

## **ANTONIO SOTO CARLO**

**Antonio Soto Carlo received his BA at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez. He is currently working on an MA in Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign focusing on History of the Caribbean. His current MA project deals with Puerto Rico's Patron Saint Festivities as markers of national identity.**

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### **AMERICANIZATION AND RESISTANCE IN PUERTO RICO'S PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM: A LANGUAGE ISSUE, 1898-1940s**

**Antonio Soto Carlo, M.S.  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies**

The great mass of Puerto Ricans are as yet passive and plastic... Their ideals are in our hands to create and mold. If the schools are made American..., the island will become in its sympathies, views, and attitude toward life and toward government essentially American.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Victor S. Clark,  
First Commissioner of Education, 1899

For a country, as for a man, his tongue is almost as his life; it is the vehicle to perceive and transmit feelings, ideas, passions, knowledge, emotions, plights, requests, insults, praises, desires, everything; it is in addition the machine to build, expand, or modify those same things.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Epifanio Fernández Vanga  
Puerto Rican Educator, 1926

## **Introduction**

Puerto Rico has been a colony for two of the most influential empires in recent world history: Spain and the United States of America. For more than 510 years now, Puerto Rico has been subject to two different governments controlling different aspects of its social life. Beginning in 1898, and throughout the twentieth century, Puerto Rico has been under the control of the United States (U.S.) in all matters of social, political, and educational relevance. However, it was during the early twentieth century that the people of Puerto Rico became under a strong federal policy of cultural assimilation called Americanization.<sup>3</sup> This Americanization project was mostly carried in the public school system during the first four decades of the U.S. occupation.<sup>4</sup>

Americanization in Puerto Rico consisted of the transmittal of U.S. values and ideals into the Puerto Rican society. An important aspect of the Americanization project was the imposed adoption of the English language by the Spanish speaking Puerto Ricans. The purpose of this paper will not only attempt to document the existence of this Americanization project, as this has been done before.<sup>5</sup> Instead it will analyze the Americanization project and the resistance process to these policies by the people of Puerto Rico.

I will concentrate on language as the main issue of Americanization and the resistance process undertaken by Puerto Ricans. Language is known to be one of the main aspects that define cultures in any part of the world, and Puerto Rico is no exception.<sup>6</sup> In this paper I will explore the U.S. official governmental policies and its intentions to change Puerto Rico from being a Spanish speaking country to English speaking through formal education during the first four decades of the U.S. occupation. In addition, I will seek to understand the resistance movements, which suggests a strong level of cultural identity helping Puerto Ricans against the assimilation project.<sup>7</sup> These assimilation policies were present in other facets of the school system such as the usage of patriotic symbols (i.e., U.S. flag, songs, patriotic leaders and presidents), games (i.e., baseball, basketball), and U.S. gender based curriculums (i.e., home economics, manual training), however, I will discuss them with less detail.

It is important to note that the Americanization movement was an official policy in the United States in the early twentieth century<sup>8</sup>. This movement, which carried an anti-foreigner and anti-catholic mentality, was developed because of an increase in immigration to the U.S. from diverse parts of the world after the 1880s. Americanization in the U.S. was undertaken by intellectuals, educators, social workers, and legislators who supported education rather than outright repression in order to assimilate foreign immigrants.

I will explore the political aspect of Americanization in Puerto Rico, since it is embedded in the cultural assimilation agenda.<sup>9</sup> Even to this date, the political status of Puerto Rico has been under constant reevaluation, and language has been central in these discussions. Therefore, the school system generated heated discussions throughout the first 50 years of U.S. occupation between the pro-Americanization and the resistance forces of teachers, local reformers, political resistance movements, and students, which again revolved around the language issue.<sup>10</sup>

In order to understand the U.S. political and educational occupation of Puerto Rico, we should also understand the hegemonic agenda that permitted U.S. extended stay on the island<sup>11</sup>. Under the Spanish colonial rule, education was not as fully developed as in other places in Latin America or the Caribbean<sup>12</sup>. Puerto Rico lacked schools at the elementary and superior levels. Education was left for the elites and while educators in Puerto Rico argued for an improvement in the school system, it was declined constantly. On the other hand, the U.S. colonial regime had the agenda of improving the school system, as it would help consolidate the Americanization project. Puerto Rican educators were glad that the U.S. was opening new schools in many towns in the island, and for the first time in Puerto Rican history a university was founded in 1903, which had been in the requests of Puerto Ricans under Spanish colonialism. Therefore, while the U.S. colonial rule was attempting to Americanize Puerto Ricans, they on the other hand were providing the so long desire of Puerto Rican educators of a better education system. Therefore, while some of the resistance movement appealed at the termination of U.S. colonialism in general, others resisted only the imposition of English, but not to the development of the school system as a whole.

The reader will notice that sometimes in the paper the name “Porto Rico” appears rather than the traditional “Puerto Rico”. This is because with the new U.S. government the Spanish name “Puerto Rico” was changed to “Porto Rico” to make it sound more “American”. In 1932, the United States Congress passed a resolution and the name was changed back to its original form “Puerto Rico” after much resistance in schools and in society in general.

The sources I used for this paper include an array of secondary sources, and most importantly several official publications from the Department of Education in Puerto Rico. These include the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Education from 1910, 1925, and 1931-34. In addition, I will use three “Official Bulletins” published by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico these were: General information of the Public School System (1917), The Rules and Regulations of the High Schools (1927), and the Job Analysis of the Work District Supervisors (1928).

### **Origins of the Education System in Puerto Rico**

After the Spanish-American War in 1898, Puerto Rico was ceded to the U.S. government through the Treaty of Paris along with Cuba and the Philippines. Puerto Rico was under a military government from 1898 to 1900. During this time all local matters were in control of a military governor, who usually was a general. In November 29, 1898, right after the end of the war, Puerto Rico received its first governor in Major General John R. Brook, who abolished the Provincial Deputation and made other changes in the insular administration. Major General Guy Henry, who created the Department of Justice, Finance, and Interior, followed him on December 6, 1898. On May 9, 1899, General George W. Davis became the third military governor of Puerto Rico. General Davis abolished the existing form of government and created the Bureau of Internal Revenue, a Bureau of Agriculture, a Bureau of Public Works, a Judicial Board, a Board of Charities, a Board of Health, a Board of Prison Control, a Board of Insular Police, and the office of Civil Secretary of the Military Governor. Notice that a department of Education was not created during the Military Government.

In April 19, 1900, the United States Congress passed a law creating a Civil Government in Puerto Rico. Known as the Jones Act of 1900, this new law changed the Military Government that endured for two years and installed a Civil Government composed of a Governor and an Executive Council of eleven members to be appointed by the President for terms of four years. It also included a House of Delegates of thirty-five members, and a Resident Commissioner in Washington to be elected by qualified voters. The Executive Council and the House of Delegates comprised the Legislative Assembly. On May 1, 1900 the new government was established with Charles H. Allen as the first Civil Governor.

Puerto Rico is divided into *municipios* or municipalities. There were 77 *municipios* in the island at the time of the U.S. occupation. This municipal governmental structure, in its majority, did not change with the change of power in 1898. The only change in the *municipios* was that the election of a major every four years. Each *municipio* had a board of administration composed by: the major, school director, director of public works, the director of charities, and the municipal treasurer.<sup>13</sup>

Twelve days after the U.S. flag was raised in Puerto Rico a group of local representative citizens met in San Juan and discussed plans for public education under the new government. The local representative citizens suggested that the new public education be modeled after the U.S. public education, which was considered superior. Among the new institutions and projects the representative citizens suggested the implementation of schools for adults, Sunday schools, schools for the arts and trades, libraries, museums, academies for the fine arts and literary clubs.<sup>14</sup> In addition, they suggested the establishment of three levels of education: fundamental, secondary, and professional.

While the local representative citizens made recommendations for the new public education system, Governor General Guy V. Henry made the first official utterance regarding public education in Puerto Rico. First, he proposed that English should be the medium of instruction in every school, even though the vast majority of the people did not know English. In addition, he ordained the recruitment and importation of “American” women teachers to instruct in the schools. These women were going to be paid \$50 a month for their services.<sup>15</sup>

Before developing any concrete plan to construct a new education system in Puerto Rico, the U.S. government needed to assess the situation of the education system at the time. Dr. John Eaton, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, and Dr. Victor S. Clark made the first assessment of the public school system in January 1899. At their arrival, no report was developed because of the chaotic state in the island due to the excitement of the war, departure of teachers to Spain, and the absence of a legal head in the education system. However, in April 1899, after a thorough investigation, they were able to make some recommendations.

Dr. John Eaton became the Chief of the Bureau of Education in charge of all educational and charitable institutions, and in May 1, 1899 presented the first two concrete recommendations for the public school system in Puerto Rico. These recommendations resulted in “Law of School Districts” and “Law Concerning Public Instruction.”<sup>16</sup> The *Law of School Districts* consisted of declaring each municipio a proper school district. In addition, each municipio had a board of trustees or school board composed of five members elected by the people. On the other hand, the *Law Concerning Public Instruction* defined Public Schooling, the rights of pupils, and the school year calendar. Among its details, this law stated that school was free to the people, in addition to establishing High Schools, and a Normal School that later developed into the University of Puerto Rico in 1903.

The *Law of School District* was received with opposition by the colonial government even though it was supposed to bring better school policies since it was run locally. The argument for opposition was that it was too democratic. It gave too much power on local officials, who might not know well the true manner of implementing a U.S. based system of education. In a sense there was a lack of trust that Puerto Ricans were able to maintain this system. In the eyes of the government, Puerto Ricans were not ready for a decentralized education system. Therefore, a centralized system of public education was established, expecting a better implementation of U.S. education in the island. At the same time in May 1899, Governor General George Davis began to recruit Puerto Rican teachers in order to fill the quota for the new schools because “American” teachers were not enough

for the demand. As part of the centralization of the education system the Military U.S. government divided the Island into six districts with representatives in each district. These were: District 1 San Juan; District 2 Fajardo; District 3 Arroyo; District 4 Ponce; District 5 Mayagüez; and District 6 Arecibo.

The first “American” schools had several things in common. These schools were the primary setting where the Americanization project took place. One of the primary goals was that every child needed to learn English, and teachers made every effort to make students acquire English as their first language. For that reason, many English speaking U.S. teachers were brought to the island to teach, in addition to any U.S. certified English speaking Puerto Rican.

Teachers were assigned to teach “American” patriotic symbols. An example of a Manual Arts classroom displaying the U.S. flag can be seen in a photograph from the Department of Education Bulletin of 1917 (see Appendix 1). At the start of each school day, students were supposed to salute the U.S. flag, and swear allegiance to the great Republic, which it represented.<sup>17</sup> Photographer Jack Delano in 1941 shows us a regular day of classes where children pledge allegiance to the U.S. flag (see Appendix 2). In addition, U.S. officials noted that Puerto Rican children were very musical in nature, so they used U.S. traditional songs so that students could sing them.

Moreover, sports and extracurricular activities were school tools for the Americanization of children. The Boys Scouts of America, which carried many values of a well-behaved young boy, was initiated early in the island (see Appendix 3). Finally, baseball was introduced in the schools so that children would learn a true “American” sport, and with it “learn and use the terms relating to the game in English.”<sup>18</sup> In 1910 the commissioner made the following statement, “there is no doubt but that baseball is exercising a beneficent influence in the Americanization of the island and in lessening the different kinds of vice.”<sup>19</sup> Therefore, songs, patriotic stories, the flag, the Boys Scouts, sports, and the swearing of allegiance; all represented early instruments used to start Americanizing children. In the eyes of U.S. officials, public education, and everything that it entailed,

resulted in one of the best policies implemented in the Island as part of their Americanization project.

The new rearrangement of the education system in Puerto Rico brought much disinterest within the local boards in each school district. This was not because of a lack of new education opportunity, but because of the misunderstandings between two very different civilizations. It must be understood that the efforts of U.S. officials in implementing an education system in Puerto Rico was made with little consideration to the fact that Puerto Rico was a Latin American country. On the contrary, their purpose was to create a system of education that resembled any system found in any state of the Union.<sup>20</sup>

The University of Puerto Rico was founded in 1903 in Río Piedras the town next to San Juan. It was the first university ever founded in Puerto Rico, and its origin traced back to 1900 with the creation of the first Normal School in Puerto Rico. The first purpose of the University was to graduate teachers who were fluent in the English language and could work in local schools. In 1910 The College of Liberal Arts was created, followed by The College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in Mayagüez, a town located at the opposite side of the island. The college of Law and Pharmacy was created in 1913. By 1920 the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras consisted of the Normal College, College of Liberal Arts, College of Law and Pharmacy, and in Mayagüez the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts.

We can see that while the U.S. colonial regime was creating new educational opportunities for the island, they were created for the purpose to Americanize Puerto Ricans. Unified resistance against the colonial regime will develop around this Americanization agenda, particularly around the imposition of the English language since it threatened against Puerto Rican nationhood. The newly created University of Puerto Rico, a school created to train Americanization agents, would be the scenario where much resistance from faculty and students will take place throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

### **School Administration and Supervisors**



In 1900 the Department of Education became centralized after a brief experiment of decentralization. Instead of having a district per *municipio*, the system was divided into seven districts all responding to the central office in San Juan. The commissioner of Education in 1900 was Dr. M.G. Brumbaugh, and he had two Assistant Commissioners. Dr. Brumbaugh had the special task to try to create in Puerto Rico an Education System as equal as any in the Union. For that matter he tried to adapt as faithfully as possible the school system in Massachusetts to Puerto Rico.<sup>21</sup> Among the duties of the Commissioner were to prepare all courses of study, conduct all examinations, prepare and issue all licenses to teachers, select books, prepare reports and statistics.

The government of the United States, in order to assure that the creation of a new Education System in Puerto Rico was a successful, appointed Commissioners that served conjointly in the upper house of legislature in Puerto Rico, giving him a great deal of power and further centralization. As described in the Report of the Governor of Puerto Rico in 1915, the Commissioner of Education had many other responsibilities, which included:

Member of the Executive Council, Member of the Public Service Commission, President of the Board of Trustees of the University of Puerto Rico, Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, President of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Library, President of the Teachers' Pension Board, and Chairman of the Chapter School Committee of the Puerto Rico Chapter of the American National Red Cross. Through recent legislative action he has been made a member of a scholarship committee and a committee to investigate and pass on pension claims of certain teachers.<sup>22</sup>

With these responsibilities and centralization, the Commissioner of Education had a large amount of influence on the educational and social life of Puerto Rico. This power gave the Commissioner the authority to be a key factor in the Americanization of Puerto Ricans, because many of the transcendental decisions being made revolved around one person. In a sense, the level of democracy could easily be put into question, since authority of many governmental institutions rested in the hands of only one person.

Another important character in the new school system in Puerto Rico was the School Supervisor. Supervisors were appointed because of the need for English teachers. These

supervisors were both English and U.S. nationals and held degrees from U.S. or English Universities, with the idea that English was well transmitted into the system. There were no supervisors from Puerto Rico, even though they were equally prepared and graduated from European Universities.

Nevertheless, the number of Puerto Rican supervisors changed dramatically more than a decade later. By 1920, 31 of 41 supervisors were Puerto Ricans.<sup>23</sup> By 1928, there were 45 supervisors, and while there was the interest to recruit more supervisors, there was no active recruitment of English or U.S. supervisors.<sup>24</sup> This change in supervisory role can be understood in two ways. One could be that the colonial regime recognizes that by using local educators their Americanization project could be better implemented since supervisors could identify better with teachers and the community. The other, that local educators gained more acceptance in supervisory roles because of Puerto Rican educators proven abilities and their active resistance to an all U.S. English language system of education.<sup>25</sup>

Probably more than supervisors and other school officials, teachers were the ones who ultimately carried on the project of Americanization since they interacted and instructed the students. Teachers under the new U.S. government needed to have certain qualifications in order to get hired. They needed to possess: a) a degree from a U.S. or European University, b) a doctorate from a U.S. or European University. Teachers in Secondary or Normal Schools needed to have a degree from a University in the U.S. or Europe. Teachers in elementary schools needed to be college or normal school graduates, and having at least one year of teaching experience. Every teacher needed to be certified as teachers, and since local teachers under the Spanish system did not have the certification, they needed to pass a U.S. based examination or be graduates from “reputable” colleges, normal schools, or universities. As stated by the Department of Education, the standard of the examination “shall be maintained equal to that observed in New York State, Ohio, Minnesota, California and other states of the Union.”<sup>26</sup>

Not all teachers could have worked in the schools, only the ones that were “approved” by the authorities. By implementing all of these rules the new government assured that not

only were students getting a “good” education, but also they assured that their project of Americanization was being carried out by reliable “certified” personnel. By having examinations equal to “other states of the Union”, they were sure that these teachers knew English well enough to teach in the system. Not only U.S. authorities implemented examinations to local teachers to assure a “good” education, but they also campaigned heavily to recruit teachers from the U.S.<sup>27</sup> Having teachers with English as native language and with U.S. culture and ideals, would make effective the Americanization project. As described in the 1927 Bulletin on Positions Open to American Teachers, the Department of Education was looking specially for teachers of English first, and then for other “special” teachers. The request of teachers of English had the following specific description:

Teachers of English are usually assigned to upper-grade work in the grammar schools. They should be prepared to teach the following subjects: English reading and grammar, arithmetic, American history, civics, geography, physiology, music, drawing and free-arm writing. English is used as the medium of instruction. A knowledge of Spanish is not necessary, but a valuable asset, especially if a teacher is assigned to one of the smaller towns.<sup>28</sup>

We can see that knowing Spanish is not a requirement and is not expected from teachers. Spanish was relegated to a second place by the school system. This is very important in the government’s effort to Americanize Puerto Rican students and the population in general. Even though teachers of English’s main concern and duty was to teach English, it can be argued that with a Spanish-speaking population lack of Spanish would be very difficult to communicate. The goal was to force English, and teachers were the principal actors and actresses in this effort.<sup>29</sup>

## **Language and education**

### *Assessment of the school system and language*

The education system in Puerto Rico was examined as soon as the military officials began to establish U.S. dominance in Puerto Rico. After the end of the war, the U.S. abolished the precarious educational system that Puerto Rico had under the Spanish government. U.S. officials rated the Spanish based educational system in Puerto Rico as undeveloped and almost non-existent. They came to the island to create better opportunities to the

people under a democratic government. These better opportunities would be created only if the people of Puerto Rico were properly educated and assimilated to the “American” culture. Mr. Victor S. Clark, one of the first Commissioners of Education in the island, after evaluating the school system issued the following recommendations in October, 1899:

The great mass of Puerto Ricans are as yet passive and plastic... Their ideals are in our hands to create and mold. If the schools are made American..., the island will become in its sympathies, views, and attitude toward life and toward government essentially American.<sup>30</sup>

As described in this quote, Puerto Ricans were considered weak people, with a weak culture, and “plastic”, which could be easily modified to fit American ideals. Americanization was looked upon without taking into consideration that Puerto Rico was a nation that had strong cultural identity and local traditions.

Among the new ways in which Puerto Ricans could gain better opportunities under the U.S. government was the adoption of the English language. The Spanish language spoken in Puerto Rico was relegated to a “patois” or dialect with now literary value<sup>31</sup>, and English was the language that would create opportunities for the people.

As Pedro Cabán discussed in his exploration of the U.S. colonization in Puerto Rico, the Americanization project was carried out by an Executive Council appointed by the president and composed of U.S. officials, which among other things orchestrated the use of English as medium of instruction in the public schools.<sup>32</sup> The schools experienced a great deal of change not only in the curriculum, but in other areas of the school life, such as student organizations and extracurricular activities.

As stated by Edwin G. Dexter in his report of the Commissioner of Education in 1910, 89.5% of the schools were taught wholly in English, as compared to 66% the preceding year.<sup>33</sup> According to the same report, English instruction “in the public school system in Porto Rico have been fulfilled without any hardships to teachers or pupils, and with very little resistance”.<sup>34</sup> Commissioners were very invested in the success of making English the medium of instruction in the island, but as we will see later, this policy found much

opposition throughout the island. The positive language used by Commissioners at the beginnings decades of the occupation could be seen as a discourse of representation that wanted to create “Americans” out of Puerto Ricans at any cost.

### *School curriculum*

High School curriculums were created to place English as the main subject of learning, and Spanish was relegated to a second place. While English was taught in all four grades in High School, Spanish in the third and fourth years was an elective that could be chosen among French or Latin. The following is a traditional “Course of Study” for the High Schools in Puerto Rico in 1910:

Of the 16 units required for graduation, 4 must be in the English language, 2 in either Spanish, Latin, or French; 2 in history, and 1 in science. The remaining 5 units may be chosen, under the direction of the principal, from the various elective subjects offered.<sup>35</sup>

By making Spanish a subject to “choose”<sup>36</sup> it was lowered to a second position in regards to English, giving the message that it was not important to learn it any more. However, in 1910, only 3.6% of the population knew English.<sup>37</sup> It could be easily questioned how 89.5% of the schools in Puerto Rico had English as medium of instruction when only 3.6% of the population knew English. While the report of the Commissioner mentions the number of schools that have English as medium of instruction, it does not include how many students actually knew English. This action could be understood as wishful thinking and a great political propaganda to achieve assimilation goals, because in reality the vast majority of the people, and specially children, did not know English.

Juan B. Huyke in his report of the Commissioner of Education in 1925 gives a different scenario with respect to the teaching of English. Even though English was the medium of instruction, Spanish was beginning to climb the status ladder within the system, as the first four grades were taught in Spanish. The fifth grade was a transition grade, where half of the subjects were taught in English and half in Spanish. However, English was the medium of instruction from sixth to twelve grade, with the exception of the Spanish course, which was taught in Spanish. In addition, since Puerto Ricans received U.S.

citizenship in 1917, it shows the relationship of English and the status of the island, which the Commissioner correctly indicated as an “experiment.”

The aim of the school, besides that of preparing children for life, has been the “acquisition of English and the conservation of Spanish”. This aim is fully in harmony with the racial traits of Porto Ricans and with their political relationship with America. Whether we should begin the teaching of English in the first grade or in a higher grade and how we should teach it, has been a question of discussion and experimentation for many years. What we have now is the result of twenty-five years to devotion to the cause of education and experience in teaching Porto Rican children.<sup>38</sup>

We see that even though Spanish was now being taught in the first four grades, English was still a “requisite” for Puerto Ricans because of the political relationship with the U.S. United States Citizenship carried on the duty to acquire English as the official language, but the Spanish language could be conserved. Puerto Ricans were seen with different “racial traits”, but instead of using this to justify its assimilation; U.S. school officials began to see it as a justification for the maintenance of the Spanish language. In other words, their efforts to minimize the importance of the Spanish language to Puerto Ricans were not having the expected success, therefore it was slowly included it in the curriculum.

Under Commissioner José Padín in 1934 we see an even greater importance of the Spanish language. It was further included in the curriculum in all grades, even though English was still the medium of instruction. Chapter three of the report is solely dedicated to the Spanish language in the curriculum. This chapter was created by Miss Carmen Gómez Tejera, who was the supervisor of Spanish within the school system. I will quote her first paragraph of her report, as it reflects precisely the new policies with respect to the Spanish language.

In view of the needs of the Island in the teaching of the vernacular, as shown by the results of the several surveys conducted, attention has been mainly directed during the last three years to the following major lines of work: the construction of courses of study for the elementary and high schools, the training of teachers in the technique of teaching the subject, the

devising of a modern method of teaching reading in the first grade, and in general, the awakening of an active sense of responsibility toward teaching of the mother tongue.<sup>39</sup>

As expressed by Miss Gómez Tejera, the Spanish language was recovering its importance within the school system. Of the three reports used in this paper, this is the first that included a section on Spanish, and referred to it as the “vernacular.” Spanish was becoming not only an important subject to be learned, it was gaining the respect from the system as being the “mother tongue.” The fact that Spanish as “mother tongue” appears in the Report of the Commissioner, suggests that much of the resistance performed by many groups in the island was gaining consideration by the government. The process of active governmental Americanization was beginning to pass into a declining phase.

Moreover, the course of study of the elementary school also experienced drastic changes towards the teaching of Spanish. The Department of Education, under the leadership of a *Central Committee* composed of the faculty of the Elementary School of the University of Puerto Rico and the Spanish Supervisor, framed a new course of study after various experiments throughout 1931 and 1933. They developed a new course of study that would follow the new *Programa de Lengua Española para las Escuelas Elementales de Puerto Rico*<sup>40</sup> (Program of the Spanish Tongue for the Elementary Schools of Puerto Rico). This new course of study had several characteristics which included: a) It is adapted to children’s interests and experiences; b) It provides opportunity for the cultivation of artistic and literary taste; c) It suggests poems, stories and pictures which children like; and d) It provides for the enrichment of pupil’s vocabulary.

In High Schools, the teaching of Spanish gained further status as presented in the 1931-34 Report. The curriculum included classes that highlighted local, as well as Hispanic culture. Spanish classes in High Schools included: Popular Puerto Rican literature, Literature of the eighteen century in Spain, Historic novels in Spanish America, Puerto Rican art, Puerto Rican literature.<sup>41</sup>

Why did the Spanish language become part of the curriculum after a decade of public instruction? What were the mechanisms that influenced this change in colonial attitude? What were the roles from politicians, community leaders, local teachers, and students in this change? Later in the paper I will respond to these questions with a discussion of the process of resistance to the policy of English as medium of instruction. First, I will discuss the specific reforms that governed the public school system and their progression throughout the first four decades of U.S. occupation.

### *School Policies*

The first school language policy was created under the commission of Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh after he became the Commissioner of Education 1900. This school policy was known as *The Brumbaugh Policy: 1900-1905*<sup>42</sup>, and it stated that both English and Spanish would be taught from the beginning of first grade. Spanish was to be used as the language of instruction in the elementary schools. In High Schools, English was to be used as the medium of instruction and Spanish would be taught as a special subject. This Policy had intentions of eventually making English the only medium of instruction in the public school system of the island.

Ronald P. Falkner followed Dr. Brumbaugh as the Commissioner of Education in 1905. He was able to follow up with the first school policy in its intent to make the school system entirely in English. Therefore, *The Falkner Policy: 1905-1916*<sup>43</sup>, became the reform that instituted English as the medium of instruction for all grades of the school system. This was a hard task since there were few teachers of English in Puerto Rico. However, with the recruitment of U.S. teachers and the training of more locals to become English teachers, by the end of the year 1911-1912, the change from Spanish to English as the medium of instruction was practically complete.<sup>44</sup>

In 1916, Paul Miller became the Commissioner of Education and implemented a third school policy. This became known as *The Miller Policy: 1916-1934*.<sup>45</sup> The Miller Policy was a blend of the Brumbaugh Policy and the Falkner Policy, as it stated that Spanish was the medium of instruction for the first four grades, both Spanish and English in the fifth



grade, and English in the remaining three elementary grades. In High Schools, English remained the language of instruction.<sup>46</sup>

The next school policy was a breakthrough in the education system in Puerto Rico. In 1930, José Padín became Commissioner of Education, and during this time and 1934 he conducted additional studies addressing the language issue.<sup>47</sup> Finally, in 1934, he issued The Padín Policy: 1934-1937, which formally made Spanish the medium of instruction in all grades of elementary school. English continued to be a special subject of instruction beginning in the first grade.

### **Resistance**

As I presented earlier, the imposition of English as medium of instruction in Puerto Rican schools produced much discontent that led to the previously mentioned reforms. The following section will attempt to describe the mechanisms embedded in the resistance movement to the imposition of English instruction in the school system in Puerto Rico.

Resistance against English instruction occurred in different contexts of Puerto Rican life and by different actors and actresses.<sup>48</sup> One of the major protagonists of this resistance was the Teachers Association of Puerto Rico (TA).<sup>49</sup> The TA organized in Ponce in May 1911 advocating against English instruction, in favor of the adoption of Spanish as the medium of instruction, and demanding the respect of the “mother tongue”.<sup>50</sup> They met in general assembly at Arecibo on December 27, 1912 and stated the following utterance:

The work which La Educación<sup>51</sup> has been carrying out regarding the teaching of Spanish in Puerto Rican public schools has not been fruitless. Day after day we have worked for the defense of our mother tongue and at last today we see our efforts and publicity crowned with success by the meeting of the Teachers Association held in Arecibo. The motion approved there, calling on the Department of Education to establish Spanish from now on as the medium of instruction in all public schools, constitutes the triumph of our exertions.<sup>52</sup>

After this general assembly the House of Delegates of Puerto Rico introduced the Bill No. 35 of 1913 that stated “in every grade up to the eight grade instruction must be carried out in Spanish, giving English the status of a preferential subjects in all those grades.”<sup>53</sup> This

bill later produced what was called the Miller Policy of 1916 which made Spanish the medium of instruction for the first four grades. As seen in this example the TA had tremendous influence on the education system and the legislature branch. The TA was an institution that moved the masses and appealed to people's concerns about an open Americanization project. Their publication *La Educación* was an accessible document that made the public identify with the Teachers as a united group.

Another example of resistance can be found in the case of individuals who took matters into their own hands. Persons that have political power, personal charisma, innate intelligence, and oratorical ability, can move forward the process of social change more effectively. This was the case of political leader and elected speaker of the Puerto Rican House of Delegates, José de Diego. De Diego was a firm believer in the ideal of Puerto Rico's independence. In addition, he was a strong believer in Spanish instruction and took initiatives that actively pursued this goal. He was a member of the legislature when a second bill was passed regarding the Spanish language. Following the 1913 Bill that presented Spanish as language of instruction in elementary schools, the 1915 Bill not only argued for compulsory use of the "vernacular" in schools, it also argued that Spanish had to be used in all judicial processes.<sup>54</sup>

De Diego's proposal in the second general assembly of the Antillean Academy<sup>55</sup> in Havana, Cuba in 1916 addressed the issue of the Castilian language against the growing Americanization agenda in Puerto Rico. Part of his proposal for the establishment of this Academy was the "dedication of all efforts of the Academy for the recognition of the Castilian language as the medium of instruction in the public Rural, Intermediate, and High Schools, Universities, Institutes, and Special Schools in Puerto Rico."<sup>56</sup> De Diego placed his words in practice. With the help of the *Committee of Parents*, he announced the founding of a Puerto Rican High School under the name of *Instituto José de Diego* that intended to accept 100 students.<sup>57</sup> As we see, De Diego had influence not only at the judicial, legal, political, and educational level, but also at the community level.

In addition to De Diego, there were other individuals who took the role of active resistance to English instruction and Americanization; this is the case of Epifanio Fernández Vanga.

Fernández Vanga was not against learning English in schools. He believed that it could be beneficial to any human being to learn other languages. However, he was strongly against the replacement of Spanish by English. In his 1931 book El idioma de Puerto Rico he would make the following remarks about the mother tongue:

For a country, as for a man, his tongue is almost as his life; it is the vehicle to perceive and transmit feelings, ideas, passions, knowledge, emotions, plights, requests, insults, praises, desires, everything; it is in addition the machine to build, expand, or modify those same things.<sup>58</sup>

Fernández Vanga made this remark at the height of the resistance movements in Puerto Rico. Even though he did not have the same political force as De Diego, he was an educated person who throughout his life worked to defend education and the full incorporation of the Spanish language in the schools. His 1931 book is a collection of his works and the works of other authors who published extensively in local newspapers throughout the 1920s. The publishing of these articles, which represented active propaganda against the Americanization project, were one of the tools for spreading resistance sentiments to the masses.

Another scenario that evidenced the mechanisms of resistance to the Americanization project was the University of Puerto Rico.<sup>59</sup> Pablo Navarro Rivera's book concentrates on the struggles played out in the University of Puerto Rico over U.S. educational and political policies. Among the protagonists of this struggle were the students.<sup>60</sup> The University of Puerto Rico was growing at a rapid pace, and its student population was becoming even more aware of colonial policies. Students actively protested against the use of English instruction and they made sure that their voice was heard. In a letter to president Truman in 1946 students protested against imperial policies and the colonial state.

The stubbornness of the North American imperial politics, which even wants to impose the language, seems, sometimes, because of its brutal unyielding, make us lose "the last ray of hope", and make us heroically throw ourselves in an unequal and suicidal fight.<sup>61</sup>

As we see the overtone of the discourse was highly political and passionate. By being educated people, it could be argued that they were more suited to understand the political

and cultural consequences of making English the official language. University students as being the mid point between adolescence and adulthood could understand both sides of the resistance movement. On one side they were being taught in English and knew the difficulty this arose in the learning process, yet, on the other side they were being old enough to possess the urgency to contribute to society. They were energetic and could engage in activities that require high levels of commitment as evidenced in the seven day strike of 1946.<sup>62</sup>

Professors were another group from the University of Puerto Rico that embarked in the resistance movement. Faculty members had been resisting English instruction since the 1920s with the elaboration of numerous studies as evidenced in the contributions to the 1926 Columbia University study. Professors not only had pedagogical reasons to oppose to English instruction, but also cultural and political reasons.<sup>63</sup> In 1946 they met in a general assembly and reacted against the presidential policies toward the use of English in the University. Among the resolutions adopted by the professors' general assembly were: 1) To Protest firmly against presidential policies regarding language, 2) To establish in the University of Puerto Rico the Spanish language as medium of instruction in all classes, 3) To support the struggles of the Teachers Association of Puerto Rico to establish Spanish as the medium of instruction in all public and private schools, 4) To extend that formal request to the resolution of the lack of sovereignty of the People of Puerto Rico, since this is indispensable to the language and educational issues, and all other issues that affect the Puerto Rican community.<sup>64</sup> These resolutions were to be sent to the United States President, to the U.S. Congress, the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, to the Presidents of the legislature branches in Puerto Rico, to the Teachers Association of Puerto Rico, and the local and international press.

Resistance against the Americanization movement was also undertaken at the political level as we have seen with the example of José de Diego. Americanization was as much a cultural and educational movement as it was a political one. For that reason different political movements not only resisted to Puerto Rican colonization and fought for independence, but they also advocated the recognition of Puerto Rico's cultural nationhood. Such was the Partido Nacionalista of Puerto Rico.<sup>65</sup> Advocating absolute

independence and the respect of Puerto Rican nationality, which included the Spanish language, the Partido Nacionalista was founded in 1922 and was the first political party that publicly adopted the Puerto Rican flag as their political symbol in open defiance the U.S. colonial regime. Nationalists, contrary to what some scholars have suggested, came from all over the island as the Partido gained acceptance from people of the working classes.<sup>66</sup>

However, it was during the 1930s, under the leadership of Harvard-educated Pedro Albizu Campos, that the Nacionalistas increased their resistance against colonial impositions from the U.S.<sup>67</sup> They entered the electoral race in 1932, but did not win. However, they kept an active agenda that would confront U.S. economical exploitation in Puerto Rico and uphold Puerto Rican nationalism, through rallies, strikes, or nationalist newspapers such as “El Nacionalista de Puerto Rico”, “La Nacion”, “La Palabra”, and “La Acción”, in addition to “El Intransigente”, “La Republica”, “Armas”, and “La Antorcha”.<sup>68</sup>

The Partido Nacionlista during the 1930s had two important entities that would help in the struggle against U.S. colonialism, the Patriotic Association of Puerto Rican Youth (APJP) and the National Federation of Puerto Rican Students (FENEP).<sup>69</sup> The Federation, founded in 1931, was an organization of university students that would aid in the promotion of nationalist ideals within the University Campus. The Federation followed the public program of the Association, which included among other things “the promotion of culture among the Puerto Rican youth and will cultivate civic and moral virtues in the sense of filtering into them the love for our flag, our language, our art, our traditions, and above all things our Puerto Ricanness.”<sup>70</sup> As part of their activism, the Federation participated in a strike in 1931 held at the University of Puerto Rico, where several of its members were expelled from the university.

As mentioned before, Pedro Albizu Campos was the leader of the Partido Nacionalista and of the Nacionalista movement in general. Understanding his commitment to free Puerto Rico from the political and cultural subjugation will shed light into the strong resistance movement against Americanization. Albizu Campos was a charismatic leader and fluent orator. He was strong defender of the Spanish language and Puerto Rican Spanish

heritage. Albizu Campos held many rallies denouncing American colonialism, but there were some speeches in the 1930s that made him famous and added to colonial authorities' fear of a growing nationalist and pro-independence movement. In his speech commemorating the Day of the Race (Columbus Day in the U.S.) October 12, 1933 Albizu Campos expanded on the greatness of Spanish Puerto Rican heritage and invited the people to undertake the task of resuscitating the greatness of Puerto Rican origins. He stated "He who is not proud of his origins, will never worth anything because starts to devalue himself."<sup>71</sup> Albizu Campos passionately believed that knowing, appreciating, and respecting Puerto Rican origins and culture was the most important consideration in gaining political and cultural independence from the U.S. In addition, he was very aware of the resistance struggle that the Puerto Rican youth were undertaking against the Americanization movement in the schools. As part of an interview in 1926, Albizu Campos stated "even though of the unfortunate *Yankism* in the schools and the seduction of the national budget, a powerful youth is rising inspired in the apostolate of De Hostos, Betances, De Diego Duarte and Martí."<sup>72</sup>

As we can see the resistance movement against Americanization encompassed not only educators, but also politicians and the people in general. Pedro Albizu Campos and the Nacionalistas in addition to aspiring to attain independence for Puerto Rico, they also advocated for the respect and pride of Puerto Rican cultural forms, which included the Spanish language. It is important to note that resistance to the imposition of English came from different parts of society. Nationalists were not necessarily educators, and educators were not necessarily nationalists. Regarding the students and Professors of the University of Puerto Rico, these were essential within the resistance movement in favor of the Spanish language in the school system and the end of the Americanization project. As we see, their efforts spanned across international lines and gathered efforts with the prominent Teachers Association of Puerto Rico. Every group involved in the resistance against Americanization created a moral and pedagogical union in favor of Spanish, which made the resistance movement even stronger. In addition, their educational arguments carried a political nuance that had also a significant weight on the political future of the island.<sup>73</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This paper focused on the Americanization project in Puerto Rico from the imperial government of the United States throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century. I focused on the dilemma created when English as medium of instruction was introduced in the public school system in Puerto Rico a Spanish speaking nation. The colonial empire had the intent to make the Puerto Rican population an English speaking possession that could equal any state of the Union. As the English language was introduced in the curriculums of the school system, the Spanish language was left behind as something of the past. In fact, it was something of the past since it represented the language of the previously defeated Spanish government.

Nevertheless, the introduction of English into the school curriculum, and the intended devaluation of the Spanish language were confronted with much resistance from many parts of the Puerto Rican population. The resistance employed by several groups of the Puerto Rican population, is evidence that contrary to what the U.S. officials thought, Puerto Ricans were a valid and strong nation that valued extensively its “mother tongue” and culture. The characters that participated in one way or another in this resistance put forth a great deal of sacrifice as they reacted against the push of an Empire on the rise. Ultimately, after several decades of resistance, where the identity of a nation was at stake, Puerto Ricans were able to defend their language and slowly achieve their goal of making Spanish the medium of instruction in the public school system.

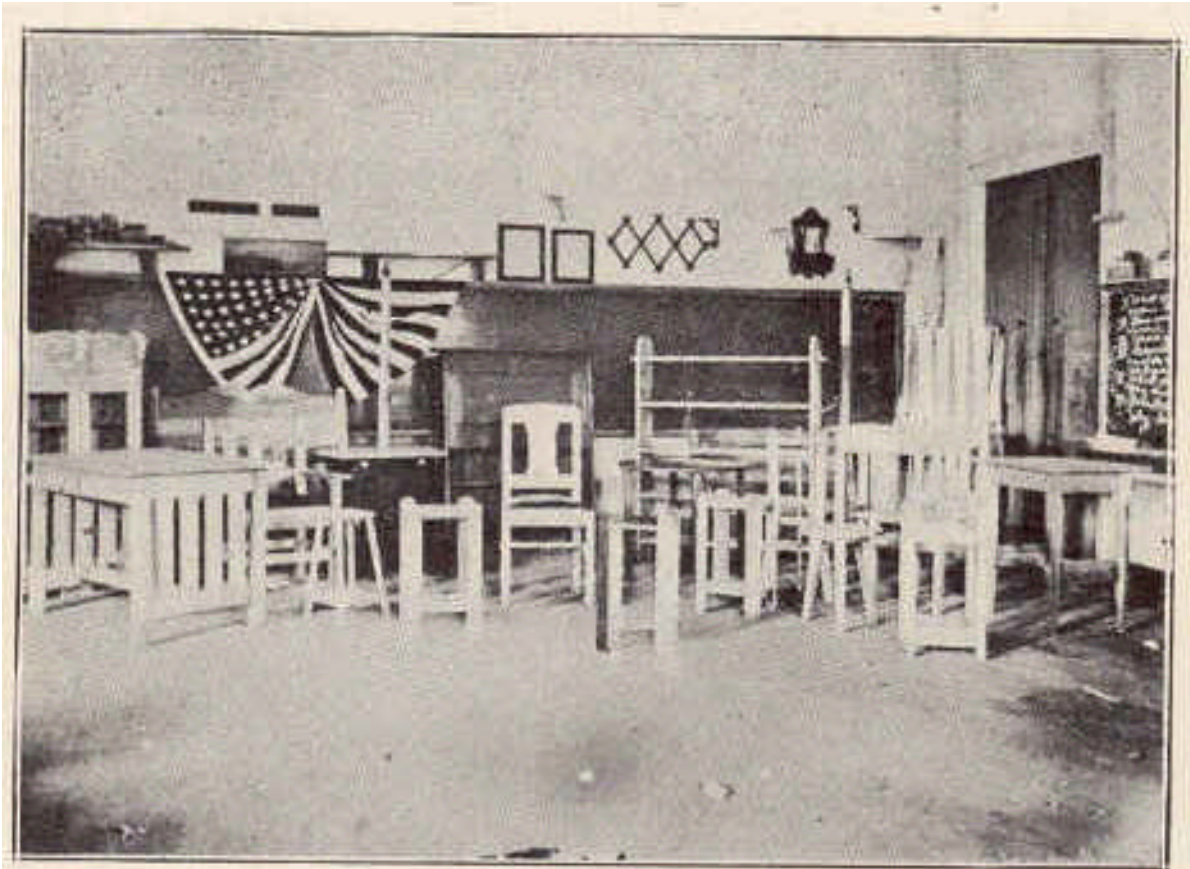
My goal was to show the mechanisms embedded in the resistance movement to English as medium of instruction in the schools of Puerto Rico. The sources used for this paper were limited, as I only found three Reports of the Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico. Further research should include a larger data collection not only Reports from the Commissioner, but also circular letters, legislature bills, District Supervisors Journals or reports, teacher reports, the Teachers Association’s reports, and La Educación’s Magazine, among other sources.

Puerto Rico being a twenty-first century colony, has never gained a full definition over its political status, even though the purpose of the Spanish-Cuban-American War was

supposed to bring freedom from a colonial regime. Therefore, further research regarding the Americanization project and the school system need to look closer to its connection with the struggles over the island's political status from an hegemonic point of view. If there has been liberation groups in Puerto Rico, and since the Americanization project was so insulting to many on the island, why did Puerto Rico's movement for independence not achieve their goals? How the failure of the Americanization project had an effect on the prolongation of the colonial status of the island? There are many questions still unanswered, and many articles and books to be published on the topic. While scholars continue to answer some of these questions, the fact is that Puerto Rico in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and after 512 years still remains as the oldest colony in the world.



Appendix



Manual Training Exhibit, Juana Díaz, P. R.

[1] Manual Arts Classroom.<sup>74</sup>



[2] Girl pledging allegiance to the U.S. flag before class starts.<sup>75</sup>



Boy Scouts Organizations assist in carrying out the school program.

[3] Boys Scouts of America in Las Piedras.<sup>76</sup>

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Direct quote from the Davis Report, 1899, p.180, in Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975), p. 13.
- <sup>2</sup> Translated from the Spanish from Epifanio Fernández Vanga, El Idioma de Puerto Rico y El Idioma Escolar de Puerto Rico., in The Puerto Rican Experience. (New York: Arno Press, 1975), p.95.
- <sup>3</sup> Raymond Carr, Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment. (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Pedro Cabán, 1999. Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999).
- <sup>4</sup> Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975); José Manuel Navarro, Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898-1908. (New York: Routledge, 2002).
- <sup>5</sup> Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975)
- <sup>6</sup> San Juan Cafferty and Carmen Rivera Martínez, The Politics of Language: The Dilemma of Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981).
- <sup>7</sup> Alícar A. Barreto, 2000. Speaking English in Puerto Rico: The impact of affluence, education, and return migration. *Centro Journal*, 12, 5-17
- <sup>8</sup> Dennis Baron. The English-Only question: An official language for Americans? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
- <sup>9</sup> San Juan Cafferty and Carmen Rivera Martínez, The Politics of Language: The Dilemma of Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981).; Pedro Cebollero, La Política Lingüístico-Escolar de Puerto Rico. (Puerto Rico: Imprenta Baldrich, 1945).; Edwin Epstein, Politics and Education in Puerto Rico: A Documentary Survey of the Language Issue. (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1970).; Pablo García-Kuenzli, El proceso de Americanización en Puerto Rico: Un problema ético. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Análisis, Inc., 1969).
- <sup>10</sup> Pablo Navarro Rivera, Universidad de Puerto Rico: De Control Político a Crisis Permanente, 1903-1952. (Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán, 2000).
- <sup>11</sup> See Efrén Rivera-Ramos, The legal construction of identity: The judicial and social legacy of American colonialism in Puerto Rico. (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2001). Michael Gonzalez-Cruz. The U.S. Invasión of Puerto Rico: Occupation and Resistance to the Colonial State, 1898 to the Present. *Latin American Perspectives*, (25), 5: 7-26. 1998.
- <sup>12</sup> See Cayetano Coll y Toste, Historia de la Instrucción en Puerto Rico hasta el año de 1898. (San Juan: Taller Tipográfico Boletín Mercantil, 1910).
- <sup>13</sup> Juan Osuna, A History of Education in Puerto Rico. (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1949).
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.130
- <sup>15</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. Bulletin of General Information on Positions Open to American Teachers in the Public School System of Porto Rico. (Bulletin, 1917, No. 2, Whole Number 11).
- <sup>16</sup> Juan Osuna, A History of Education in Puerto Rico (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1949).
- <sup>17</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. Report of Education of Porto Rico 1910. (From the Report of the Governor of Porto Rico, 1910, pages 153-203, inclusive). Washington
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7
- <sup>21</sup> Juan Osuna, A History of Education in Puerto Rico (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1949).
- <sup>22</sup> Report of the Governor of Puerto Rico. 1915. As cited in Juan Osuna, A History of Education in Puerto Rico (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1949). p. 140.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- <sup>24</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. 1928. Job Analysis of the Work District Supervisors: A survey. (Bulletin No. 23, Whole No. 99). San Juan, Porto Rico: Bureau of Supplies, Printing, and Transportation.
- <sup>25</sup> Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975). p. 140.
- <sup>26</sup> The school laws of the Island of Puerto Rico, May 1, 1899, Part II. Laws concerning Public Instruction, Sec. V. As cited in Juan Osuna, A History of Education in Puerto Rico (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1949). p. 153.

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<sup>27</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. 1917. Bulletin of General Information on Positions Open to American Teachers in the Public School System of Porto Rico. (Bulletin, 1917, No. 2, Whole Number 11). San Juan, Porto Rico.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13. Direct quote from the Davis Report, 1899, p.180.

<sup>31</sup> Raymond Carr, Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment. (New York: New York University Press, 1984). p.282-284.

<sup>32</sup> Pedro Cabán, 1999. Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932. Boulder: Westview Press,1999). p.122.

<sup>33</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. 1911. Report of Education of Porto Rico 1910. (From the Report of the Governor of Porto Rico, 1910, pages 153-203, inclusive). Washington.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup>

<sup>37</sup> U.S. Dept. of Commerce 1993b: 87; 1984: II; 1973: 625-626; 1963: 121. As stated in Almícar A. Barreto, 2000. Speaking English in Puerto Rico: The impact of affluence, education, and return migration. *Centro Journal*, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. 1926. Report of the Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1926 to the Governor of Porto Rico. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Bureau of Supplies, Printing and Transportation.

<sup>39</sup> Government of Puerto Rico, Department of Education. 1935. Report of the Commissioner of Education, Years 1931-34. San Juan, Puerto Rico. p. 48.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.51.

<sup>42</sup> Pedro Cebollero, La Política Lingüístico-Escolar de Puerto Rico. (Puerto Rico: Imprenta Baldrich, 1945). p. 8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>47</sup> I mention “additional studies” because there were numerous studies addressing the language question conducted in Puerto Rico throughout the Americanization years. These studies addressed the appropriateness of the teaching of English in the Puerto Rican schools. One the major and most complete studies conducted was *A Survey of the Public Educational System of Porto Rico* in 1926 by a team of researchers from Columbia University lead by Dr. Paul Monroe. In this classic and influential study the researchers found, among other things that English as medium of instruction was detrimental to the Spanish speaking Puerto Rican children in the early years. The report stated that it was “futile” to attempt to develop mastery of the English in the primary school. Furthermore, it stated that it was not “justified” the use of English instruction until the seventh grade. See Paul Monroe (Ed.), A Survey of the Public Educational System of Porto Rico. (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926). p.114-115.

<sup>48</sup> Erwin Epstein (Ed.), Politics and Education in Puerto Rico. (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.,1970).

<sup>49</sup> Alfonso García Martínez, Idioma y Política. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Cordillera, 1976).

<sup>50</sup> Luis Muñoz Souffront, El Problema del Idioma en Puerto Rico: Esfuerzos de la Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico para Alcanzar la Solución del Problema. (México,1950). p.13-14.

<sup>51</sup> La Educación was the Teachers Association’s official publication.

<sup>52</sup> La Educación, January 15, 1913, p. 17 (r.t.). As cited in Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria,1975). p.134-135.

<sup>53</sup> La Democracia, March 11, 1913, p.1. As cited in Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria,1975) p.134

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p.140.

<sup>55</sup> The Antillean Academy was an organization that united Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico in the promotion and conservation of the Castilian language in order to forge unity among the Antilles. De

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- Diego, José. Nuevas Campañas: Independencia de Puerto Rico, Union Antillana, Solidaridad Ibero-Americana (Barcelona: Sociedad General de Publicaciones. 1916).
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.312.
- <sup>57</sup> Aida Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System, 1900-1930. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975, p.140-141).
- <sup>58</sup> Translated from the Spanish from Epifanio Fernández Vanga, El Idioma de Puerto Rico y El Idioma Escolar de Puerto Rico., in The Puerto Rican Experience. (New York: Arno Press, 1975), p.95.
- <sup>59</sup> Pablo Navarro Rivera, Universidad de Puerto Rico: De Control Político a Crisis Permanente, 1903-1952. (Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán, 2000).
- <sup>60</sup> Arthur Liebman, The Politics of Puerto Rican University Students. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970).
- <sup>61</sup> Direct quote translated from the Spanish in Pablo Navarro Rivera, Universidad de Puerto Rico: De Control Político a Crisis Permanente, 1903-1952. (Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán, 2000). p.81.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid., p.82.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.84.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., p.85-86.
- <sup>65</sup> Ramón Medina Ramírez, El movimiento libertador en la historia de Puerto Rico. (San Juan: Imprenta Nacional, 1964).
- <sup>66</sup> Miñi Seijo Bruno. La insurrección nacionalista en Puerto Rico, 1950. (San Juan: Editorial Edil, 1997).
- <sup>67</sup> Luis Angel Ferrao. Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño. (Harrisonburg, VA: Banta Co., 1990). Michael Gonzalez-Cruz. The U.S. Invasión of Puerto Rico: Occupation and Resistance to the Colonial State, 1898 to the Present, *Latin American Perspectives*, (25), 5: 7-26. 1998.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 352-353.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 129.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 133.
- <sup>71</sup> Pedro Albizu Campos. Cuatro discursos, dos extractos, una entrevista. (San Juan: Patria Nuestra, 1969).
- <sup>72</sup> Interview by Bernal Díaz del Caney for the newspaper "Los Quijotes" in 1926. Pedro Albizu Campos. Cuatro discursos, dos extractos, una entrevista. (San Juan: Patria Nuestra, 1969).
- <sup>73</sup> See Alfonso García Martínez, Idioma y Política. (Puerto Rico: Editorial Cordillera, 1976).; and San Juan Cafferty and Carmen Rivera Martínez, The Politics of Language: The Dilemma of Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981). for further discussion on the political implications of the language issue.
- <sup>74</sup> Government of Porto Rico, Department of Education. 1917. Bulletin of General Information on Positions Open to American Teachers in the Public School System of Porto Rico. (Bulletin, 1917, No. 2, Whole Number 11). San Juan, Porto Rico.
- <sup>75</sup> Picture circa 1941 by Jack Delano, Puerto Rico Mío: Four Decades of Change/Cuatro Décadas de Cambio. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).
- <sup>76</sup> Government of Puerto Rico, Department of Education. 1935. Report of the Commissioner of Education, Years 1931-34. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

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