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5 BUILDING AN EMPIRE

AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

Woodrow Wilson once declared Theodore Roosevelt "the most dangerous man of the age." Mark Twain called him "clearly insane," and added that Roosevelt was "insanest upon war and its supreme glories." Yet Roosevelt exercised an almost magical pull on the imagination of Americans. He was the very embodiment of energy. Even as president, he boxed and wrestled in the White House, took grueling cross-country hikes, and, after he stepped down from the presidency in 1909, went on a long hunting safari in Africa. Small and anemic as a child, he had whipped his body into shape with strenuous rounds of swimming, calisthenics, and gymnastics; at Harvard in the 1870s he was known for his sheer doggedness, if not his raw talent, as an athlete. Descriptions of his speeches as governor of New York in the 1890s refer endlessly to how his hands chopped the air, his body danced, his voice bristled, and his eyeglasses flashed. If, as the historian John Higham claims, there was a vigorous new spirit and an upbeat tempo in turn-of-the-century America, then Theodore Roosevelt was its embodiment.

One thing Roosevelt was not, however, was an example of the rags-to-riches mythology of American culture. He was born in 1858 to one of the wealthiest families in New York City, heirs to a Dutch fortune as old as the colony itself. Yet wealth did not confer ease. Like many men and women born to elite, or Brahmin, families, as they were known, privilege meant responsibility, a Calvinist sense of stewardship in which the "elect" must help take care of the less fortunate. Roosevelt grew up in a family of jurists, public servants, and philanthropists, and he was imbued early with a powerful sense of social duty.

The selections by Roosevelt in this chapter are from essays that he wrote in the years just before he became president. Read carefully, they give a sense of many of his underlying assumptions and values, what we might call his *ideology*. Ideology includes a person's or a society's fundamental beliefs about how the world is structured and what the relationship of individuals or nations to each other should be; it also includes their beliefs about the uses of power and the very nature of the social order.

For example, a simple statement such as "In America, any man can become president" is ideological. In the most literal sense, it is a true statement, for any

native-born male who is not a felon and is over the age of thirty-five *can* run for the office of president; no legal barriers stand in his way. But usually when people use this phrase, they mean something more. They are expressing an ideal of equality, the faith that a person's own drive and talent are the keys to advancement in this society. To say that any man can become president is shorthand for the American dream, the belief that this nation offers equal and virtually unlimited opportunity for all and that such openness is one of the greatest things about our country.

Ideological statements, however, even as they purport to describe reality, tend to confuse the way things are with the way we would like them to be. For example, the phrase "any *man* can become president" already has inequality built into it, for it excludes women, over half of the population. This raises a question: Is the statement that any man can become president intended to be an expression of fact or of a hoped-for condition? Presidents have historically tended to be white males from middle-class or wealthy families whose ethnic backgrounds were British and Protestant.

While America has provided considerable opportunity for social and economic mobility, the opportunity has never been equally distributed among all groups of citizens. Over the decades, some individuals have made dramatic leaps up and down in power and wealth, but recent research in social history shows that most Americans make only modest gains or losses in their class status across the generations. To put it concretely, the son of a small-town banker has a much better chance of becoming wealthy than the son of an Appalachian coal miner or the daughter of a black inner-city mail carrier. So the statement that any man can become president is an ideological one; behind its literal truth there is an *idealized* picture of the way American society works and a very loud silence about excluded groups. Ideological statements like this one invite us to question how closely historical reality approaches the social ideal.

American foreign policy at the end of the nineteenth century became a focus of deep ideological tensions. As the country grew increasingly involved in overseas business and military ventures, Americans debated the proper place of a democracy in a world divided between imperial powers and their colonies. Just as in the Mexican War a half century earlier, the conflicts at the end of the nineteenth century had grown out of the presence of the old Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere.

Cuba lies less than one hundred miles off the Florida coast. Before the Civil War, southerners coveted the island as an extension of the slave empire. For decades, the Cuban people had sought their independence from Spain in a series of rebellions, and a new round of insurgency and repression beginning in 1895 brought a wave of American sympathy for the rebels. American newspapers whipped up sentiment for the underdog Cubans, as Spain moved to crush the uprising. Moreover, large American companies had invested millions of dollars in Cuban sugar plantations, and these companies wanted to secure stable markets against political upheaval. President William McKinley resisted calls for American intervention until 1898. The revelation of a secret cable by the Spanish minister to the United States calling McKinley weak and hypocritical, followed by the mysterious blowing up of the United States battleship *Maine*, docked in Havana harbor (262 sailors perished on the ship sent to Cuba to protect Americans), made the

pressure for American intervention irresistible McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war

The war was popular, quick, and glorious The Spanish colonies of Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines all fell with only a few hundred American battle deaths (though over five thousand died of tropical diseases) Naval confrontations in Santiago Bay and Manila Bay were even more decisive, as American ships destroyed the Spanish fleet while sustaining minimal damage and casualties

With victory came controversy By August 1898, an armistice had ended hostilities, but within half a year, Filipinos and Americans—former allies—were locked in war with each other The Treaty of Paris between Spain and the United States ceded all seven thousand islands of the Philippine archipelago to the United States, in exchange for $20 million Philippine rebels were not willing to trade Spain's domination for America's By February 1899, Congress had approved the treaty with Spain, McKinley was on the verge of calling for Philippine annexation, and a bloody two-year struggle had begun Before it was over, more than 100,000 Americans served in the Philippines; over 4,000 of them were killed, and another 3,000 were wounded Nearly 20,000 Filipinos were killed in combat, and ten times that number died of starvation and disease, as the American military pursued a policy of burning villages and destroying farms

Those Americans who opposed annexation were never a majority, but they were very vocal and included such diverse people as Andrew Carnegie, Jane Addams, William Jennings Bryan, Mark Twain, Samuel Gompers, and former presidents Harrison and Cleveland Their arguments ranged widely Friends of unions worried that new territories would only supply a cheap source of labor that would undercut American workers Racists like Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina argued that freeing Spain's colonies was a patriotic act, but that annexing those territories to the United States would not only defy our democratic principles but contaminate American blood with inferior racial stock Still others argued that an empire would overextend an already troubled American economy, or that it would dangerously expand the powers of the presidency, or that a colonial empire simply could not be reconciled with deep American principles of freedom and self-determination Proponents of overseas expansion argued that other imperial powers would seize the islands if we failed to, that America was obliged to civilize and Christianize "inferior" peoples, that an empire would open new markets and bring prosperity to all, and that overseas expansion would bring glory and honor to the military

The following documents are filled with ideological positions on politics, foreign policy, labor, gender, race, and ethnicity As you read these selections, try to uncover their authors' underlying ideological assumptions What were their social ideals? How did they believe groups interacted or ought to interact? With what tone did they address their audience, and who was that audience?

Introduction to Documents 1 and 2

Albert J Beveridge was elected Republican senator from Indiana in 1898, when he was just thirty-six years old The following speech, "The March of the Flag," was delivered first in Indianapolis in September 1898, after the victory over Spain but

before the Treaty of Paris ceding the Philippines to the United States. Beveridge's speech became a kind of manifesto of American expansionism during this era; it was widely reprinted. Note how seamlessly he merged America's God-given mission in the world to elevate those less "civilized" than ourselves, the almost mystical spread of freedom wherever the American flag waved, the need for the United States to compete with other imperial powers, and the benefits (moral as well as economic) of opening up new overseas markets. And all were part of a historical pageant of progress from Bunker Hill to Manila. Beveridge gave this speech countless times.

William Graham Sumner, on the contrary, viewed recent events as a betrayal of all that America stood for. Sumner was a professor of sociology at Yale and one of the best-known intellectuals of his day. He had popularized the concept of social Darwinism in America, which held that social groups—nations, classes, businesses—competed for resources, and that, on balance, the most fit among them lived and the weakest perished, ensuring progress through the survival of the strong. Sumner's assumption was that social evolution, like natural selection, created the greatest good for the greatest number, cruel as that process might appear.

Sumner's was an austere view of history's unfolding, but since he assumed that people would wield force in hurtful ways, he advocated limiting the power of institutions. He believed that different peoples had their own values, beliefs, and patterns of interacting—their own folkways, as he called them—and that social life ran as smoothly as possible when these local ways were respected and kept uncontaminated by others. Sumner's ideas could lead in two directions: to an acceptance of provincialism, and even racism and nativism, but also to a hands-off policy toward foreign lands. We are not like other people, he declared; we do not understand them and cannot improve them; colonization could only contaminate both cultures and bring on the hatred of those whom we subjugate. Sumner was deeply suspicious of government's tendency to acquire more and more power, and many conservative politicians, especially in the South and the West, agreed with him. The speech "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" was a Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale given in 1898, almost simultaneously with Beveridge's address. What might these two men have said to each other in a debate?

DOCUMENT 1

"THE MARCH OF THE FLAG"

Albert J. Beveridge

It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would inclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny.

It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil; a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually revitalized by the virile, man-producing working-folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their Heaven-directed purposes—the propagandists and not the misers of liberty.

It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future. . . .

. . . Shall the American people continue their march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind?

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellow-man? Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for their deity—as China has, as India has, as Egypt has?

Shall we be as the man who had one talent and hid it, or as he who had ten talents and used them until they grew to riches? And shall we reap the reward that waits on our discharge of our high duty; shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, our factories make, our merchants sell—aye, and, please God, new markets for what our ships shall carry?

Hawaii is ours; Porto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of her people Cuba finally will be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Fremont carried to the coast

The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know that our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them?

And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened, self-governing people, do we owe no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them, with Germany, England, Japan, hungering for them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy? . . .

The march of the flag! In 1789 the flag of the Republic waved over 4,000,000 souls in thirteen states, and their savage territory which stretched to the Mississippi, to Canada, to the Floridas. The timid minds of that day said that no new territory was needed, and, for the hour, they were right. But Jefferson, through whose intellect the centuries marched; Jefferson, who dreamed of Cuba as an American state; Jefferson, the first Imperialist of the Republic—Jefferson acquired that imperial territory which swept from the Mississippi to the mountains, from Texas to the British possessions, and the march of the flag began!

The infidels to the gospel of liberty raved, but the flag swept on! The title to that noble land out of which Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana have been carved was uncertain; Jefferson, strict constructionist of constitutional power though he was, obeyed the Anglo-Saxon impulse within him, whose watchword then and whose watchword throughout the world to-day is, "Forward!": another empire was added to the Republic, and the march of the flag went on!

Those who deny the power of free institutions to expand urged every argument, and more, that we hear, to-day; but the people's judgment approved the command of their blood, and the march of the flag went on!

A screen of land from New Orleans to Florida shut us from the Gulf, and over this and the Everglade Peninsula waved the saffron flag of Spain; Andrew Jackson seized both, the American people stood at his back, and, under Monroe, the Floridas came under the dominion of the Republic, and the march of the flag went on! The Cassandras prophesied every prophecy of despair we hear, to-day, but the march of the flag went on!

Then Texas responded to the bugle calls of liberty, and the march of the flag went on! And, at last, we waged war with Mexico, and the flag swept over the southwest, over peerless California, past the Gate of Gold to Oregon on the north, and from ocean to ocean its folds of glory blazed.

And, now, obeying the same voice that Jefferson heard and obeyed, that Jackson heard and obeyed, that Monroe heard and obeyed, that Seward heard and obeyed, that Grant heard and obeyed, that Harrison heard and obeyed, our President to-day plants the flag over the islands of the seas, outposts of commerce, citadels of national security, and the march of the flag goes on! . . .

But the Opposition is right—there is a difference. We did not need the western Mississippi Valley when we acquired it, nor Florida, nor Texas, nor California, nor the royal provinces of the far northwest. We had no emigrants to people this imperial wilderness, no money to develop it, even no highways to cover it. No trade awaited us in its savage fastnesses. Our productions were not greater than our trade. There was not one reason for the land-lust of our statesmen from Jefferson to Grant, other than the prophet and the Saxon within them. But, to-day, we are raising more than we can consume, making more than we can use. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce.

And so, while we did not need the territory taken during the past century at the time it was acquired, we do need what we have taken in 1898, and we need it now. The resources and the commerce of these immensely rich dominions will be increased as much as American energy is greater than Spanish sloth. In Cuba, alone, there are 15,000,000 acres of forest unacquainted with the ax, exhaustless mines of iron, priceless deposits of manganese, millions of dollars' worth of which we must buy, to-day, from the Black Sea districts. There are millions of acres yet unexplored.

The resources of Porto Rico have only been trifled with. The riches of the Philippines have hardly been touched by the finger-tips of modern methods. And they produce what we consume, and consume what we produce—the very predestination of reciprocity—a reciprocity "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." They sell hemp, sugar, cocoanuts, fruits of the tropics, timber of price like mahogany; they buy flour, clothing, tools, implements, machinery and all that we can raise and make. Their trade will be ours in time. Do you indorse that policy with your vote?

Cuba is as large as Pennsylvania, and is the richest spot on the globe. Hawaii is as large as New Jersey; Porto Rico half as large as Hawaii; the Philippines larger than all New England, New York, New Jersey and Delaware combined. Together they are larger than the British Isles, larger than France, larger than Germany, larger than Japan. . . .

So Hawaii furnishes us a naval base in the heart of the Pacific; the Ladrones another, a voyage further on; Manila another, at the gates of Asia—Asia, to the trade of whose hundreds of millions American merchants, manufacturers,

farmers, have as good right as those of Germany or France or Russia or England; Asia, whose commerce with the United Kingdom alone amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars every year; Asia, to whom Germany looks to take her surplus products; Asia, whose doors must not be shut against American trade. Within five decades the bulk of Oriental commerce will be ours. . . .

Wonderfully has God guided us. Yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown His providence was above us. At New Orleans and on ensanguined seas His hand sustained us. Abraham Lincoln was His minister and His was the altar of freedom the Nation's soldiers set up on a hundred battle-fields. His power directed Dewey in the East and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands, as He delivered the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires two centuries ago. . . . We can not fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We can not retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.

DOCUMENT 2

"THE CONQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES BY SPAIN"

William Graham Sumner

. . . Spain was the first, for a long time the greatest, of the modern imperialistic states. The United States, by its historical origin, its traditions, and its principles, is the chief representative of the revolt and reaction against that kind of state. I intend to show that, by the line of action now proposed to us, which we call expansion and imperialism, we are throwing away some of the most important elements of the American symbol and are adopting some of the most important elements of the Spanish symbol. We have beaten Spain in a military conflict, but we are submitting to be conquered by her on the field of ideas and policies. Expansionism and imperialism are nothing but the old philosophies of national prosperity which have brought Spain to where she now is. Those philosophies appeal to national vanity and national cupidity. They are seductive, especially upon the first view and the most superficial judgment, and therefore it cannot be denied that they are very strong for popular effect. They are delusions, and they will lead us to ruin unless we are hard-headed enough to resist them. . . .

There is not a civilized nation which does not talk about its civilizing mission just as grandly as we do. The English, who really have more to boast of in this respect than anybody else, talk least about it, but the Phariseeism with which they correct and instruct other people has made them hated all over the globe. The French believe themselves the guardians of the highest and purest culture, and that the eyes of all mankind are fixed on Paris, whence they expect oracles of thought and taste. The Germans regard themselves as charged with a mission, especially to us Americans, to save us from egoism and materialism. . . . Now each nation laughs at all the others when it observes these manifestations of national vanity. You may rely upon it that they are all ridiculous by virtue of these pretensions, including ourselves. The point is that each of them repudiates the standards of the others, and the outlying nations, which

are to be civilized, hate all the standards of civilized men. We assume that what we like and practice, and what we think better, must come as a welcome blessing to Spanish-Americans and Filipinos. This is grossly and obviously untrue. They hate our ways. They are hostile to our ideas. Our religion, language, institutions, and manners offend them. They like their own ways, and if we appear amongst them as rulers, there will be social discord in all the great departments of social interest. The most important thing which we shall inherit from the Spaniards will be the task of suppressing rebellions. If the United States takes out of the hands of Spain her mission, on the ground that Spain is not executing it well, and if this nation in its turn attempts to be school-mistress to others, it will shrivel up into the same vanity and self-conceit of which Spain now presents an example. To read our current literature one would think that we were already well on the way to it. Now, the great reason why all these enterprises which begin by saying to somebody else, "We know what is good for you better than you know yourself and we are going to make you do it," are false and wrong is that they violate liberty; or, to turn the same statement into other words, the reason why liberty, of which we Americans talk so much, is a good thing is that it means leaving people to live out their own lives in their own way, while we do the same. If we believe in liberty, as an American principle, why do we not stand by it? Why are we going to throw it away to enter upon a Spanish policy of dominion and regulation? . . .

There are plenty of people in the United States to-day who regard negroes as human beings, perhaps, but of a different order from white men, so that the ideas and social arrangements of white men cannot be applied to them with propriety. Others feel the same way about Indians. This attitude of mind, wherever you meet with it, is what causes tyranny and cruelty. . . . The doctrine that all men are equal has come to stand as one of the corner-stones of the temple of justice and truth. It was set up as a bar to just this notion that we are so much better than others that it is liberty for them to be governed by us.

The Americans have been committed from the outset to the doctrine that all men are equal. We have elevated it into an absolute doctrine as a part of the theory of our social and political fabric. It has always been a domestic dogma in spite of its absolute form, and as a domestic dogma it has always stood in glaring contradiction to the facts about Indians and negroes and to our legislation about Chinamen. In its absolute form it must, of course, apply to Kanakas, Malays, Tagals, and Chinese just as much as to Yankees, Germans, and Irish. It is an astonishing event that we have lived to see American arms carry this domestic dogma out where it must be tested in its application to uncivilized and half-civilized peoples. At the first touch of the test we throw the doctrine away and adopt the Spanish doctrine. We are told by all the imperialists that these people are not fit for liberty and self-government; that it is rebellion for them to resist our beneficence; that we must send fleets and armies to kill them if they do it; that we must devise a government for them and administer it ourselves; that we may buy them or sell them as we please, and dispose of their "trade" for our own advantage. What is that but the policy of Spain to her dependencies? What can we expect as a consequence of it? Nothing but that it will bring us where Spain is now.

But then, if it is not right for us to hold these islands as dependencies, you may ask me whether I think that we ought to take them into our Union, at least some of them, and let them help to govern us. Certainly not. . . .

. . . It is unwisdom to take into a State like this any foreign element which is not congenial to it. Any such element will act as a solvent upon it. Consequently we are brought by our new conquests face to face with this dilemma: we must either hold them as inferior possessions, to be ruled and exploited by us after the fashion of the old colonial system, or we must take them in on an equality with ourselves, where they will help to govern us and to corrupt a political system which they do not understand and in which they cannot participate. From that dilemma there is no escape except to give them independence and to let them work out their own salvation or go without it. . . .

We are told that we must have a big army hereafter. What for; unless we propose to do again by and by what we have just done? In that case our neighbors have reason to ask themselves who we will attack next. They must begin to arm, too, and by our act the whole western world is plunged into the distress under which the eastern world is groaning. . . .

Everywhere you go on the continent of Europe at this hour you see the conflict between militarism and industrialism. You see the expansion of industrial power pushed forward by the energy, hope, and thrift of men, and you see the development arrested, diverted, crippled, and defeated by measures which are dictated by military considerations. . . . It is militarism which is eating up all the products of science and art, defeating the energy of the population and wasting its savings. It is militarism which forbids the people to give their attention to the problems of their own welfare and to give their strength to the education and comfort of their children. It is militarism which is combating the grand efforts of science and art to ameliorate the struggle for existence. . . .

Now what will hasten the day when our present advantages will wear out and when we shall come down to the conditions of the older and densely populated nations? The answer is: war, debt, taxation, diplomacy, a grand governmental system, pomp, glory, a big army and navy, lavish expenditures, political jobbery—in a word, imperialism. . . .

Expansion and imperialism are at war with the best traditions, principles, and interests of the American people, and that they will plunge us into a network of difficult problems and political perils, which we might have avoided, while they offer us no corresponding advantage in return. . . . Three years ago we were on the verge of a law to keep immigrants out who were not good enough to be in with us. Now we are going to take in eight million barbarians and semi-barbarians, and we are paying twenty million dollars to get them. . . . That is the great fundamental cause of what I have tried to show throughout this lecture, that we cannot govern dependencies consistently with our political system, and that, if we try it, the State which our fathers founded will suffer a reaction which will transform it into another empire just after the fashion of all the old ones. That is what imperialism means. That is what it will be; and the democratic republic, which has been, will stand in history, like the colonial organization of earlier days, as a mere transition form.

And yet this scheme of a republic which our fathers formed was a glorious dream which demands more than a word of respect and affection before it passes away. . . . We know that these beliefs, hopes, and intentions have been only partially fulfilled. We know that, as time has gone on and we have grown numerous and rich, some of these things have proved impossible ideals, incompatible with a large and flourishing society, but it is by virtue of this conception of a commonwealth that the United States has stood for something

unique and grand in the history of mankind and that its people have been happy. It is by virtue of these ideals that we have been "isolated," isolated in a position which the other nations of the earth have observed in silent envy; and yet there are people who are boasting of their patriotism, because they say that we have taken our place now amongst the nations of the earth by virtue of this war. My patriotism is of the kind which is outraged by the notion that the United States never was a great nation until in a petty three months' campaign it knocked to pieces a poor, decrepit, bankrupt old state like Spain. To hold such an opinion as that is to abandon all American standards, to put shame and scorn on all that our ancestors tried to build up here, and to go over to the standards of which Spain is a representative.

Introduction to Documents 3 and 4

Theodore Roosevelt was one of the most aggressive advocates of overseas empire. He was part of a group of like-minded men who pushed for expansion, men such as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Brooks Adams, all from powerful and wealthy families. Not only did Roosevelt become the most prominent spokesman for freeing Cuba and the Philippines from Spanish rule, annexing Hawaii, and asserting American military might around the world, but as assistant secretary of the Navy in the late 1890s, he was in a position to build up American sea power and beat the drums of war from inside the government. When the Spanish-American War began, Roosevelt resigned his job, obtained a commission as colonel, raised a regiment known as the Rough Riders, and led his men in a bloody charge up San Juan Hill in Cuba.

Document 3 is taken from Roosevelt's speech "The Strenuous Life," given to an audience of businessmen and local leaders at the Hamilton Club in Chicago on April 10, 1899. The very phrase "the strenuous life" became an emblem for the age of Roosevelt. Document 4 is an address called "National Duties" given by Roosevelt at the Minnesota State Fair on September 2, 1901. Four days later, just six months after Roosevelt had assumed the vice presidency, President William McKinley was assassinated. In this speech, Roosevelt asserted America's obligation as a powerful democratic nation to bring civilization to others. What were Roosevelt's views on the role of war, the obligations of wealthy and powerful people like himself, the place of women in society, and the limits of acceptable dissent?

DOCUMENT 3

"THE STRENUOUS LIFE"

Theodore Roosevelt

In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man

who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

A life of slothful ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself and from his sons shall be demanded of the American nation as a whole. Who among you would teach your boys that ease, that peace, is to be the first consideration in their eyes—to be the ultimate goal after which they strive? . . . We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbor, who is prompt to help a friend, but who has those virile qualities necessary to win the stern strife of actual life. . . . A mere life of ease is not in the end a very satisfactory life, and, above all, it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world.

In the last analysis a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavor, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk. The man must be glad to do a man's work, to dare and endure and to labor; to keep himself, and to keep those dependent upon him. The woman must be the housewife, the helpmeet of the homemaker, the wise and fearless mother of many healthy children. . . . When men fear work or fear righteous war, when women fear motherhood, they tremble on the brink of doom; and well it is that they should vanish from the earth, where they are fit subjects for the scorn of all men and women who are themselves strong and brave and high-minded.

As it is with the individual, so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things, and war and strife the worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives, we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heartbreak of many women, the dissolution of many homes, and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We could have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it, we would have shown that we were weaklings, and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln, and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days, let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected; that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced, and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among nations.

We of this generation do not have to face a task such as that our fathers faced, but we have our tasks, and woe to us if we fail to perform them! We cannot, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them, sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk, busying ourselves only with the wants of our bodies for the day, until suddenly we should find, beyond a shadow of question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound, in the end, to go down before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill. In 1898 we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest, or enter into it as beseemed a brave and high-spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make of our dealings with these new problems a dark and shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. If we undertake the solution, there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright; but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we cannot possibly solve it aright. The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and an army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. They believe in that cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues in a nation, as it saps them in the individual; or else they are wedded to that base spirit of gain and greed which recognizes in commercialism the be-all and end-all of national life, instead of realizing that, though an indispensable element, it is, after all, but one of the many elements that go to make up true national greatness. No country can long endure if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity which comes from thrift, from business energy and enterprise, from hard, unsparing effort in the fields of industrial activity; but neither was any nation ever yet truly great if it relied upon material prosperity alone. All honor must be paid to the architects of our material prosperity, to the great captains of industry who have built our factories and our railroads, to the strong men who toil for wealth with brain or hand; for great is the debt of the nation to these and their kind. But our debt is yet greater to the men whose highest type is to be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Grant. They showed by their lives that they recognized the law of work, the law of strife; they toiled to win a competence for themselves and those dependent upon them; but they

recognized that there were yet other and even loftier duties—duties to the nation and duties to the race.

We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests, and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and the West.

So much for the commercial side. From the standpoint of international honor the argument is even stronger. The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediæval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform, and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work, and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to carry to successful completion the labors that great and high-spirited nations are eager to undertake. . . .

The problems are different for the different islands. Porto Rico is not large enough to stand alone. We must govern it wisely and well, primarily in the interest of its own people. Cuba is, in my judgment, entitled ultimately to settle for itself whether it shall be an independent state or an integral portion of the mightiest of republics. But until order and stable liberty are secured, we must remain in the island to insure them, and infinite tact, judgment, moderation, and courage must be shown by our military and civil representatives in keeping the island pacified, in relentlessly stamping out brigandage, in protecting all alike, and yet in showing proper recognition to the men who have fought for Cuban liberty. The Philippines offer a yet graver problem. Their population includes half-caste and native Christians, warlike Moslems, and wild pagans. Many of their people are utterly unfit for self-government, and show no signs of becoming fit. Others may in time become fit but at present can only take part in self-government under a wise supervision, at once firm and beneficent. We have driven Spanish tyranny from the islands. If we now let it be replaced by savage anarchy, our work has been for harm and not for good. I have scant patience with those who fear to undertake the task of governing the Philippines, and who openly avow that they do fear to undertake it, or that they shrink from it because of the expense and trouble; but I have even scanter patience with those who make a pretense of humanitarianism to hide and cover their timidity, and who cant about "liberty" and the "consent of the governed," in order to excuse themselves for their unwillingness to play the part of men. Their doctrines, if carried out, would make it incumbent upon us to leave the Apaches of Arizona to work out their own salvation, and to decline to interfere in a single Indian reservation. Their doctrines condemn your forefathers and mine for ever having settled in these United States.

England's rule in India and Egypt has been of great benefit to England, for it has trained up generations of men accustomed to look at the larger and loftier side of public life. It has been of even greater benefit to India and Egypt.

And finally, and most of all, it has advanced the cause of civilization. So, if we do our duty aright in the Philippines, we will add to that national renown which is the highest and finest part of national life, will greatly benefit the people of the Philippine Islands, and, above all, we will play our part well in the great work of uplifting mankind. But to do this work, keep ever in mind that we must show in a very high degree the qualities of courage, of honesty, and of good judgment. Resistance must be stamped out. The first and all-important work to be done is to establish the supremacy of our flag. We must put down armed resistance before we can accomplish anything else, and there should be no parleying, no faltering, in dealing with our foe. As for those in our own country who encourage the foe, we can afford contemptuously to disregard them; but it must be remembered that their utterances are not saved from being treasonable merely by the fact that they are despicable. . . .

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified, for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.

DOCUMENT 4

"NATIONAL DUTIES"

Theodore Roosevelt

. . . Our country had been populated by pioneers, and therefore it has in it more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power than any other in the wide world. . . . The men who with ax in the forests and pick in the mountains and plow on the prairies pushed to completion the dominion of our people over the American wilderness have given the definite shape to our nation. They have shown the qualities of daring, endurance, and far-sightedness, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which go to make up the essential manliness of the American character. Above all, they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life—the law of worthy work, the law of high, resolute endeavor. We have but little room among our people for the timid, the irresolute, and the idle; and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great. . . .

It is because we believe with all our heart and soul in the greatness of this country, because we feel the thrill of hardy life in our veins, and are confident

that to us is given the privilege of playing a leading part in the century that has just opened, that we hail with eager delight the opportunity to do whatever task Providence may allot us. . . .

Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion, the expansion being of different kinds at different times. This expansion is not a matter of regret, but of pride. It is vain to tell a people as masterful as ours that the spirit of enterprise is not safe. The true American has never feared to run risks when the prize to be won was of sufficient value. No nation capable of self-government, and of developing by its own efforts a sane and orderly civilization, no matter how small it may be, has anything to fear from us. Our dealings with Cuba illustrate this, and should be forever a subject of just national pride. We speak in no spirit of arrogance when we state as a simple historic fact that never in recent times has any great nation acted with such disinterestedness as we have shown in Cuba. . . .

In the Philippines we have brought peace, and we are at this moment giving them such freedom and self-government as they could never under any conceivable conditions have obtained had we turned them loose to sink into a welter of blood and confusion, or to become the prey of some strong tyranny without or within. The bare recital of the facts is sufficient to show that we did our duty; and what prouder title to honor can a nation have than to have done its duty? We have done our duty to ourselves, and we have done the higher duty of promoting the civilization of mankind. The first essential of civilization is law. Anarchy is simply the handmaiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Law and order enforced with justice and by strength lie at the foundations of civilization. Law must be based upon justice, else it cannot stand, and it must be enforced with resolute firmness, because weakness in enforcing it means in the end that there is no justice and no law, nothing but the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous strength. Without the habit of orderly obedience to the law, without the stern enforcement of the laws at the expense of those who defiantly resist them, there can be no possible progress, moral or material, in civilization. There can be no weakening of the law-abiding spirit here at home, if we are permanently to succeed; and just as little can we afford to show weakness abroad. Lawlessness and anarchy were put down in the Philippines as a prerequisite to introducing the reign of justice.

Barbarism has, and can have, no place in a civilized world. It is our duty toward the people living in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can free them only by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant, and the soldier may each have to play a part in this destruction, and in the consequent uplifting of the people. Exactly as it is the duty of a civilized power scrupulously to respect the rights of all weaker civilized powers and gladly to help those who are struggling toward civilization, so it is its duty to put down savagery and barbarism. As in such a work human instruments must be used, and as human instruments are imperfect, this means that at times there will be injustice; that at times merchant or soldier, or even missionary, may do wrong. Let us instantly condemn and rectify such wrong when it occurs, and if possible punish the wrongdoer. But shame, thrice shame to us, if we are so foolish as to make such occasional wrong-doing an excuse for failing to perform a great and righteous task. Not only in our own land, but throughout the world, throughout all history, the advance of civilization has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, and those through whom it has

advanced deserve the highest honor. All honor to the missionary, all honor to the soldier, all honor to the merchant who now in our own day have done so much to bring light into the world's dark places.

Let me insist again, for fear of possible misconstruction, upon the fact that our duty is twofold, and that we must raise others while we are benefiting ourselves. In bringing order to the Philippines, our soldiers added a new page to the honor-roll of American history, and they incalculably benefited the islanders themselves. Under the wise administration of Governor Taft the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed. But this peace and liberty under the law must be supplemented by material, by industrial development. Every encouragement should be given to their commercial development, to the introduction of American industries and products; not merely because this will be a good thing for our people, but infinitely more because it will be of incalculable benefit to the people in the Philippines.

We shall make mistakes; and if we let these mistakes frighten us from our work we shall show ourselves weaklings. Half a century ago Minnesota and the two Dakotas were Indian hunting-grounds. We committed plenty of blunders, and now and then worse than blunders, in our dealings with the Indians. But who does not admit at the present day that we were right in wresting from barbarism and adding to civilization the territory out of which we have made these beautiful States? And now we are civilizing the Indian and putting him on a level to which he could never have attained under the old conditions.

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundredfold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope ultimately a self-governing people. In short, in the work we have done we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. . . . We gird up our loins as a nation, with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph; and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right, as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story.

Introduction to Document 5

Although most newspapers supported government policy, there was dissent. Document 5 consists of five newspaper articles that appeared in the summer of 1899, shortly after Roosevelt's "Strenuous Life" speech, and during the height of the controversy following President McKinley's decision to annex the Philippines. The first, an editorial from the *New York Evening Post*, directly challenged Roosevelt's ideas. The second piece is from the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, and it suggested that the war threatened to become more costly and difficult than its supporters had admitted.

The article from the *Baltimore Sun* contains an interview with an American naval commander newly returned from the Philippines who denied that the Filipinos were either "barbaric" or "uncivilized." "The True American," which appeared in the *Springfield Republican*, again challenged Roosevelt and condemned expansion as a violation of American democratic ideals. The last article is actually an anonymous letter from a black soldier to the editor of the *New York Age*—an African-American newspaper—which expressed anger at the racism of white American troops toward the Filipinos. Taken together, these pieces give a good sense of how controversial the question of empire had become

DOCUMENT 5

PRESS OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

NEW YORK EVENING POST

. . . Governor Roosevelt's recent speech in Chicago . . . glorified war and fighting as the only remedies of a nation against what he is fond of calling on all occasions "ignoble peace."

. . . This is the gospel of war for the sake of war, of fighting, not merely or necessarily for a just and righteous and inevitable cause, but for the effect upon your own virility. Whatever you do, you must fight. The worst thing that can happen to a man or a nation is to remain long in peace. That is to become "despicable," "ignoble," "slothful," an object of contempt to yourself and to the world. This is the view of the savage, the barbarian. If Governor Roosevelt had lived seven centuries ago, Richard the Lion-hearted and his associate crusaders would have had an effective and congenial ally. His sentiments about war and peace are precisely those which Richard and his contemporaries had, and one wonders, every time our bellicose governor makes his now so familiar speech on the subject, how it happens that he was born so late in the world's progress, how it happens that he is so belated a "left-over." One searches in vain through his utterances for any recognition of despised peace as the promoter of civilization. Peace is well enough in his eyes if it be not too long maintained. A world in permanent peace, to his mind, is a world peopled with cowards, sloths, weaklings and silly prattlers.

. . . The Roosevelt view of life is essentially a boy's view, and if it were to become the permanent basis of a national policy would make us the most turbulent people the world has ever seen. Our national life would become one perpetual Donnybrook fair, with "rows" with every power that got within range of us, for no other purpose than the development of our "virile strength," lest we become a nation of sloths.

Happily there is no danger of such a future for us. Our governor is not taken seriously by anybody except himself when he talks "war." . . . So long as he insists upon favoring war as the chief end of man, without which the human race can make no progress towards what Admiral Sampson so well calls the "true living which we all long for," the people of this country will never trust him in a station in which he can carry out his views. . . .

NEW ORLEANS TIMES-DEMOCRAT

. . . It is something gained that we have at least recognized the fact that the Filipinos do not fight in exactly the same way as we do. It is, of course, altogether wrong for them not to do so, and they should, as several of the Western papers have shown them, "come out in the open" and fight it out with us instead of skulking in the bamboo swamps, and thus prolonging the war, putting us to great inconvenience and no little expense; but the guerilla fighting seems to suit them and the character of the country better, and they have utterly refused to grant our wishes in this matter. It is the kind of fighting which they carried on against Spain more or less successfully for a century, and they cannot reasonably be expected to change their customs because there is a new enemy in the field and we bought the Filipino war from Spain for $20,000,000. . . .

We are beginning to realize the fact—even the imperialists—that we have bought from Spain a very disagreeable guerilla war, in which there are no honors to win, but much loss, expense, and vexation of spirit. . . . As [the Philippines] is a land of swamps and mountains, an ideal country for guerilla warfare, with a malarial tropical climate disastrous to Americans, we can realize the bargain we bought from Spain. . . . It is time for us to count up the cost and see whether our Philippine bargain is worth what we are likely to pay for it before we get through, and then determine whether it would not be better to cease this war of McKinley's, which has accomplished so very little beyond showing the courage and fighting quality of our soldiers, and restore peace in the islands so as to allow their development, retaining such control over them that the United States would share in the prosperity and commerce that would come with peace and order.

BALTIMORE SUN

Commander John D. Ford, fleet engineer of the Asiatic station, reached his home, No. 1522 West Lanvale street, on Saturday morning before noon, after an absence of a year and a half, most of which period he spent on board the cruiser "Baltimore," in the bay of Manila. . . .

"When I left," said Mr. Ford yesterday, "we held not quite so much ground as was ours during the first part of August last year, and our lines were restricted to the suburbs of Manila. The troops did push out into the country, but could not hold the ground they made by raids and were obliged to fall back. It is impossible to conquer the people or to gain the islands without more troops. If we send a great many more soldiers out there and bend all our energies to doing it, we can beat them and take the islands. It would mean great loss of life and considerable time, but it could be done. . . .

"The Filipinos pictured in the sensational papers are not the men we are fighting. They are entirely distinct and separate. The fellows we deal with out there are not ignorant savages, fighting with bows and arrows, but an intelligent, liberty-loving people, full of courage and determination. The idea that the Filipino is an uncivilized being is a mistaken one. Originally the natives of those islands sprang from Japanese stock, and are identically the same race,

with a change of language and customs. There was a time when the feudal system prevailed in Manila, but no vestige now remains, and the savagery of the people is found only in the very lowest class. . . .

"As for their condition now, as far as I can see, they are stronger, more determined, and more skilful in the art of war than when the fighting out there started, and as the days go by they increase in strength and knowledge, having nine or eleven millions of people to draw from. They are armed with Mausers, the best rifle in the world,—and are far better marksmen than the Spaniards. At first they shot high and missed, but now they have caught on and aim low, with deadly effect. They have a good government now, which they are operating successfully, and preserve law and order. They certainly don't think theirs is a hopeless fight, and I don't think any one else does who knows anything about it.

"What they are fighting for now is absolute and entire liberty. They don't want us there or over them, and in the course of time might wear out our patience entirely. An excellent postal and telegraph system is in existence, which we wish very much we could get hold of. While they fight for entire freedom, all they ask is a chance for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and they care not whether it be a republic of their own or some form devised for them by the great United States of North America. I see nothing promising in the struggle now or any hope of speedy success on our part, unless many more troops are sent out. . . ."

SPRINGFIELD *[MASSACHUSETTS]* REPUBLICAN

What is an American—a true American? It is to be first of all, we conceive, a friend of liberty and self-government at home and abroad. . . .

Anti-imperialism is a misnomer. The fight of to-day, like the battle of long ago, is not negative, but positive. The real Americans do not represent negation, but stand for an idea and a belief; they are the heritors of the fathers, the defenders of the national faith, and in their keeping is the ark of the covenant. It is time to insist upon this, to press it, and to fight for it through every avenue of effort. There is not only open and brazen renunciation of the fundamental doctrines which make a republic, but there is the assertion, no longer thinly disguised, that our democracy is called of God to police the world—and that in order to do this we must doff the garments of peaceful republicanism, put on an old-world uniform, and, in the graphic language of Governor Roosevelt, "see that the outburst of savagery" (that we have stirred up by outraging the spirit of liberty) "is repressed once for all." It is a relentless programme, and one impossible of execution. Repression of that sort never represses—but we need not discuss that now.

Our firm belief and expectation is that the people of the United States will, soon or late, stand where they always have stood—with Lincoln and not with Roosevelt. The one is an American and the other represents Anglo-Americanism, and there is not room here for both. We shall stick to the new-world type. As it was in 1776, it must be now, else we shall recant and fall away from the simple yet prophetic and sufficient faith of Washington and Lincoln. Shall we exalt militarism more than struggling freedom, power more than principle, and

hold physical dominion higher than the moral sway and helpfulness that has made liberty, as we have practised it with all our imperfections, the light of the world?

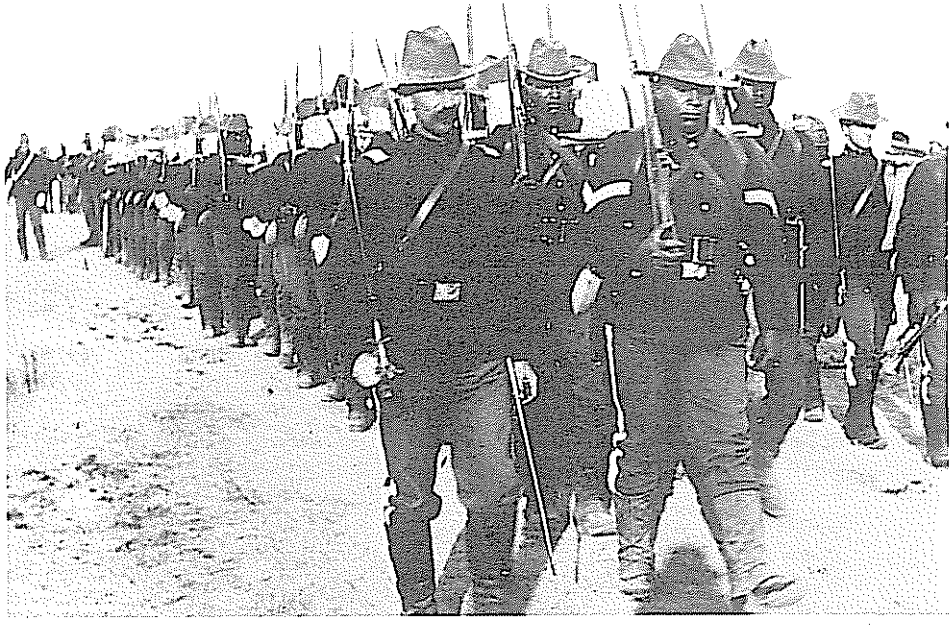
The issue has been joined; soon it will stand in clear outline for the popular consideration and choice. We hold it to be a self-evident proposition, made so by the national premises, that it is not for us to impose governments upon other people, but to protect republicanism, to develop it, and to stand by it. It is for us to throw aside "old-world molds," and not to take them up as something better and more desirable than our proved ideals of liberty; to have the "brave old wisdom of sincerity," and live up to the stalwart measure of our own unsurpassed national life.

NEW YORK AGE

Editor, New York Age

I have mingled freely with the natives and have had talks with American colored men here in business and who have lived here for years, in order to learn of them the cause of their (Filipino) dissatisfaction and the reason for this insurrection, and I must confess they have a just grievance. All this never would have occurred if the army of occupation would have treated them as people. The Spaniards, even if their laws were hard, were polite and treated them with some consideration; but the Americans, as soon as they saw that the native troops were desirous of sharing in the glories as well as the hardships of the hard-won battles with the Americans, began to apply home treatment for colored peoples: cursed them as damned niggers, steal [from] and ravish them, rob them on the street of their small change, take from the fruit vendors whatever suited their fancy, and kick the poor unfortunate if he complained, desecrate their church property, and after fighting began, looted everything in sight, burning, robbing the graves.

This may seem a little tall—but I have seen with my own eyes carcasses lying bare in the boiling sun, the results of raids on receptacles for the dead in search of diamonds. The [white] troops, thinking we would be proud to emulate their conduct, have made bold of telling their exploits to us. One fellow, member of the 13th Minnesota, told me how some fellows he knew had cut off a native woman's arm in order to get a fine inlaid bracelet. On upbraiding some fellows one morning, whom I met while out for a walk (I think they belong to a Nebraska or Minnesota regiment, and they were stationed on the Malabon road) for the conduct of the American troops toward the natives and especially as to raiding, etc., the reply was: "Do you think we could stay over here and fight these damn niggers without making it pay all it's worth? The government only pays us $13 per month: that's starvation wages. White men can't stand it." Meaning they could not live on such small pay. In saying this they never dreamed that Negro soldiers would never countenance such conduct. They talked with impunity of "niggers" to our soldiers, never once thinking that they were talking to home "niggers" and should they be brought to remember that at home this is the same vile epithet they hurl at us, they beg pardon and make some effeminate excuse about what the Filipino is called.



The 24th U.S. "colored" infantry. Since the Civil War black soldiers had served in segregated units under white officers. These men were bound for Cuba. (Library of Congress)

> I want to say right here that if it were not for the sake of the 10,000,000 black people in the United States, God alone knows on which side of the subject I would be. And for the sake of the black men who carry arms and pioneer for them as their representatives, ask them to not forget the present administration at the next election. Party be damned! We don't want these islands, not in the way we are to get them, and for Heaven's sake, put the party [Democratic] in power that pledged itself against this highway robbery. Expansion is too clean a name for it.
>
> *[Unsigned]*

Introduction to Document 6

The public debate over American annexation of the Philippines proved so heated that a special congressional committee was appointed to investigate the conduct of the war. Although the Committee on the Philippines (chaired by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge) was established in January 1900, hearings did not begin until two years later. The following two interviews, part of the investigation, give a sense of the conduct of the war, and of why it was so controversial. Robert P. Hughes was a brigadier general who commanded American troops in the Philippines at the turn

of the century Charles S Riley had risen from private to first sargeant; he had served in the Philippines from October 1899 through March 1901

DOCUMENT 6

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT P. HUGHES

Sen. Rawlins: In burning towns, what would you do? Would the entire town be destroyed by fire or would only offending portions of the town be burned?

Gen. Hughes: I do not know that we ever had a case of burning what you would call a town in this country, but probably a barrio or a sitio; probably a half a dozen houses, native shacks, where the insurrectos would go in and be concealed, and if they caught a detachment passing they would kill some of them.

Sen. Rawlins: What did I understand you to say would be the consequences of that?

Gen. Hughes: They usually burned the village.

The burning of civilian homes in Manila, 1899. (Library of Congress)

Sen. Rawlins: All of the houses in the village?
Gen. Hughes: Yes; every one of them.
Sen. Rawlins: What would become of the inhabitants?
Gen. Hughes: That was their lookout. . . .
Gen. Hughes: The destruction was as a punishment. They permitted these people to come in there and conceal themselves and they gave no sign. It is always—
Sen. Rawlins: The punishment in that case would fall, not upon the men, who could go elsewhere, but mainly upon the women and little children.
Gen. Hughes: The women and children are part of the family, and where you wish to inflict a punishment you can punish the man probably worse in that way than in any other.
Sen. Rawlins: But is that within the ordinary rules of civilized warfare? Of course you could exterminate the family, which would be still worse punishment.
Gen. Hughes: These people are not civilized.
Sen. Rawlins: But is that within the ordinary rules of civilized warfare?
Gen. Hughes: No; I think it is not.
Sen. Rawlins: You think it is not?
Sen. Dietrich: In order to carry on civilized warfare both sides have to engage in such warfare.
Gen. Hughes: Yes, sir; certainly. That is the point. . . .
Gen. Hughes: The first year, as I have said, we adhered strictly to the rules. We did not arrest anyone and confine him unless he was actually caught with arms in his hands. In such cases he was, of course, kept as a prisoner of war.
The next year we found that we had to arrest a great many people who were not in uniform, the evidence being that they were in the habit of assisting the enemy in different ways. They would assist them by sending food to them. They were collectors, collecting money. They were possibly getting cartridges from our men, making collections of them, and sending them out. There were all these things of that sort. Those people were arrested, and in some instances probably tried. Of course, I cannot fix this positively by dates. . . .
The third year we arrested a great many more, and as to those who were caught red-handed, I think the local commander was very apt to burn them out.
Sen. Hale: What did he do with the individual?
Gen. Hughes: He was very apt to burn his shack.
Sen. Hale: What did they do with the individual?
Gen. Hughes: They probably carried him off.
Sen. Hale: Where?
Gen. Hughes: To one of their prisons. . . .

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES S. RILEY

Q. During your service there [in the Philippine Islands] did you witness what is generally known as the water cure?—*A.* I did.
Q. When and where? *A.* On November 27, 1900, in the town of Igbaras, Iloilo Province, Panay Island. . . .

Wounded Filipinos in a U.S. army camp. (Library of Congress)

Q. You may state what you saw.—*A.* I saw the *presidente* standing in the—

Q. Whom do you mean by the *presidente?*—*A.* The head official of the town.

Q. The town of Igbaras?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. A Filipino?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. How old was he?—*A.* I should judge that he was a man of about forty or forty-five years.

Q. When you saw him, what was his condition?—*A.* He was stripped to the waist; he had nothing on but a pair of white trousers, and his hands were tied behind him.

Q. Do you remember who had charge of him?—*A.* Captain Glenn stood there beside him and one or two men were tying him. . . .

. . . *A.* He was then taken and placed under the tank, and the faucet was opened and a stream of water was forced down or allowed to run down his throat; his throat was held so he could not prevent swallowing the water, so that he had to allow the water to run into his stomach.

Q. What connection was there between the faucet and his mouth?—*A.* There was no connection; he was directly under the faucet.

Q. Directly under the faucet?—*A.* Directly under the faucet and with his mouth held wide open.

Q. Was anything done besides forcing his mouth open and allowing the water to run down?—*A.* When he was filled with water it was forced out of him by pressing a foot on his stomach or else with their hands.

Q. How long was his mouth held open?—*A.* That I could not state exactly, whether it was by pressing the cheek or throat. Some say that it was the throat, but I could not state positively as to that, as to exactly how they held his mouth open.

Q. About how long was that continued?—*A.* I should say from five to fifteen minutes.

Q. During the process what officers were present, if anybody?—*A.* Lieutenant Conger was present practically all the time. Captain Glenn walked back and forth from one room to the other, and went in there two or three times. Lieutenant Conger was in command of water detail; it was under his supervision.

Q. You may state whether or not there was any Filipino interpreter present.—*A.* There was a native interpreter that stood directly over this man—the *presidente*—as he lay on the floor.

Q. Did you observe whether the interpreter communicated with this *presidente*?—*A.* He did at different times. He practically kept talking to him all the time, kept saying some one word which I should judge meant "confess" or "answer."

Q. Could you understand what was said?—*A.* No, sir; I could not understand the native tongue at all.

Q. At the conclusion, what then was done?—*A.* After he was willing to answer he was allowed to partly sit up, and kind of rolled on his side, and then he answered the questions put to him by the officer through the interpreter.

Sen. Burrows: I understood you to say that American soldiers were present when this water cure was administered?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. How many?—*A.* About eighty.

Q. Did any of them take part in it?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. How many of them?—*A.* I could not tell you the exact number of different ones. There were usually five or six employed. Whether they were the same five or six employed the time the treatment was given the second time, I could not state.

The Chairman: Were they the men of the Eighteenth?

The Witness: Yes, sir.

Sen. Burrows: By whose orders—*A.* Captain Glenn.

Q. Who is Captain Glenn?—*A.* Judge-advocate of the Department of Visayas. He was captain of the Twenty-fifth Infantry.

Q. Were those eighty men intoxicated, or were any of them intoxicated?—*A.* No, sir.

Q. All sober and in their right minds?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. When they filled this man up with water they were sober?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. What had been his crime?—*A.* Information had been obtained from a native source as to his being an insurgent officer. After the treatment he admitted that he held the rank of captain in the insurgent army—an active captain. His police force, numbering twenty-five, were sworn insurgent soldiers. He was the *presidente* of the town and had been for a year, and he always showed himself to be friendly on the outside to the officers, and the men the same way.

Sen. Beveridge: But in reality—

The Witness: He was an insurgent officer and his men were insurgent soldiers. He acknowledged that, and his police acknowledged the same

thing. When they took the oath as police they took the oath of an insurgent soldier.

The Chairman: Were they supposed to be friendly to the United States?

The Witness: They were; yes, sir.

Sen. Beveridge: That was a pretense?—*A.* Yes, sir.

Q. And this was during the time of active warfare?—*A.* Yes, sir; during the entire time he held the place as the *presidente* in that town.

Sen. Burrows: His offense was treachery to the American cause?—*A.* Yes, sir. . . .

Postscript

Mark Twain returned to the United States in October 1900, after nearly a decade overseas. He had supported American intervention in Cuba, for he believed the war against Spain to be a selfless act of a free people intent on helping a neighbor gain its liberty. Yet as the new century approached, he looked with growing horror on America's ongoing presence in Cuba and its ugly guerrilla war in the Philippines. Twain became an outspoken anti-imperialist.

The cause elicited some of the most scathing words from his "pen warmed-up in hell," for Twain viewed imperial expansion, especially by America, as a betrayal of Christian and democratic ideals. On December 30, 1900, in the pages of the New York *Herald*, he greeted the new century with an attack on the role of churches and missionaries: "I bring you the stately matron named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched and dishonored from pirate raids in Kiao-Chow, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pockets full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies. Give her soap and a towel, but hide the looking glass."

For the next several years, Twain wrote a series of articles, open letters, and reviews condemning American overseas expansion. He turned away from his original notion of the Spanish-American War as a good cause gone bad and came to see expansionist rhetoric as a cynical cover for avarice. Soon imperialist spokesmen accused Twain of treason, a charge that redoubled his activities. Patriotism, he argued, consisted of following one's own conscience; Filipinos resisting the American invasion were patriots, while American jingoists were traitors to their own ideals.

One of Twain's angriest attacks on American policy came in the article, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" (*North American Review*, February 1901):

> We have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have turned against the weak and the friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back and slapped the face of a guest; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world.

Perhaps Twain's most despairing antiwar statement was published posthumously. "I have told the whole truth," he declared, "and only dead men can tell the truth in this world. It can be published after I am dead." "The War-Prayer" appeared six years after he died, in the November 1916 issue of *Harper's Monthly*. Twain describes a community preparing for war, with bands and parades swelling the patriotic fervor. On Sunday before the troops leave for the front, the church is filled, and the preacher offers a prayer asking the Lord to bless the soldiers' efforts with victory.

Just as the minister finishes his supplication, an aged stranger with long white hair and robes that reach to the floor ascends the pulpit. He motions the preacher aside and addresses the congregation. He bears a message from the Almighty. God has heard their words and will grant their wishes, but they must know that with their spoken prayer has gone an unspoken one. "O Lord, our God," he prays,

> "help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of their desolated land. . . —for our sakes who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask it in the spirit of love, of Him Who is the Source of Love, . . . Amen.
>
> "[*After a Pause*] Ye have prayed it; if ye still desire it, speak!—The messenger of the Most High waits."
>
> It was believed afterwards, that the man was a lunatic, because there was no sense in what he said.

Probing the Sources

1. What was the fighting like in the Philippines? How did the nature of the war itself relate to people's characterization of the Philippine people?
2. What ideas about racial groups do you find in Beveridge, Sumner, and Roosevelt? What was the relationship of those ideas to their views on overseas expansion?
3. What did Sumner mean by Spain's conquest of the United States? Why did he believe an overseas empire would make America weaker? Why did the anti-imperialists believe that freedom was endangered?
4. Describe Beveridge's beliefs about America's special mission in the world. Why did Roosevelt believe foreign territories would make America stronger? How did his ideas about citizenship relate to foreign policy?
5. How did ideas about "manhood" enter the debates on overseas expansion?

Critical Thinking

1. The selections by Roosevelt, Beveridge, and Sumner all contain a sense that American life was threatened at the turn of the century. What did they fear in the future, and why?
2. What was meant by phrases like "true Americanism," "national duties," and the "strenuous life"? In what ways did the anti-imperialists express alternatives to these concepts?
3. How did assumptions about gender influence ideology in these selections? What about race?
4. Do you think that ideologies operate more as a system of lies or as a system of metaphors? Select passages from this chapter to argue your case.
5. How did the various participants in this debate view the role of business, government, and the military in American foreign policy?

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