Language Planning and Policy Issues in Speeches and Addresses of the United States' Presidents from 1789 to 1901

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes language policy and planning (LPP) in the US through presidential communications and speeches during the period from 1789 to 1901, i.e. the period from the George Washington administration ending with the William McKinley administration. The study examines documents of 25 presidents in the target period. It addresses the question of how LPP were understood in presidential documents during the early years of the US foundation. To examine the LPP issues which appeared on the presidential agenda, the searchable "Public Papers" archive of "The American Presidency Project" (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/), maintained by John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, was used. For clarifying LPP statements the study uses Wiley (1999) and Ruiz (1984) classifications. The study finds that in the examined period, conflicts of values between "national unity" and "equality" were not yet appearing in presidential communication. Discourse in the period is more closely associated with internationalism and pluralism, i.e. nativism, Americanism, "English-only" and human rights movements were still beyond the LPP field. Language policy and planning in the oratory of the first century of the US presidency were oriented towards international relations, treaty negotiations and linguistic accommodation.

Introduction

In the beginning of the 1660s, when linguists were trying to solve language problems in the new nations and societies,[1] the field of language planning and policy (LPP) was born. Researchers addressed the LPP, focusing on what nations were doing to promote linguistic change in societies.[2] These definitions expanded to contain official laws as well as implicit practices regarding languages.[3] Cooper discusses language planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional all occasions of their language codes".[4] McCarty considers LPP as the official overt policies of governments.[5] Furthermore, many recent researchers have included socio-cultural fields of language to show a long and complex development of the process of LPP, i.e. the formation of the field of study both in government agencies and in local

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1 David Cassels Johnson, "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Ethnography of Language Policy," *Critical Discourse Studies* 8, no. 4 (2011): 267–79, https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2011.601636.

2 J.A Fishman, C. Ferguson, and Gupta Das, *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968); R.L Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); E. Haugen, *Linguistics and Language Planning* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966); R.B Kaplan and R.B Baldauf, *Language Planning: From Practice to Theory* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1997).

3 Larisa Warhol, "Creating Official Language Policy from Local Practice: The Example of the Native American Languages Act 1990/1992," *Language Policy* 11, no. 3 (2012): 235–52, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993–012–9248–5.

4 Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change*.

5 T McCarty, *Ethnography and Language Policy* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2011).

communities.[6] Therefore, some scholars refer to language policy as how majority groups treat speakers of a particular language and how they support their language, or how the speakers of other languages deal with majority groups ascribed to them.[7] Wiley and Lukes portray language managing in terms of ethnicity and race; they consider language discrimination as similar to other types of discrimination.[8] Other writers explore an important issue in the LPP field: the relationships between macro and micro aspects of language practice and how these can be understood,[9] or how language practices impact on LPP at a social level.[10]

Historical-textual researchers examine language planning and policy based on its "macro" tendencies, focusing on large-scale sociopolitical events, policies and texts within national and supra-national and historical movements.[11] This focus does not deal with questions of how appropriated a language policy is in a particular nation, but it attempts to answer the fundamental question of what historical and ideological activities impact language planning and policy in a particular society through global contexts in language planning and policy issues.[12] To this end, this article uses the historical-textual analysis approach.

Since its foundation to the present time, the United States is full of diverse cultures, myths, minorities and languages. Refugees, indigenous, immigrant and student groups have contributed to this richness. Most decisions about language in the US were local, except in the situation of native

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6   K.A Davis, *Language Planning in Multilingual Contexts: Policies, Communities, and Schools in Luxembourg* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1994), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.8; Teresa L. Mccarty, *Ethnography and Language Policy* (London: Routledge, 2011); T Stritikus and A Wiese, "Reassessing the Role of Ethnographic Methods in Education Policy Research: Implementing Bilingual Education Policy at Local Levels," *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 6 (2006): 1106–31, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467–9620.2006.00687.x; T Stritikus, *Immigrant Children and the Politics of English-Only* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2002); N.H Hornberger and Dc Johnson, "Slicing the Onion Ethnographically: Layers and Sapces in Multilingual Langue Education Policy and Practice," *TESOL Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2007): 509–32, https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1545–7249.2007.tb00083.x; N.H Hornberger and F.M Hult, "Ecological Language Education Policy," in *The Handbook of Educational Linguistics*, ed. Bernard Spolsky and Francis M. Hult (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 280–96, https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470694138.ch20; A Jaffe, *Ideologies in Action: Language Politics on Corsica* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter., 1999); P. Kroskrity and M.C Field, *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); R.D Freeman, *Building on Community Bilingualism* (Philadelphia: Caslon Inc, 2004).

7   M.A Gibson and J.U Ogbu, *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities* (New York: Garland, 1991); C Perdue, *Second Language Acquisition by Adult Immigrants: A Field Manual* (Rowley: Newbury House, 1984); J.U Ogbu, *Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: New York Academic Press, 1978).

8   Terrence G. Wiley and Marguerite Lukes, "English-Only and Standard English Ideologies in the U.S.," *TESOL Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2014): 511–35, https://doi.org/10.2307/3587696.

9   Thomas Ricento, "Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in Language Policy and Planning," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4, no. 2 (2000): 196–213, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/1467–9481.00111; Dell H Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974); Anthony J. Liddicoat and Richard B Baldauf, "Language Planning in Local Contexts: Agents, Contexts and Interactions," in *Language Planning and Policy: Language Planning in Local Contexts*, ed. Anthony J. Liddicoat and Richard B Baldauf (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008), 3–25, http://www.multilingual-matters.com/display.asp?K=9781847690630; Florian Coulmas, "Introduction: The Handbook of Sociolinguistics," in *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Florian Coulmas (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1997), 1–12, https://doi.org/10.1111/b.9780631211938.1998.00001.

10 Harold Schiffman, *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy* (London: Routledge, 1996).

11 Bernard Spolsky, *Language Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

12 Ann-Marie Wiese and Eugene E. Garcia, "The Bilingual Education Act: Language Minority Students and US Federal Educational Policy," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 4, no. 4 (December 2001): 229–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050108667730.

languages.[13] The Constitution of the US indicates nothing regarding language, i.e. the founders of the nation did not select an official language, as they believed language to be a personal choice.[14] Many efforts to make English the official language of the US were resisted. During the 15th century approximately 250 to 1,000 Indian languages existed in North America.[15] In the colonial period during the 18th and the 19th centuries, Swedish, Germany, Dutch, Spanish and French were spoken in North America.[16] At the turn of the 20th century with immigration waves the United States also assimilated a large-scale of immigrants with their cultures and languages. At the same time African Americans were under the legal segregation laws of Jim Crow (1880s-1960s), which stated that Black and White could be separate but equal. Blacks could only attend segregated schools.[17] Also, in the period from the 1880s to 1930s, the children of Native Americans were taken from their families and societies to attend public schools where they were forbidden from speaking in their native languages.[18] Furthermore, many people concealed their German language heritage during the German-US conflict in the era of World War I, due to a general distrust of all things German and xenophobic discourses.[19] Therefore, the US Census indicates a significant decline in the number of population who were claiming German birth from more than 2.3 million in 1910 to less than 1.7 million in 1920.[20] In the 1960s, after the wars had ended and with the civil rights movements, the Federal government came to support some bilingual education at schools.[21] In general, US Presidents have widely supported the plain English procedures in official government documents. Also, most of them during the 19th century did not implement explicit language management practices.

This study analyzes LPP in the US through presidential communications and speeches during the period from 1789 to 1901, i.e. from the Washington administration until the end of the William McKinley administration. This study examines documents of 25 presidents in the target period. It answers the question of how were LPP prescribed in the presidential documents during the early years of the US foundation. It also hypothesizes that tolerance and symbolic policies

13 Carlos Ovando, "Bilingual Education in the United States: Historical Development and Current Issues," *The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education* 27, no. 1 (2003): 1–24.

14 D.F Marshall, "The Question of an Official Language: Language Rights and the English Language Amendment," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 60 (1986): 7–75, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1986.60.7.

15 F. Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

16 Stephen May, "Misconceiving Minority Language Rights: Implications for Liberal Political Theory," in *In Language Rights and Political Theory*, ed. Will Kymlicka and Alan Patten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 123–52; Ana Zentella, "The Hispanophobia of the Official English Movement in the US," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 127, no. 1 (1997): 71–86, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1997.127.71.

17 Terrence G Wiley, "Continuity and Change in the Function of Language Ideologies in the United States," in *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*, ed. Thomas Ricento (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 67–85, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.6.07wil.

18 M Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: A History of Race and Education in the United States (2nd Ed.)* (Long Beach: California State University Press, 1995).

19 Terrence G Wiley, *Comparative Historical Analysis of U.S. Language Policy and Language Planning: Extending the Foundations.*" Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA, ed. Thomas Huebner and Kathryn A. Davis (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999).

20 Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota* (Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003).

21 Teresa L. McCarty and Ofelia Zepeda, "Indigenous Language Education and Literacy," *Bilingual Research Journal* 19, no. 1 (1995): 1–4, https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1995.10668587.

(the generally moral tone of which has had little real material impact on society) were clear in the presidential communication during the 19th century.

The corpus and the method of analysis

In order to examine the LPP issues that appeared on the presidential agenda from the Washington administration to the McKinley administration (30 April 1789–5 September 1901), the searchable "Public Papers" archive of "The American Presidency Project"[22] maintained by John Woolley and Gerhard Peters was used. The search string was "language" AND/OR "lingual," which returned 170 different "language" hits for the target period. By sorting the search terms into relevant and irrelevant ones, 115 were sorted as irrelevant, with the following three categories explaining the criteria:

  – terms that referred to a particular text, statement or talk used by a person or a group, when "language" word occurred to indicate to the text, statement or talk of someone or an organization. For example, "the language of Mr. Bankhead…," "Congress in their reaction language…"

  – terms that referred to the particular type of text statement, when "language" word occurred to refer to the meaning, interpretation or the goal of a document, a decree or a bill. For example, "the language that employed in the bill…," "the language of the Constitution…," "the language of this act…," the language used in the report…"

  – terms that referred to the particular type or style of text, statement or speech, when "language" word occurred to refer to the speaker description, reaction or evaluation of the text, statement or talk. For example, "exaggerated language…", "cautious language…", "the language of the award…", "the language of menace…", "the language of sympathy…" "the language of friendship…".

The remaining 55 relevant terms were sorted as symbolic and substantive LPP sentences. The relevant group contains those documents that indicated tangible issues related to real languages, complex systems of human communication (e.g. English, Spanish, Indian language) in the United States. Fifteen presidents out of 25 during the target period addressed "language" AND/OR "lingual," words in their relevant meaning, thus the study corpus includes only those 15 presidents, as the others did not employ these terms during their administrations.

For classifying LPP statements which were found relevant in the US presidential communications, the study uses three types of classifications:

  I) Classification on the basis of the languages affected by the policies:

    – English language: first appeared in England and was spurred on by the emergence of the United States; also the commonly spoken language in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland and numerous other countries around the world.

    – Native American languages: were spoken or are spoken now by indigenous peoples in the North American land mass. There are hundreds of Native American languages, e.g. Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, Nahuatl, Kalaallisut, Navajo, Cree, Ojibwe, Algic.

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22 Available at: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/.

– Immigrant languages: are the mother tongues of immigrant peoples who left their nations for the United States; in the present study, no exact immigrant languages can be precisely determined, as these languages change as immigration groups change. Here we will consider a particular language as an immigrant language when it occurred following policymakers' reactions to immigration waves. Chinese languages during the 1880s is a typical example.

– Foreign languages: refers to the languages of other nations and societies not familiar in as well as outside of the United States, i.e. not related to immigrant groups. For example, Russian, Italian…

– Classical languages: typically diglossia languages or dead languages. In this work, classical languages include Greek, Latin and Sanskrit languages.

II) Language planning and policy types according to the Wiley criteria:[23]

– Promotion polices: the use of national or federal resources (substantive and symbolic) as part of a plan to increase and develop the use of a language or languages in a society. For example, president Ulysses S. Grant on April 16, 1872, submitted an executive order for appointing an American civil servant: "every candidate must have satisfactory English language knowledge."[24]

– Expediency policies: laws, policies and acts as a type of promotion, but in this purpose the LPP are not instituted to enhance the minority languages, only to accommodate minority languages to facilitate political and education access, e.g. the provisions of multilingual ballots, which are ensured by most of the presidents throughout US history.

– Tolerance polices: the absence of national interference in the minority languages, with the state allowing people to choose their language preference without any type of prior expectation. For example, in his sixth annual message on December 1, 1834, President Andrew Jackson confirmed that "Americans have the same interests, the same religion and the same language."[25]

– Restriction policies: when the government makes political and social rights, benefits, opportunities and jobs conditional on speaking the dominant language. For example, during his third annual message on December 6, 1852, President Millard Fillmore referred to Cuban immigration as "bringing migrants into the US who spoke different languages."[26]

– Repression policies: the state or the Federal government tries to exterminate one or more languages. This is an attempt at linguicide against a particular language.

23 Wiley, *Comparative Historical Analysis of U.S. Language Policy and Language Planning: Extending the Foundations." Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA.*

24 Ulysses S. Grant, "Executive Order," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, April 16, 1872), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=70332.

25 Andrew Jackson, "Sixth Annual Message," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, December 1, 1834), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29476.

26 Fillmore Millard, "Third Annual Message," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolleyect, December 6, 1852), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29493.

For example, enslaved Africans were once forbidden to use their native languages in the US; compulsory illiteracy and ignorance codes.[27]

III) Language planning and policy "orientations" according to Ruiz criteria:[28]
  – Language-as-Problem: the state or federal government is involved in the promotion of language usage or improving language quality and standards, as the institution recognizes problems in a language or languages (disability, poverty, low educational achievement, little social mobility). For example, in his executive order on October 13, 1883, President Chester A. Arthur put speaking English language as the main condition to work with the government.[29]
  – Language-as-Right: the legal rights to use languages, related to freedom and human rights or ensuring linguistic access to government services. For example, on February 1, 1892, President Benjamin Harrison gave all language speakers the right to bring into the country their writing and reading materials without any type of charge: "Articles to be admitted free of all customs duty and any other national, colonial, or municipal charges: […] Books, bound or unbound, pamphlets, newspapers, and printed matter in all languages."[30]
  – Language-as-Resource: aiding a society in improving diplomatic, economic, security and social issues across different societies and languages; language as a symbol of integration and coherence. For example, in his sixth annual message on December 1, 1834, President Andrew Jackson confirmed that "Americans have the same interests, the same religion and the same language."[31]

Findings and discussion

In the US in the 19th century, European languages were more likely to be treated with respect than other languages, and the speakers of European languages were more likely to be accommodated in education and government sectors.[32] While the indigenous languages, which include the tongues of American Indians and Hawaiians, were less likely to be treated with respect during the same period.[33] Kloss confirms that LPP has been most tolerant of foreign languages,[34] while Wiley has another opinion about language diversity in the US, i.e. that monolingual movement along the whole

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27 Wiley, *Comparative Historical Analysis of U.S. Language Policy and Language Planning: Extending the Foundations." Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA.*

28 Richard Ruiz, "Orientations in Language Planning," *NABE Journal* 8, no. 2 (1984): 111–25, https://doi.org/10.1080/08855072.1984.10668464.

29 Chester A. Arthur, "Executive Order," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, October 13, 1883), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=68841.

30 Benjamin Harrison, "Proclamation 318—Modifications of the Tariff Laws of Great Britain," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, February 1, 1892), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=71098.

31 Jackson, "Sixth Annual Message."

32 Wiley, *Comparative Historical Analysis of U.S. Language Policy and Language Planning: Extending the Foundations." Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA.*

33 Ovando, "Bilingual Education in the United States: Historical Development and Current Issues."

34 H Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley: Newbury House, 1998).

of US history has caused a loss in a huge number of indigenous languages. Wiley argues that the English language has been promoted through presidential communication.[35] During the analyzed period US's presidents were mostly tolerant of all languages; it was the period of the building of the nation, and managing languages in the Federal government were not at the top of their priorities, e.g. declaring an official language for the country was a critical entrance for chaos inside the union. However, many of US's presidents addressed language issues in their communications. Figure (1) shows which languages appeared on the presidential documents during the 19th century.

Figure 1: Distribution of all languages-related references in the corpus.
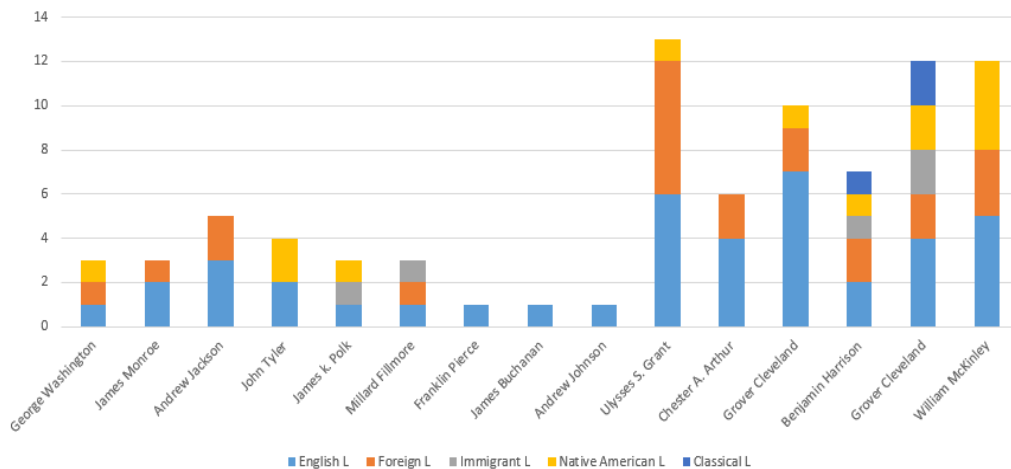
Starting from the 19th century, immigration waves have played an important role in bringing Federal government attention to language diversity and illiteracy issues in American society. President Ulysses S. Grant was known to address language issues in his communications; on December 19, 1871, he suggested: "No person shall be admitted to any position in the civil service within the appointment of the President or the heads of Departments who is not a citizen of the United States […] who shall not have passed a satisfactory examination in speaking, reading, and writing the English language."[36]

After Ulysses S. Grant administration, LPP started to appear more frequently in US presidential documents. Maintaining a balance between accountability and flexibility was a difficult matter in the sense that US presidents supported LPP to increase federal control of languages and education, while in the same time they focused on flexibility and illiteracy issues.[37] Most of the LLP in the US in the 19th century focused on English with substantive policies, with these LPP having a material impact on American society. For example, on April 16, 1872 President Ulysses S. Grant

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35 Wiley, "Continuity and Change in the Function of Language Ideologies in the United States."

36 Ulysses S. Grant, "Special Message," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, December 19, 1871), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=70270.

37 Johnson, "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Ethnography of Language Policy."

submitted an executive order on the requirements for appointing an American civil servant, one of these requirements was: "every candidate must have satisfactory English knowledge."[38] The English language in this era was considered as the language of economic, political and social prestige. Many resources in this period focused on English language and described it as the American language of unification, commonality, peace as well as the language of the future.

Moreover, many researchers examine society's ideologies as a fundamental player in LPP in the US. LPP in social dynamics is a way to explore LPP from the bottom up. According to Cobarrubias, there are three forms of ideologies that justify LPP in a particular society: linguistic pluralism, internationalism and linguistic assimilation.[39] The ideologies of American society spanning the nation's history have contributed to determining policy toward language diversity in the US. Many scholars argue that during the 19th century the language ideologies in the US were: bilingualism, biculturalism and linguistic diversity.[40] These ideologies were reflected clearly in the US's presidential attitudes about languages. Terrence G. Wiley's extended a fundamental framework for formal LPP investigate, which takes into account the intended purposes and also the consequences of given LPPs. This approach considers as the most interesting classification to analysis LPP's documents in a particular nation. Figure (2) contains details about all languages which were used by the presidents, and what type of LPP was used toward these languages according to Wiley's classification: promotion, expediency, tolerance, restriction and repression.

Figure. 2: LPP types in all languages-related references of the corpus.
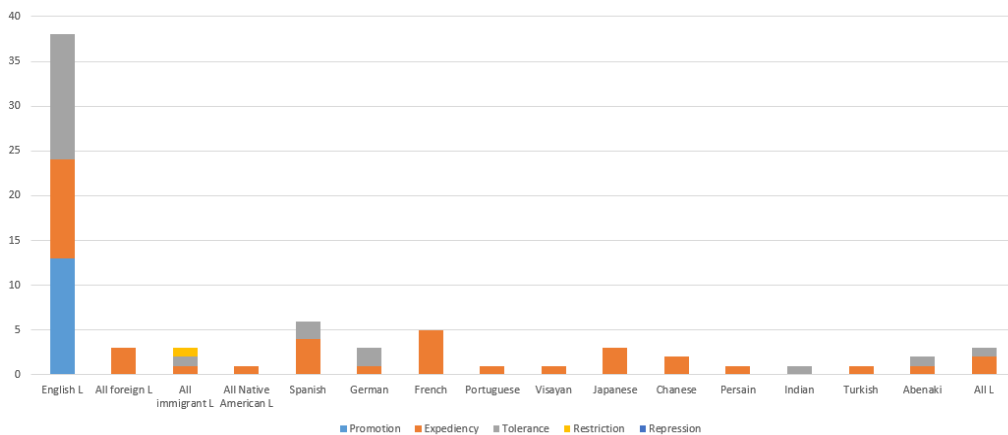
Three factors determined the hegemony of English in US presidential communications during the 19th century. First, English language supported a political ideology through promoting

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38 Grant, "Executive Order."

39 Juan Cobarrubias, "Ethical Issues in Status Planning. In: Cobarrubias," in *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*, ed. Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 41–86, https://www.degruyter.com/view/product/6362.

40 Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*.

social integration. Second, it supported an economic ideology as the means to social mobility. Third, it served a kind of class and culture, as it was a global language.[41]

The Spanish language was in the second position among the languages which were addressed widely in the US's presidential communication, as it was the dominant language in many states during the 19th century. Into the 21th century, many people in the US consider Spanish language as their mother language and the United States is ranked as the country with the fifth highest Spanish speaking population.[42] Before Spanish became the second most common language in the US, it was German until the language was repressed in the early twentieth century. President Ulysses S. Grant stated: "The people of the Spanish islands speak the language and share the traditions, customs, ideas, and religion of the Spanish American States of the continent …"[43]

Promotion policies were used only towards the English language during the 19th century. These policies were instituted by four presidents: Ulysses S. Grant, Chester A. Arthur, Grover Cleveland and William McKinley. For example, in his executive order of February 2, 1888 President Grover Cleveland stated: "To test the fitness of applicants for admission to the classified departmental service there shall be examinations as follows: […] Elements of the English language."[44]

Also, in his executive order of October 13, 1883, President Chester A. Arthur put speaking the English language as a main condition to work with the government,[45] and President Ulysses S. Grant also on December 19, 1871 stated: "No person shall be admitted to any position in the civil service within the appointment of the President or the heads of Departments who is not a citizen of the United States [and] who shall not have passed a satisfactory examination in speaking, reading, and writing the English language."[46]

On the other hand, repression policies were never used during the same period against any language, whilst restriction polices were used against immigrant languages. For example, President Millard Fillmore used restriction policies in his third annual message on December 6, 1852, when he talked about the problem of Cuba: "bringing migrants into the US who spoke different languages."[47]

Tolerance policies were primary throughout most of the 19th century, a situation that reflected the thinking of the presidents of the US in that era. President William McKinley said: "Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom."[48]

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41 James. Collins, "Hegemonic Practice: Literacy and Standard Language in Public Education," *Journal of Education* 171, no. 2 (1989): 9–34, https://doi.org/10.1177/002205748917100203.

42 Terrence G Wiley, "The Foreign Language 'Crisis' in the United States: Are Heritage and Community Languages the Remedy?" *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 4, no. 2–3 (2007): 179–205, https://doi.org/10.1080/15427580701389631.

43 Ulysses S. Grant, "Special Message," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, July 14, 1870), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=70172.

44 Grover Cleveland, "Executive Order," *The American Presidency Project*, February 2, 1888, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=71754.

45 Arthur, "Executive Order."

46 Grant, "Special Message," December 19, 1871.

47 Millard, "Third Annual Message."

48 William McKinley, "President McKinley's Last Public Utterance to the People in Buffalo," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, September 5, 1901), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=69326.

Therefore, most of the presidents used tolerance and expediency LPP. From 1789 to 1880, the US attempted territorial expansion and in these territories many minority languages were annexed, so the federal government chose not to declare English as the official language and there was great tolerance for using other languages. Indeed, in the US there are many interpretations of historical actions regarding language policy development, American societal ideologies and the historical turning points such as the Civil War, Spanish War, World Wars and human rights movements have each had an impact on formulating LPP in the US. During the analyzed period of American language policy history, teaching in English language remained a tactic for the pacification of White Americans.[49] After 1880, however, an ideological shift clearly occurred with regard to language, due to the environment of hatred toward German-Americans and distrust and apprehension of the new immigrants in the turn of the 20th century period. The nativist, monolingualism or English-only ideologies viewed language diversity as a consequence of the newcomers. In other words, language diversity was seen as imported. English-only and monolingualism, equated the acquisition of English with Americanization and patriotism. The nativist, monolingualism or English-only movements appeared as the ideologies during the following seven decades. For example, in 1882 the first Chinese Exclusion Act was approved by the United States Congress, a law which suspended immigrants from China for ten years (later it was expanded).[50]

In his article "Orientations In Language Planning," Richard Ruiz provides three approaches regarding the treatment of languages: a language can be a problem, a right and a resource.[51] The third figure in this study presents how US presidents used the "orientations" of LPP according to Ruiz classification (See figure 3).

Figure. 3: LPP orientations by all presidents-related references of the corpus.

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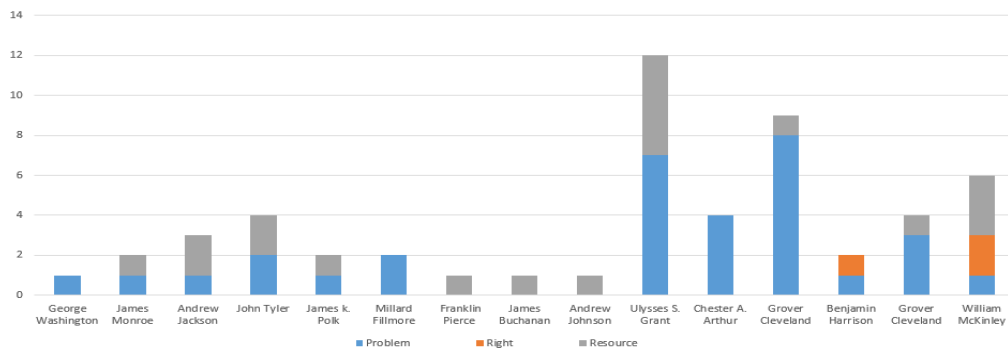
49 Wiley, "Continuity and Change in the Function of Language Ideologies in the United States."

50 Thomas Ricento, "Problems with the 'language-as-Resource' Discourse in the Promotion of Heritage Languages in the U.S.A.," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9, no. 3 (2005): 348–68, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360–6441.2005.00296.x.language 'rights' have been tethered to ethnic or racial entitlements as a means to redress historical patterns of discrimination and exclusion. The perception that language 'rights' are about the redress of past wrongs has had negative effects on efforts to gain broad public support for the teaching and maintenance of languages other than English. The language-as-resource orientation (Ruiz 1984).

51 Ruiz, "Orientations in Language Planning."

The common orientation of LPP was Language-as-Problem. Presidents in this era were concerned about improving the level of reading, writing and speaking in English and sometimes in other languages as well. In their communications a number of executives made a connection between obtaining residence status in the US for foreigners and having satisfactory level of English, as did President Ulysses S. Grant in his eighth annual message on December 5, 1876.[52] Language-as-Resource was also used widely during the 19th century, especially language as a symbol of American unity. For example, in his sixth annual message on December 1, 1834, President Andrew Jackson confirmed that: "Americans have the same interests, the same religion and the same language."[53]

Modern human rights movements had not yet started in the US during the 19th century. Language-as-Right orientation was used only on two occasions by President Benjamin Harrison and President William McKinley. For example, on February 1, 1892, President Benjamin Harrison gave all language speakers the right to import their writing and reading materials without any type of charge when he stated: "Articles to be admitted free of all customs duty and any other national, colonial, or municipal charges: […] Books, bound or unbound, pamphlets, newspapers, and printed matter in all languages."[54]

However, English's role as America's unifying universal tongue did not go unchallenged. The 19th century territorial expansion and conquest added significant French and Spanish speaking minorities to the US Presidential policies such as mandating English in education and requiring English for public services as a condition for statehood in areas like Arizona, Oklahoma and New Mexico, together with an influx of English speaking settlers succeeded in accommodating these minorities. Presidents had largely supported the incorporation of Plain English requirements into official government documents. During the nineteenth century setting language policies was not a top presidential priority in the United States. The factors behind the change of the US's attitudes regarding language in the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century can be summarized in five reasons. First, the English had governed the United States since the colonial period. Second, the immigration peak had just appeared in the end of 19th century. Third, the role of the Spanish War. Fourth, suspicions about the allegiances of non-English speakers before and during World War I. Fifth, the US had begun a transition from agriculture sector which needed low skills to industry sector which needed English literacy and high skills.[55] Thus, starting from the George Washington administration to William McKinley administration, LPP was weak and unclear, and was based mostly on tolerance and accommodation. At the same time, the English language was supported in presidential discourse, but only implicitly. In the following century, LPP became more commonly used in US presidential communications.

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52 Ulysses S. Grant, "Eighth Annual Message," The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, December 5, 1876), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29517.

53 Jackson, "Sixth Annual Message."

54 Harrison, "Proclamation 318—Modifications of the Tariff Laws of Great Britain."

55 Jill Fitzgerald, "Views on Bilingualism in the United States: A Selective Historical Review," *Bilingual Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1993): 35–56, https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1993.10162647.

Conclusion

Throughout the target period (1789–1901), conflicts of values between "national unity" and "equality" had not yet appeared in the presidential communications. The analyzed period lies closest to internationalism and pluralism. The nativism, Americanism, English-only and human right movements were still beyond the LPP field. Language policy and planning in the first century of the Federal union was always specific and substantive, i.e. oriented towards international relations, treaty negotiations and linguistic accommodation. Apocryphal accounts aside, the official language issue did not reach the Congressional floor until 1996, when Bill Clinton's veto threat blocked the introduction of the "English Language Empowerment Act" in the Senate after the measure had received sizable support in the House.[56]

From 1789 to 1880, the US undertook territorial expansion, and in these territories many minority languages were annexed, so the federal government chose not to declare English as the official language of US, and there was great tolerance for using other languages. Furthermore, in this time LPP was a minor topic, and was mostly considered as a social problem. Until the late 19th century the language issue did not play an important role in the presidential documents of the United States. Tolerance policies were primarily used throughout most of the 19th century and these reflected the thinking of the presidents of US in this era to not create new issues inside American society and focus on sources of union which were based on language diversity. In the beginning of 1880s immigration, the Spanish War, World War I and the transition to industry contributed to the appearance of nativism and English-only movements as the ideology of the following seven decades.

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56 James Crawford, *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2000).

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