria mía! / [...] Baja con la luz grata / de las artes y ciencias a la arena, / Juventud, y desata / la pesada cadena / que tu genio poético encadena.”

18. There is a column or article claiming for better salaries in practically every issue of the review. For instance: “Sin intento alguno de zaherir ni menos atacar sino mis bien de coadyuvar al Bureau de Educación, uniendo nuestros esfuerzos y los suyos, séanos lícito llamar su atención hacia una cosa. Tendamos nuestra mirada a los maestros municipales de los pueblos y barrios del Archipiélago, oscuros educadores, sí, pero que también contribuyen sus energías al desenvolvimiento intelectual del pueblo filipino. En la soledad de sus escuelas enseñan y educan a centenares de alumnos y perciben un salario muy exiguo que no remunera sus vigiliyas y esfuerzos en pro de la instrucción viéndose sumidos en una miserable estrechez económica” (*The Filipino Teacher*, 1907, vol. I, no. 4, p. 2).
19. Our translation: “Cuando América vino a Filipinas hace diez años anunciando su intención de establecer un sistema de educación libre para todo el pueblo, vosotros prontamente y con alegría disteis vuestro aplauso a este propósito digno del gobierno, y vuestra ayuda en todo lo posible para el desarrollo del programa educacional. Hemos contado con vuestro ardiente interés y vuestro generoso apoyo, y hemos podido, gracias a nuestros esfuerzos combinados, abrir 5,000 escuelas para la educación de 500.000 niños. Retrocediendo algunos años antes del día memorable cuando América vino a estas playas, veo a José Rizal como el principal defensor de la educación universal.”
20. The two finest works that contest the assumption that Spanish was not the lingua franca of Filipinos are Cano 2017 and Rodao.
21. See a severe criticism of this dictum in Pineda-Tinio.
22. From these traumas the theories exposed by Enríquez (1992).
23. The following quotation is also revealing of the alienation suffered by Filipino children: “This sense of inferiority is very clear in various student essays written in 1905 [...] Rufina Alma writes in her oration: “We have so many pupils that came from other towns to attend our school to be civilized because uncivilization is the worst thing that a person could be” (McMahon 55).
24. “While he should have been implementing the education bill, the General Superintendent seemed interested, most of all, in living the good life. He traveled to Hong Kong and Japan; he spent money freely; he and his wife were regulars on Manila’s dinner party circuit (May 146).

25. During the second part of the American period, and after the many hindrances manifested by the 1925 Board of Educational Survey's report, a soft process to accommodate Filipino children into the colonial state (without singing "I love the name of Washington") started. It was called "Filipinization," and, until now, it still causes ambivalence and naivety when its colonial softness is being perceived (Claudio, "Beyond Colonial").

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**Isaac Donoso** (isaacdonoso@ua.es) is professor at the Universidad de Alicante in Spain. He has completed grades in Arab and Islamic Studies (2001), Humanities (2003), Hispanic Studies (2003), and Musicology (2014). He holds a master's degree in Islamic Studies from the University of the Philippines (2008) and a PhD in Philology (2011). He has edited classical references for Philippine literature and history, as the *Noli me tangere* and the *Boxer Codex*.