



"Columbia's Easter Bonnet." *Puck*, April 6, 1901. (General Research Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations)

# COLONIAL CRUCIBLE

*Empire in the Making of the  
Modern American State*

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bureau's leaders gave far too little attention to the single consideration that mattered most if the Philippines was ultimately to develop its handicraft sector: the size of the market for the items produced in the schools. Instead, they adopted a *Field of Dreams* approach to handicraft production: the students would make the items, and the buyers would magically come. But most of the time the imagined stream of buyers did not come of its own accord, and the bureau's efforts to create demand (through industrial exhibits in Manila, displays at international expositions, and the promotional work of its sales department) were unsuccessful.

In the end, the bureau's industrial education program was more about activity than accomplishment. There were many Kodak moments and too few sales of Philippine hats, baskets, and lace. Rather than a successful business enterprise, the bureau's industrial operations turned out to be a mammoth experiment in busywork.

## The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico

PABLO NAVARRO-RIVERA

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES in Puerto Rico, as a colony of both Spain (1493–1898) and the United States (since 1898), were formulated to serve the needs of the imperial enterprise. Education under Spain was one of limited schooling and a task charged to the Catholic Church. The United States, on the other hand, viewed state education as the most effective and efficient entity through which to undertake the colonization of Puerto Rico. Immediately after wresting Puerto Rico from Spain in 1898, the United States began opening schools throughout the country and importing teachers from different U.S. states. Puerto Rican teachers were trained in the educational ways of the conquering nation. Teacher-training programs were instituted and scholarships were approved by the colonial legislature to send Puerto Ricans to educational institutions in the continental United States.<sup>1</sup>

The wave of U.S. expansionism in the nineteenth century closely followed the pattern set previously by the British Empire. Economic and military interests that drove the expansion were supported by theories of natural superiority and divine mandates or Manifest Destiny. However, the U.S. government did not adopt the general British practice of indirect government. The model of colonial governance instituted in Puerto Rico was closer to what the British would define as "Crown colonies." In fact, the United States did not formally recognize that it had colonies, preferring to use the term *territories*.

The expansion to the Pacific and the Caribbean in 1898 signaled the emergence of the United States as an empire in the making. According to principal leadership elements in the United States, Puerto Rico was an economically and militarily important country but was inhabited by inferior beings who needed to be "civilized" in order to maximize the potential benefits of the conquest. This was the same evaluation that they made of Indians and blacks in the United

States, as well as Cubans and Filipinos.<sup>2</sup> In the words of Charles Eliot, president of Harvard University at the time of the 1898 colonial war, "I am inclined to the belief that we shall be able to do Cuba and Porto Rico some good; though to do so we shall have to better very much our previous and existing practices in dealing with inferior peoples."<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding these sentiments, to some Puerto Ricans the new colonial power offered possibilities for social justice and a democratic political system unimaginable under Spain. These people regarded the 1898 invasion with optimism. Their idealization of the United States, however, would not be borne out. After nineteen months of military rule, on May 1, 1900, under the Foraker Act, the occupation forces established a highly centralized civilian government under the direct control of the U.S. federal government. With the exception of a brief period with local school boards, the educational system would become a similarly centralized structure led by a commissioner of education appointed by the president of the United States until 1948. The authority of the commissioner extended to the Normal School, established in 1900, and the University of Puerto Rico, founded in 1903.<sup>4</sup> Thus, contrary to its tradition of decentralized governance, the U.S. state coming out of the 1898 war opted instead to govern its new colonies in the centralized manner in which it governed the affairs of its Native American societies.

In the wake of its military victory in 1898, the U.S. government initiated what the dominant discourse called a "civilizing," "Americanizing," or "assimilationist" mission. A crucial step in this mission was to grind down or "pulverize" the constituent elements of the conquered peoples' cultural identities. In 1902 Samuel McCune Lindsay, the commissioner of education of Puerto Rico, noted, "Colonization carried forward by the armies of war is vastly more costly than that carried forward by the armies of peace, whose outpost and garrisons are the public schools of the advancing nation."<sup>5</sup>

The process of reacculturation went hand in hand with the steps taken to destroy the cultural identity of the conquered peoples. The Puerto Rican poet and political activist Juan Antonio Corretjer (1908–89) described those who were subjected to the educational policies and practices of the early years of occupation and conquest as "the most tortured generation."<sup>6</sup> To this end, the United States established a public system of "American" schools and an "American" curriculum in Puerto Rico in 1898, which included the stated goal of having English as the primary language of teaching and learning, a policy that lasted until 1948.<sup>7</sup> A year later, in 1899, the colonial government established a series of scholarships for vocational and university study in the United States. In 1900 a Normal School for teacher education was founded, following the model already in use in the United States for the education of Indians and African Americans.<sup>8</sup> On March 12, 1903, the United States founded the University of Puerto Rico, in which English was the official language of instruction until 1942.<sup>9</sup>

Teacher training became one of the main priorities of government officials in Washington and San Juan in this period. One hundred and twenty English teachers from the United States were sent to Puerto Rico to assist in the establishment of English as the language of instruction on the island. The Department of Education organized summer institutes for the education of teachers following the model used for similar programs at the Hampton Institute in Virginia and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School in Alabama. In addition, as it did in 1900, when 1,273 public school teachers from Cuba were sent to Harvard University for a summer of training in the English language and for the study of educational theories and practices, 540 public school teachers from Puerto Rico were sent to Harvard and Cornell University in 1904 to participate in a similar summer program. The magnitude of the summer programs at Harvard and Cornell in 1900 and 1904 is evidenced by the fact that 1,273 teachers in 1900 represented more than 40 percent of the Cuban teaching corps and the 540 Puerto Rican teachers represented 47 percent of the teachers in service in 1904.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

When Juan José Osuna arrived at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, at six o'clock on the morning of May 2, 1901, he was fifteen years old, stood four feet six inches in height, and weighed just eighty pounds. Osuna, who would become a noted Puerto Rican educator, wrote of his arrival at Carlisle:

We looked at the windows of the buildings, and very peculiar-looking faces peered out at us. We had never seen such people before. The buildings seemed full of them. Behold, we had arrived at the Carlisle Indian School! The United States of America, our new rulers, thought that the people of Puerto Rico were Indians; hence they should be sent to an Indian school, and Carlisle happened to be the nearest.<sup>11</sup>

By the time the school was closed in 1918, almost eleven thousand human beings had been subjected to one of the most ambitious experiments in the destruction of cultural identity and forced acculturation in U.S. history.<sup>12</sup> Of these, sixty had been sent by Puerto Rico's colonial government.

Carlisle's mission was close to the central purpose of U.S. education in Puerto Rico from the beginning. The first to be put in charge of the island's education system after 1898 was General John Eaton, who was a friend and sympathizer of CIIS. In January 1899, the same month in which General Eaton was appointed to his post on the island, CIIS's periodical, the *Indian Helper*, noted the adequacy of his role.

It is eminently fitting that the school teacher should follow the soldier into Porto Rico. If there is anyone who can successfully light the lamp of learning in the island

it should be General Eaton, who started so successfully the same work among the freedmen of the south at the close of the civil war.<sup>13</sup>

Soon thereafter, Eaton initiated the process by which young Puerto Ricans would be sent to Carlisle.

Colonial officials bought into this logic from the beginning. Martin G. Brumbaugh, commissioner of education in Puerto Rico in 1900 and 1901, indicated in his 1900 annual report that the island had neither good schools nor institutions of higher education and lacked the resources to establish them. On this basis he recommended that the colonial legislature establish scholarships for forty-five students to study in the United States each year. Twenty-five males would be sent to preparatory schools and universities and a second group of twenty males and females would receive scholarships of \$250 each per year to study at places such as Carlisle, Tuskegee, and Hampton.<sup>14</sup> Brumbaugh would later write black educator Booker T. Washington, whose work was highly regarded by federal officials considering what to do about the education of Cubans and Puerto Ricans, saying, "It has occurred to me that in order to break up their Spanish language we might scatter some of them into similar institutions; upon this subject, however, I am not clear and I write to you in perfect frankness for your advise [*sic*]."<sup>15</sup>

In her study of Carlisle, Genevieve Bell offers a perspective on the school that was absent from previous studies. Calling CIIS "the flagship of the American Assimilation era's education program,"<sup>16</sup> Bell observes that through such schools and institutes the federal government tried to "detrribalize" Indians and incorporate them "as individual citizens into the American nation." Students sent there "were learning to be Indian," and, as Bell points out, "within this context 'Indian' and thus 'Indianness' are the products of ongoing colonial encounters between indigenous peoples and the American Nation-State."<sup>17</sup>

Just as the "Negro problem" in the United States had led to the founding of the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, the "Indian problem" led to the founding of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879. The conquest of new peoples in 1898 added yet another such problem, and vocational schools, as well as institutions of higher education, were useful in devising methods for their training and acculturation.

Located in the town of Carlisle in central Pennsylvania, CIIS was the first Indian school to be founded by the federal government off a reservation.<sup>18</sup> The guiding policy of founder Richard Henry Pratt's "civilizing mission" was called "acculturation under duress."<sup>19</sup> The rationale for this policy was the supposition that once they were "thoroughly subjugated" Indians would have no means by which to resist their forced acculturation in institutions such as Carlisle. Writing to Frances E. Willard in 1888, Pratt explained the logic of such forced acculturation, observing that it was more practical than the alternative of having Indian

children socialized by white people, although he saw that as an ultimate solution. "There are about two hundred sixty thousand Indians in the United States, and there are twenty-seven hundred counties," he noted. "I would divide them up, in the proportion of about nine Indians to a county, and find them homes and work among our people; that would solve the knotty problem in three years' time, and there would be no more an 'Indian Question.'"<sup>20</sup>

If forced acculturation was the goal, it is little wonder that Carlisle operated like a military institute. On arriving there, students would get a bath, a haircut, "civilized" clothing, and a Christian name. The use of vernacular languages was forbidden; English was the only language permitted both day and night.<sup>21</sup> The day there began early and ended late. As Pratt indicated, "We keep them moving and they have no time for homesickness—none for mischief—none for regret."<sup>22</sup> The power that Carlisle had over its students, and the manner in which that power was wielded as an instrument of control, had a great impact on the students, including the Puerto Ricans. As an agency of the federal government, the school utilized its enormous power to facilitate or hinder the employment of its Native American students. Federal power over Indian individuals was enhanced by the fact that Indians were not granted U.S. citizenship until 1924, six years after Carlisle closed.<sup>23</sup> This legal inferiority and political disenfranchisement also affected the Puerto Rican students at Carlisle, as Puerto Rico was a colony at the time they attended. The United States would not grant citizenship to Puerto Ricans until 1917, just one year before the school closed.

I have not found information regarding the proportion of Carlisle students, including Puerto Ricans, who later returned to their communities of origin. This obstacle makes it difficult to analyze the phenomenon of return. We do know, however, that a significant number of Puerto Ricans who left the island to go to Carlisle either stayed in the United States or migrated frequently between the two countries. The fact that at least 1,850 students fled Carlisle, including five Puerto Ricans, is not given much attention in official reports.<sup>24</sup>

Carlisle generated a great deal of interest in both the United States and other countries. People from many parts of the world, including Cuba, Panama, Mexico, Argentina, and Japan, visited the school.<sup>25</sup> Carlisle was also visited by representatives of educational institutions interested in Pratt's "civilizing" and "assimilationist" experiment. In his campaign to portray the school as a successful experiment in civilization, one that could play a role in solving the Indian problem, Pratt encouraged such visits.

In viewing the role that race played in efforts (such as Carlisle's) of forced assimilation, one important factor that merits further examination is the racial and ethnic discourse common in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the manner in which the residents of new U.S. colonies were characterized within that discourse, and how this was reflected at institutions



Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1904 graduating class, with Zoraida Valdezate, first Puerto Rican to graduate, fourth from left in the third row.  
(Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania)

such as Tuskegee, Hampton, and Carlisle.<sup>26</sup> On the list of tribes represented at Carlisle, for example, there is one by the name of "Porto Rico." The staff at Carlisle wrote "Porto Rico" on the records of Puerto Rican students in the space indicated for tribe of origin. Jorge Duany likewise found that officials of the Smithsonian Institution referred to Puerto Ricans as Indians during this period.<sup>27</sup> Others, however, such as education secretary Brumbaugh and his correspondent, Washington, preferred to put Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the categories of "colored" or "black." As Duany has suggested, such alternative labels underscore ambivalence in the use of ethnic and racial categories. It is important to note that Puerto Rican students invariably crossed off the terms *Indian* and *tribe*, replacing them with *Puerto Rico* or *Puerto Rican*.

#### THE PUERTO RICAN EXPERIENCE AT CARLISLE

The first Puerto Ricans to study at CIIS were brought to the mainland by soldiers returning to their country after serving in the war of 1898. These young Puerto Ricans were sent to Carlisle upon arrival in the United States.<sup>28</sup> Between 1898 and 1900, ten Puerto Ricans went to study at Carlisle. Of these ten students, only Zoraida Valdezate graduated, in 1904. In 1901, 43 Puerto Ricans arrived at Carlisle from cities and towns around the island. Only five Puerto Rican students were admitted to Carlisle after 1901.

None of the sources consulted up to this point has revealed very much of what was known in Puerto Rico about Carlisle or why the parents and guardians of young people eleven to nineteen years old would have decided to send them there. Carlisle was one of several educational institutions allotted scholarships by a colonial government that awarded such scholarships to students with connections to the U.S. government in Puerto Rico.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear from the documents encountered so far that at least until the middle of 1901 neither the young people nor their parents or guardians had much information about the institution to which the government was sending them. In their view, Carlisle was simply one of the schools in the United States for which the colonial government had approved scholarships. One may suppose, however, that both students and adults thought they would be attending an institution where they would learn English and other subjects prerequisite to professional studies.

According to Osuna, who was interviewed by Brumbaugh regarding the educational scholarships, he was informed that the colonial government was providing Puerto Rican youths with scholarships for professional studies in the United States. He had traveled to Carlisle with the impression that he would receive an education that would prepare him for the field of law.

In other applications to Carlisle, however, potential students mentioned their interest in learning English and receiving a vocational or business education.<sup>30</sup> Some students, such as Providencia Martínez of Ponce, are said to have been

unaware that Carlisle was a school for Indians. The limited correspondence available regarding Puerto Rican students is filed among the school's student records and is almost exclusively between students or their families and school officials. This correspondence might not be a representative sample of the Puerto Rican experience at Carlisle since most of the island students chose not to maintain contact with the school.

Although we do not have letters or applications from the Puerto Ricans who attended Carlisle between 1898 and 1900, the documents we have found, particularly those pertaining to the group of forty-three students who arrived there in 1901, do not paint a positive picture of the Puerto Rican experience there. Complaints by students and parents that Carlisle was not what they had been promised led to a 1901 visit by the Puerto Rican journalist and politician Luis Muñoz Rivera, who concluded that the colonial government had not misled parents or students about the programs of study offered there.<sup>31</sup> A number of Puerto Ricans escaped, and others made use of their stay at the institution to enter business schools or universities. Eleven students returned to Puerto Rico on orders from their parents and only seven out of the sixty students graduated.

Sixteen letters by students have been found. Many contain numerous orthographic and grammatical errors. The ones included here appear as they were written so that the reader will have the opportunity to examine them in their original form. In a letter to the then superintendent of Carlisle, M. Friedman, Providencia Martínez revealed:

Some time I begin to talk about the Indian school and I think it is a dream. Really, we did not know that the school was a regular school for Indians when we went there, because Miss. Weekly never told us the real truth.<sup>32</sup>

Martínez also commented on her father's view of Carlisle.

After I came to P. R. lots and lots of time I talk to my dear papa about the Indian school and the poor father he used to cry thinking that that place was not a place where we could be happy. You can imagine why he thought so. Down here we do not know anything about good Indians but of those that you read in books that are regular animals.

Matilde Garnier, of Ponce, arrived at the school in 1900. She felt that it represented an opportunity that she would not have had in Puerto Rico. In response to a questionnaire sent out by Carlisle in June of 1911, Garnier indicated:

I have nothing of interest to tell you but I will tell you that the education in Porto Rico has improved a great deal since the Americans came up here. We have at the

present time great many public schools all over the Island even in the far away countries where the teachers have to go on Mondays at horse back and returned home on Friday afternoon.<sup>33</sup>

Records were kept for some of the students, but for others there is only a registration card containing very little information. Only a few of the photographs in the archives identify students as Puerto Rican.<sup>34</sup> José Prado, for example, complained in 1917 because he was assigned kitchen work at Carlisle. Prado, who studied there from November 1913 to August 1918, asserted that since his family was paying his tuition he should be allowed to choose the kind of work he would do. A Carlisle official replied, "As long as he was a member of our school, we would plan for him just as we would for the Indian boys who do not pay tuition."<sup>35</sup>

Osuna was not happy at Carlisle. In his article "An Indian in Spite of Myself," he described the education there as "not exactly in keeping with my preconceived ideas of the 'land of promise'."<sup>36</sup> At this time he learned about Carlisle's "outing" program, described by Pratt as the "supreme americanizer." Under this program, the students lived, usually during the summer, in private homes in places such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. As part of the program, the students worked for their host families in return for room and board and a small salary. In March 1902, Osuna was placed with a family in Orangeville, Pennsylvania, where he was submitted to a "strict, puritanic life." In reference to Carlisle, Osuna wrote:

Instead of returning in the fall of 1902 to Carlisle, I remained with my employer and went to a rural school. I did not want to return to Carlisle. Frankly, I did not like the place. I never thought it was the school for me. I was not an Indian; I was a Puerto Rican of Spanish descent.<sup>37</sup>

Osuna did not return to Carlisle until 1905 to attend his graduation. This was, in his view, his way of escaping from Carlisle.

Dolores Nieves, of Caguas, was fourteen years old when she arrived at Carlisle in May 1901. After leaving the school in the spring of 1905, she worked in Pennsylvania for a few months and returned to Puerto Rico toward the end of that year.<sup>38</sup> From Caguas, Nieves contacted Carlisle, hoping to gain admission to the school for the adolescent boy being raised by her mother or to get help in placing him with a family. Nieves wrote to CIIS superintendent Friedman that

both his parents are dead, he is such a smart boy in everything, he is in the eighth grade in school, he is also in the band here, yet he is not more than sixteen years old, and my mother would like him to get a good education and learn the English well, but as he can not do that here, she would like him to go to the States and make a man of him.

In the same letter, Nieves also wrote:

I have told him [the boy] everything that he will have to do, and how he shall have to behave and everything, in fact, I have anticipated him of the rough times that he shall [have] to put up with. I know that we had it hard sometimes in the home that we used to go to, we used to think that such places were hard, at the time, but we didn't know then that in order to taste the sweet, we first must taste the bitter, as the saying is in this country. Today I thank God for the hardest time that I had at any country homes and at Carlisle.<sup>39</sup>

Carlisle responded that the boy would have to pay tuition of \$167 per year and could only be admitted if the federal Office of Indian Affairs so authorized. Friedman turned Nieves down. Toward the end of 1915, Nieves was again living in Kirkwood, New Jersey, where she wrote to Friedman asking him to admit her seven-year-old son to Carlisle. In her letter to Friedman, Nieves said that it was impossible for her to both care for her son and work a sufficient number of hours to make even a bare living. On December 8, 1915, the superintendent informed Nieves that Carlisle was not then accepting students of her son's age. That letter is the last document in Nieves's file.

#### CONCLUSION

According to representatives of the U.S. government, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, North American Indians, African Americans, and other colonized peoples such as Filipinos and Hawaiians all needed to be "civilized." To make this civilization possible, according to Pratt, it was critical to "light the lamp of learning."<sup>40</sup> The journey to civilization would take some Puerto Ricans to elite preparatory schools and universities and others to vocational schools such as Carlisle and Tuskegee.

The process of civilization, which included the grinding down of salient cultural features, would transform "inferior peoples" into "colored scholars." Through schooling, according to educators such as Eaton, Brumbaugh, and Pratt, this process would result in the adaptation of the conquered peoples to the dominant society. The underlying educational principle adopted for the "civilizing mission" was "acculturation under duress." The United States established a number of institutional structures for this purpose, of which Carlisle was but one. The same strategy was followed in Cuba and Puerto Rico, where the educational system itself acted as a broadly conceived colonizing mechanism.

To implement their educational policies in Puerto Rico, the United States established a highly centralized system of governance similar to the government organized for the Philippines. This form of governance was not dissimilar to the manner in which the United States governed native groups, including their education. This practice was exceptional for a society otherwise characterized by a

decentralized approach to the government of cities, towns, and schools. In the case of Puerto Rico, education was initially under the authority of the U.S. military from 1898 to 1900. Toward the end of the military government local school boards were established. These had the authority to hire teachers. But according to Osuna, the effort to decentralize the school system failed.

Osuna does not explain the nature of the opposition to decentralization, nor does he, other than a reference to conflicts between political parties, examine in any detail the "political and social conditions" that contributed to the failure of this initiative. Although he affirms that centralization was necessary "due to the failure of the local boards to perform their duties" he offers no explanation to support his claim.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Osuna does not elaborate on his claim that the law providing for local school boards was "too democratic." The law was short-lived and was followed by an increasing degree of centralization.

Language is one of the evident preoccupations encountered in the relevant documentary sources. More than one hundred years after the founding of Carlisle, words such as *Americanization* and *assimilation* continue to have currency. We still hear the word *American* used to mean "from or having to do with the United States." These words and definitions, which were used by Brumbaugh, Pratt, and many others, were repeated by Ryan in 1962 and Bell in 1998, among other scholars, without reflection on or criticism of their meaning, contextual effect, or descriptive imprecision. The words and concepts used in historical reflection and discussion remain those brought to prominence by the architects of colonial wars like that of 1898 and of identity-crushing grindstones like Carlisle.

The impact the CIIS had on its Puerto Rican students is one of the areas that warrant further study. We know that most did not like CIIS. We also know from CIIS documents and other source materials that connections to government officials played a decisive role in the awarding of scholarships. The same documents show that former CIIS students found good jobs in both the public and private sectors on their return to the island. Several occupied positions of authority in the colonial government, be it in the central government, public education, or the U.S. postal or armed services. In a period when loyalty to the United States was a requirement for government-controlled employment, the apparent social and economic accomplishments of the recipients of scholarships could suggest that the "acculturation under duress" policies instituted in Puerto Rico after 1898 and in institutions such as CIIS resulted in success for the imperial enterprise.<sup>42</sup>

Carlisle's influence and ideology extended beyond the school's grounds in central Pennsylvania. As previously stated, the outing program was Carlisle's "supreme Americanizer." Based on an examination of the letters and other communications between officials at Carlisle and former students, this program was certainly of much significance. In this correspondence we find positive evaluations of the experience some students had at the school. Other former students

reproached the officials of Carlisle for the way they had been treated. Dolores Nieves rebuked Carlisle for its role in the difficult times she had to endure under its auspices, particularly in the outing program. Osuna, who apparently did not stay in touch with Carlisle, wrote in "An Indian in Spite of Myself" that his overall experience there was negative.

Although Osuna left the CHS campus in Carlisle, he spent years in Orangeville, Pennsylvania, under the outing program. Orangeville was a puritanical town, the ideal environment that Pratt and the federal government sought for the reacculturation of Carlisle students. In this sense, Osuna did not leave Carlisle as long as he was part of the outing program. Orangeville was an extension of Carlisle or, to an even greater extent, Carlisle was an extension of Orangeville.

## Understanding the American Empire

*Colonialism, Latin Americanism, and  
Professional Social Science, 1898–1920*

COURTNEY JOHNSON

"I WENT TO PERFORM A LAWYER'S DUTY," Elihu Root said modestly of his service as secretary of war under President William McKinley. In the summer of 1899, when Root received a telephone call at his New York law office from Washington offering him this cabinet post, he protested that he had no knowledge of war or the army. But the White House aide is said to have replied, "President McKinley directs me to say that he is not looking for anyone who knows anything about war or for anyone who knows anything about the army; he has got to have a lawyer to direct the government of these Spanish islands, and you are the lawyer he wants."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, few would play a more decisive and lasting role in setting the course for the United States' particular brand of empire than this New York corporate lawyer.

In the story of twentieth-century American imperialism, Elihu Root, perhaps more than any other figure of comparable significance, has been overlooked. Amid the bluster of popular debates between jingoists and anti-imperialists, the discreet and resourceful Root worked behind the scenes to do the institutional heavy lifting necessary to realize the imperial designs of his more visible clients. Cultivating networks that brought leaders in finance and government into dialogue with those in academe, he helped to create the conditions whereby certain branches of the social sciences, in what later became known as "area studies," would come to inform and be informed by matters of foreign policy—a development with profound implications for the institutional architecture of the imperium.

Understanding the new style of imperial state that Root was so instrumental in constructing requires expanding received notions about the role of imperialism in the conduct of U.S. statecraft. If the history of the so-called American century has taught us anything, it is surely that American imperialism has by no means been limited to the "unwilling" or anomalous acquisition of direct-rule

43. RDE, 1924, pp. 158–59.
44. Board of Educational Survey, *Survey of the Educational System*, p. 282.
45. RDE, 1927, pp. 190–91; RDE, 1928, pp. 174–75; RDE, 1929, p. 151.
46. Robert F. Lane, *Philippine Basketry: An Appreciation* (Makati: Bookmark, 1986), pp. 5–6.
47. W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), vol. 1, pp. 463–68.
48. Daniel F. Doeppers, *Manila, 1900–1941: Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis* (New Haven: Council on Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, 1984), pp. 22–23; Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr. and Virginia A. Miralao, *Southern Tagalog Embroideries: A Case Study of a Philippine Handicraft*, Handicraft Project Paper Series, no. 5 (Manila: Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, 1985), p. 9.
49. Doeppers, *Manila*, pp. 22–23; Aguilar and Miralao, *Southern Tagalog Embroideries*, pp. 8–12.
50. Educational policy makers rarely hinted that the Philippines would play a significant role in the evolving industrial age except as a producer of raw materials.

NAVARRO-RIVERA—THE IMPERIAL ENTERPRISE AND  
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN COLONIAL PUERTO RICO

1. My initial work on the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was published as "Acculturation under Duress: The Puerto Rican Experience at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1898–1918," *Centro Journal* 18, no. 1 (spring 2006): pp. 222–59. This essay, while drawing much from the earlier one, examines the policy of forced acculturation in the broader context of educational policy in Puerto Rico during the early years of United States rule.
2. Warren Zimmerman, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).
3. Charles W. Eliot to S. L. Parrish, September 21, 1899, Harvard University Papers, C. W. Eliot, Box 92, Letter Book, C. W. Eliot, January 17, 1898, to March 23, 1903, p. 42A.
4. Pablo Navarro-Rivera, *Universidad de Puerto Rico: De control político a crisis permanente, 1903–1952* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 2000).
5. Puerto Rico Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 257, quoted in Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900–1930* (Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1971).
6. Corretjer, dir. J. Meléndez, 1989.
7. Roamé Torres González, *Idioma, bilingüismo y nacionalidad: La presencia del inglés en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2002). Also see Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico*; and Amílcar Barreto, "Enlightened Tolerance or Cultural Capitulation?" in this volume.
8. Roamé Torres González, "Prólogo histórico al establecimiento of la Escuela Normal Industrial de Fajardo: Antecedentes metropolitanos e insulares," *Revista Pedagogía* 35 (2003): pp. 6–33.
9. Pablo Navarro-Rivera, "Colonialism and the Language of Teaching and Learning at the University of Puerto Rico," *Journal of Pedagogy, Pluralism, and Practice* (fall 1999), <http://www.lesley.edu/journals/jppp/4/navarro.html>.
10. Puerto Rico Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 14–15.
11. Juan José Osuna, "An Indian in Spite of Myself," *Summer School Review* 10, no. 5 (1932): p. 3.
12. According to Barbara Landis, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School History," <http://home.epix.net/~landis/histry.html>, 2001, 10,702 students attended Carlisle between 1879 and 1918, including 2,090 who were not classified by tribe or nation.

13. *Indian Helper*, January 27, 1899. See also Landis, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School History."
14. Puerto Rico Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education* (1904), p. 25. Members of the colonial legislature, as well as officials of the colonial government, constituted the selection committee for the scholarships, which typically went to sons and daughters of the elite and well connected.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
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