Name:_____

Selection 1

The New Colossus

by Emma Lazarus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twice cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Selection 2

Unguarded Gates

by Thomas Bailey Aldrich

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild motley throng—
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures from the Hoang-Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those, tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are loud,
Accents of menace alien to our air,
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!

O Liberty, white Goddess! Is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the down-trodden, but with hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Caesars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

Selection 3

Expansion of the White Races

by Theodore Roosevelt

"There is one feature in the expansion of the peoples of white, or European, blood during the past four centuries which should never be lost sight of, especially by those who denounce such expansion on moral grounds. On the whole, the movement has been fraught with lasting benefit to most of the peoples already dwelling in the lands over which the expansion took place.... It is also true that, even where great good has been done to the already existing inhabitants, where they have thriven under the new rule, it has sometimes brought with it discontent from the very fact that it has brought with it a certain amount of well-being and a certain amount of knowledge, so that people have learned enough to feel discontented and have prospered enough to be able to show their discontent. Such ingratitude is natural, and must be reckoned with as such; but it is also both unwarranted and foolish, and the fact of its existence in any given case does not justify any change of attitude on our part."

Selection 4

Restrictions of Immigration

by Francis A. Walker

"Only a short time ago, the immigrants from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than one per cent of our immigration. To-day the proportion has risen to something like forty per cent, and threatens soon to become fifty or sixty per cent, or even more. The entrance into our political, social, and industrial life of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them, as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us. They have none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government, such as belong to those who are descended from the tribes that met under the oak-trees of old Germany to make laws and choose chieftains."

Selection 5

Innocents Abroad

by Mark Twain

"Wherever we went, in Europe, Asia, or Africa, we made a sensation.... None of us had ever been any where before; we all hailed from the interior; travel was a wild novelty to us, and we conducted ourselves in accordance with the natural instincts that were in us, and trammeled ourselves with no ceremonies, no conventionalities. We always took care to make it understood that we were Americans—Americans! When we found that a good many foreigners had hardly ever heard of America, and that a good many more knew it only as a barbarous province away off somewhere, that had lately been at war with somebody, we pitied the ignorance of the Old World, but abated no jot of our importance.... The people stared at us every where, and we stared at them. We generally made them feel rather small, too, before we got done with them, because we bore down on them with America's greatness until we crushed them."

Name:_____

Selection 6

Race and Immigration

by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge

"When we speak of race we mean the moral and intellectual characters, which in their association make up the soul of a race and which represent the product of all its past, the inheritance of all its ancestors, and the motives of all its conduct. The men of each race possess an indestructible stock of ideas, traditions, sentiments, modes of thought, an unconscious inheritance upon which argument has no effect. These are the qualities which determine their social efficiency as a people, which make one race rise and another fall.

"It is on the moral qualities of the English-speaking race that our history, our victories, and all our future rest. There is only one way in which you can lower those qualities or weaken those characteristics and that is by breeding them out. If a lower race mixes with a higher in sufficient numbers, history teaches us that the lower race will prevail.... There is a limit to the capacity of any race for assimilating and elevating an inferior race, and when you begin to pour in unlimited numbers of people of alien or lower races of less social efficiency and less moral force, you are running the most frightful risk that any people can run. The lowering of a great race means not only its own decline but that of human civilization."

Selection 7

The Proposed Dual Organization of Mankind

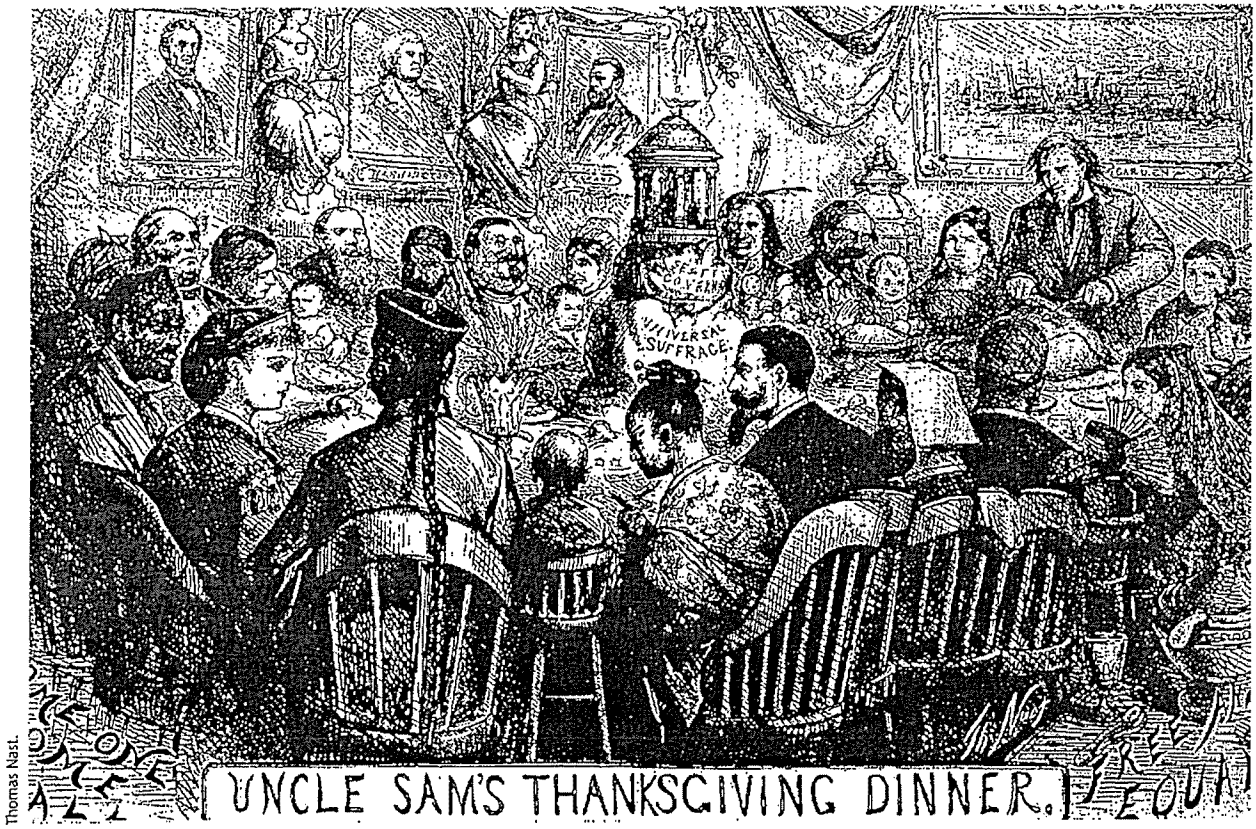
by William Graham Sumner

"The discovery, colonization, and exploitation of the outlying continents [North America, South America, and Australia] have been the most important elements in modern history. We Americans live in one of the great commonwealths which have been created by it.... In our own history we have been, first, one of the outlying communities which were being exploited, and then ourselves an old civilization exploiting outlying regions.

"The process of extension from Europe has gone on with the majesty and necessity of a process of nature. Nothing in human history can compare with it as unfolding of the drama of human life on earth under the aspects of growth, reaction, destruction, new development, and higher integration.... The extension of the higher civilization over the globe is a natural process in which we are all swept along in spite of our ethical judgments. Those men, civilized or uncivilized, who cannot or will not come into the process will be crushed under it. It is as impossible that the present and future exploitation of Africa should not go on as it is that the present inhabitants of Manhattan Island should return to Europe and let the red man come back to his rights again."

Selection 8

Political Cartoons



Thomas Nast.

Puck, 1889.

Introduction: The Question of Annexation

In 1891, the beautiful Hawaiian islands were ruled by Queen Liliuo'kalani. While Hawaii was a sovereign nation, much of its economy was dominated by American sugar plantation owners. The Hawaiian islands had long been a valuable prize. Situated halfway across the Pacific, Hawaii offered a crucial stopping point for American ships en route to East Asia. Moreover, the islands' rich volcanic soil was ideal for growing profitable tropical crops such as sugar, pineapples, and coffee.

Most of these American plantation owners favored bringing the islands officially under U.S. control. To that end, they orchestrated a coup with the help of U.S. Marines in January 1893 that toppled Hawaii's queen. The government that came to power quickly approved a treaty to allow the United States to annex, or take over, Hawaii.

Incoming president Grover Cleveland withdrew the treaty. Cleveland believed that annexation would corrupt traditional American values of freedom and equality. He also opposed Hawaii's new leaders, who in his mind had unjustly deprived the Hawaiian queen of her throne.

> ***"It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people [the native Hawaiians] requires we should endeavor to repair. If a feeble but friendly state is in danger of being robbed of its independence and its sovereignty by a misuse of the name and power of the United States, the United States cannot fail to vindicate its honor and its sense of justice by an earnest effort to make all possible reparations."***
>
> —President Grover Cleveland

Although the United States did not annex Hawaii in 1893, the question of annexation was hardly over, and by the end of 1898 the United States had not only annexed Hawaii, but also, as a result of war with Spain, taken Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

What is this reading about?

"A splendid little war," is one famous description of the Spanish-American War. The war itself was brief and the casualties were comparatively low, but the policy choices that followed laid the foundation for America's international leadership in the twentieth century. Earlier questions of liberty that had concerned President Cleveland, and of economic control that concerned the American planters in Hawaii, spread to larger portions of the American population in the late 1890s.

In Part I of the reading, you will review the cultural, economic, and political landscape in the United States during the 1890s and how it contributed to involvement overseas. In Part II, you will learn about the events of the Spanish-American War. You will then have the opportunity to participate in the debate over the question which brought the United States into a new era: Should the United States acquire Spain's former colonies? Finally, you will assess the decisions made at the time. Did they betray the values upon which the United States was founded? Or were they the inevitable results of America's rise to global power?

Today, Americans ponder many of the same questions that gripped the United States more than a century ago. Americans are again considering their identity, the role their country should play in the world, and the values they most prize. This reading will help you to place today's issues in their historical context.

Part I: The Origins of a Global Power

Why did Americans begin to look overseas in the nineteenth century? After all, President Washington, in his farewell address in 1796, had warned Americans to "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Indeed, Washington's successors for the next seventy-five years focused on expanding across the North American continent and trying to avoid becoming involved in the ambitions of the nations of Europe.

How did Westward Expansion bring power to the United States?

By the late nineteenth century, Europeans had already expanded their influence and their rule over most of the globe. They had colonized Latin America, North America, and Australia, and were just beginning to carve up Africa as well. For much of that time, the United States tried to avoid being a pawn in these European conquests. America's vulnerability led leaders to look not across oceans to gain power but instead across the continent.

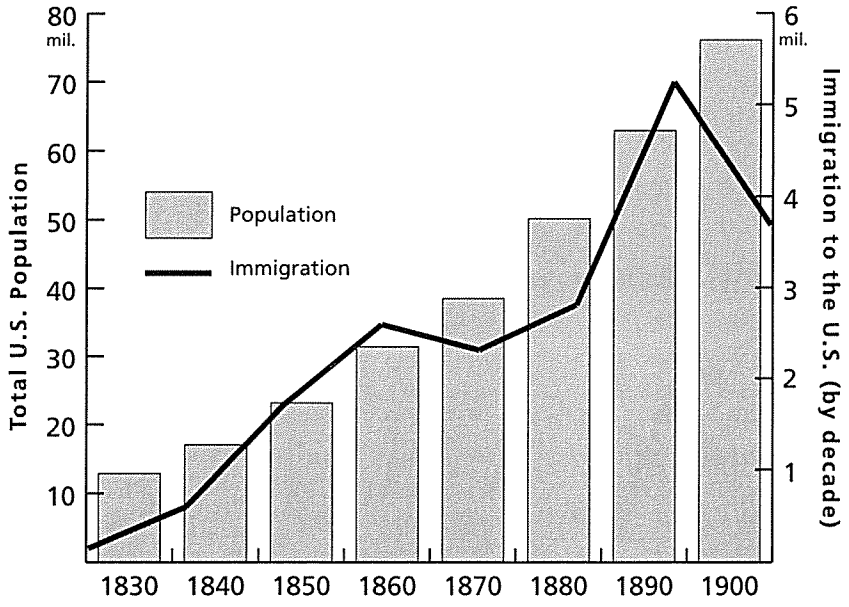
By the 1890s the United States had acquired massive lands to the west. These lands held resources that increased the country's wealth and as a result the United States built up significant economic and political power, enough even to challenge the nations of Europe. No longer could a hostile, lurking European country threaten American territory. Americans too had come to believe in the concept of Manifest Destiny, a conviction that the mission of the United States was to expand, to bring democracy to others, and to spread American values across the continent and perhaps even the world.

George Washington would have scarcely recognized his country as it approached the twentieth century. The struggling republic that he helped mold had become, in many respects, the strongest nation on earth.

The Changing United States

Virtually everything had changed since America's early years. Not only had the United States emerged as an economic and political giant, but its people and their everyday lives had been radically altered. America's self-image was changing as well—and with it the values that shaped the U.S. response to other world nations.

Population Growth and Immigration (1830-1900)



How did immigration change the United States?

Population growth and economic expansion recast the face of America in the late nineteenth century. Much of the transformation was related to immigration.

Of the seventy million people living in America in the mid-1890s, more than 45 percent were immigrants or the children of immigrants. The pace of immigration rose sharply in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the immigrants

U.S. Immigration from Leading Countries Between 1850-1900					
* = less than 0.1%	1850-60	1860-70	1870-80	1880-90	1890-1900
Ireland	36.9%	24.4%	15.4%	12.8%	11%
Germany	34.8%	35.2%	27.4%	27.5%	15.7%
Britain	13.5%	14.9%	21.1%	15.5%	8.9%
Scandinavia	0.9%	5.5%	7.6%	12.7%	10.5%
Russia	*	0.2%	1.3%	3.5%	12.2%
Austria-Hungary	*	0.2%	2.2%	6.0%	14.5%
Italy	*	0.5%	1.7%	5.1%	16.3%

themselves were broadening America's ethnic diversity.

Earlier generations of immigrants had come largely from northwestern Europe, but the wave of immigration that began in the 1880s drew substantially from eastern and southern Europe. For the first time large numbers of Slavs, Italians, and Jews came to the United States. Most of the new immigrants settled in the bustling cities of the northeast.

How did urban growth transform the United States?

The increase in immigration spurred urban growth. In George Washington's day, less than 5 percent of America's population lived in cities of eight thousand or more inhabitants. By the end of the nineteenth century, one-third of Americans were city dwellers. New York, with three million people, was one of the largest cities in the world, and Chicago, at almost 1.5 million people, was not far behind. With bigger cities came problems: overburdened transportation systems, inadequate sanitation, rising crime, substandard housing, and political corruption.

With Americans pouring into the cities, agriculture began to slip from its central place in American society. When the United States declared independence in 1776, 90 percent of Americans made their living directly or indirectly from the land. By the end of the nineteenth century, manufacturing had overtaken agriculture as the leading source of national wealth. Suburbs also came into being with the introduction of commuter rail lines.

Many Americans, and in particular the newer immigrants, worked in manufacturing plants in the cities. During the 1890s, iron and steel production became the most important industries in the nation, surging ahead of meat packing and flour milling. New inventions and discoveries in electricity, chemicals, and oil made possible other industries. The machine age made rapid inroads in the countryside, as farmers increasingly relied on railroads to receive supplies and ship their crops to market. Steam-driven farm machinery began to replace human and animal muscle in the fields.

For many people who could trace their ancestry to northern and western Europe, this influx of a new type of immigrant, as well as the increase in manufacturing, was unsettling. These people, themselves immigrants of an earlier era, were concerned that the newer immigrants were not as industrious, or intelligent, or capable of furthering the "pioneering" nature of America. They saw their presence as a threat to U.S. success because they believed that the new immigrants were changing the character of the United States away from an agricultural, settled society to one of rapid change.

At the same time, industry needed the labor of these newer immigrants to help propel the economy. For some people, this depen-

dency on immigrant labor, combined with a disdain for the people performing that labor, painted a picture of an America in danger. For many of America's elites, despite their country's economic growth, the changes in immigration and industry signaled a change in American life and American values that they did not want.

How did trade make the United States a world power?

The new immigrants helped to manufacture huge numbers of goods that other countries valued. International trade steadily gained significance in the U.S. economy towards the end of the century. The annual value of American exports passed the $1 billion mark during the 1890s, outdistancing imports by a sizable margin. The kinds of U.S. exports shifted as well.

Cotton, grain, beef, tobacco, and dairy products had long been the mainstays of U.S. trade. Advances in transportation and machine-assisted farming increased the export of agricultural goods during this era. Additionally, American manufacturers began to compete successfully with their European counterparts in the international market. By 1900, nearly one-third of American exports consisted of manufactured goods. Big businesses gained political power as small farmers were increasingly sidelined.

U.S. leaders viewed their country's trade surplus as crucial to America's continued prosperity. They geared U.S. foreign policy to find overseas markets to buy the output of America's factories and farms. Britain, Germany, and other wealthy nations worried about growing U.S. economic power. These nations sought to protect their own factories by placing high taxes, known as tariffs, on imported manufactured goods. European tariffs compelled U.S. exporters to turn to the less developed countries of Latin America and Asia to expand their sales. China, the most populous country in the world, was especially attractive.

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Main Street, Salt Lake City, in the 1890s.

How did the 1893 depression fuel concerns about the United States?

A severe economic depression in the spring of 1893 shook American optimism. Sparked by the unexpected bankruptcy of two major railroads, the New York Stock Exchange tumbled. Within a year, more than five hundred banks and sixteen thousand businesses went bankrupt. Stockpiles of goods that business could not sell caused prices to decline. Millions of Americans lost their jobs. While an economic recovery began in late 1896, the United States did not regain the prosperity of the early 1890s until 1901.

The depression led many workers to realize how vulnerable they were in an economy based on industry and manufacturing. Many saw labor strikes as one of the few ways they could gain recognition and control in their working lives. In 1894 alone, more than 500,000 workers went on strike and an additional 600,000 lost their jobs because of strike-related actions. The strikes and other

labor unrest were frightening for people as they brought instability to many Americans. City dwellers worried about insecurity, laborers worried about losing their jobs, and plant owners worried about losing profits. Similarly, for the nation's farmers, the depression of 1893 only worsened a slump in income that had started in 1888.

The depression raised concerns for many people that the United States would not be able to compete globally, that the combination of new waves of immigrants, urbanization, and industrialization had not, in fact, been good for America. Many worried what the future would hold.

Looking Outward

Notions of American identity, or sense of self, contributed to the fear as well. Since European settlers founded the first colonies, white Americans had seen the North American continent as vast, bountiful, and largely empty. As settlers moved westward, the experience of "taming" the frontier shaped the American character. The abundance of fertile land for farming, the discovery of rich mineral resources, even the destruction of Native American societies all contributed to the white American identity.

How did the concept of "frontier" shape America's national identity?

White Americans, particularly those whose families had arrived many decades previously, viewed themselves as belonging to a dynamic and opportunity-filled society. The values they chose to define the nation—re-

McKinley vs. Bryan

The 1893 depression highlighted a deepening economic divide within the American people. Many of the nation's farmers were going into more and more debt. Manufactured goods were expensive, crop prices were falling as a result of oversupply, and the prices railroads charged to move the agricultural goods to market were high. Laborers were struggling as well with low wages, poor working conditions, and long hours. At the same time, wealthy businessmen, many of whom owned the factories that produced the high-priced goods, or the railroads which traversed the country, had seen increasing profits before the 1893 depression. During the depression, pressure mounted on American politicians to put the U.S. economy back on track. Differing views about the remedy for their country's economic problems divided Americans into two groups—those that favored "cheap" money and those that favored "tight" money.

Those who favored cheap money, mostly farmers in debt, supported an increase in the money supply to lower interest rates. Lower interest rates, they thought, would ease their debt burden and prop up crop prices. Others, including President Grover Cleveland, held the opposite position. They believed that an excess of money in circulation had caused the depression in the first place. The proponents of tight money said that increasing the money supply would cause unstoppable inflation and cripple the national economy.

The money supply became a central issue in the 1896 presidential election, which offered Americans two starkly different visions of where the United States should be heading. The Republican candidate, Senator William McKinley of Ohio, was the favorite of American business interests. William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate, stood up for the struggling small farmers. He painted a picture of a sharply divided nation. On one side, according to Bryan, was the tremendous wealth of bankers and factory owners in the big cities. On the other was the poverty of working men and women laboring in the fields and mines of the countryside.

In the end, McKinley won 7.1 million votes to 6.5 million for Bryan. McKinley nearly swept the Northeast, Midwest, and pacific coast states, while the South and the West went for Bryan.

sourcefulness, bravery, pragmatism, ingenuity, individualism, egalitarianism, and patriotism—were closely tied to their concept of the western frontier.

It is important to note that not all people who lived in America shared this view of American identity. Native Americans, whose land was confiscated, black Americans, who were subject to racist laws, and Asian laborers, who built railroads and worked in gold fields were often excluded from the benefits of this "egalitarian" nation.

In addition to helping to shape many Americans' concept of their national identity, the frontier had also fueled the country's economic growth. Much of the United States' development in the nineteenth century stemmed from the exploration, settlement, and exploitation of the country's land. The availability of cheap or, in some cases, free land also attracted a stream of immigrants from Europe and provided opportunity for adventurous people. Because a typical factory worker or farm hand earned less than $2 a day, millions had been inspired by the prospect of heading for the frontier to seek their fortunes.

As a result of this earlier migration westward, the national census of 1890 revealed that the United States no longer contained a huge stretch of land unsettled by whites. To be sure, there were still large pockets of land that continued to draw settlers westward, but the frontier was no more.

In fact, the boundaries of the continental United States were more or less set by the middle of the nineteenth century. On the east and the west, two great oceans defined the country's limits. To the north, negotiations with Britain had settled border disputes with Canada. In the southwest, the Mexican-American War and the Gadsden Purchase had established the U.S.-Mexican border.

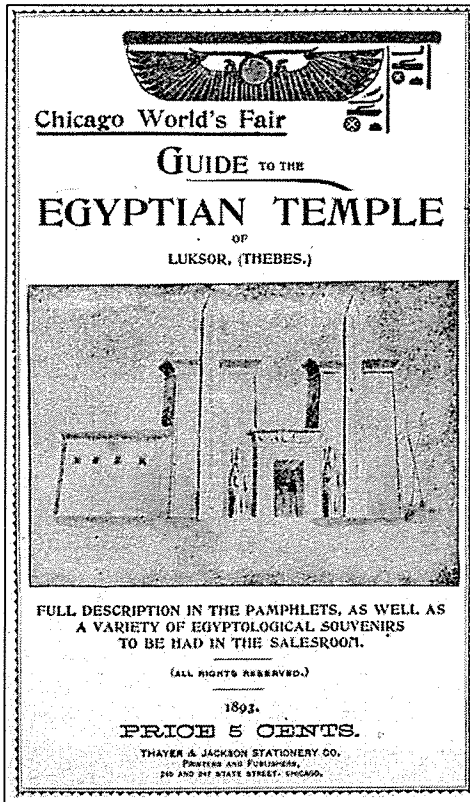
Without more land to conquer and inhabit, many white Americans, especially those from "old" families whose ancestors had immigrated many years before, looked to the future with concern. The identity they had attached to the frontier seemed to be in jeopardy. Could their nation's prosperity be sustained without an abundance of land and untapped resources? Would the divisions between economic classes harden and spark social tensions? Could the American values of expansion, resourcefulness, and hardiness survive in a country that seemed to have reached its physical limits?

How did some Americans suggest the United States could answer these fears?

While fears existed about the future, many political elites (people who held political power such as senators or governors) were also feeling the time was ripe for greater involvement overseas. The United States had territorial control from east to west, Native Americans had been quelled, and the issue of slavery, a thorny political problem, had been resolved. In some ways, the United States, despite the social unrest, was as powerful as nations in Europe. The fear about the changing American character and the belief in American power combined to convince some people that a more aggressive approach to dealing with other nations would be the best way to ensure the continued economic success of the United States.

Some businessmen and politicians believed that overseas expansion—especially into Chinese markets—would fuel economic growth. They saw that the tens of millions of potential consumers there could be an outlet for the surplus of American products. They also saw that Japan and European nations were starting to make deals with China and impose rules on China's trade. The American leaders feared that if the United States did not follow suit, these competing powers would prevent the United States from ever accessing the Chinese market.

> ***"Americans must now begin to look outward. The growing production of the country demands it.... The position of the United States, between the two Old Worlds and the two great oceans, makes the same claim...."***
>
> —Alfred Thayer Mahan, Naval historian, 1890



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The ICE RAILWAY is the Unique Exhibit of the De La Vergne Refrigerating Machine Company, New York.

At the 633-acre Chicago World's Fair in 1893 visitors could tour an Egyptian temple and see imported inhabitants of a Lapland (northern Scandinavia) village. They could also buy goods from Japan, coffee from Costa Rica, and St. Bernard dogs from Switzerland. The fair attracted 26 million visitors over a six month period and was instrumental in introducing Americans to what lay beyond the borders and in celebrating American ingenuity.

Historian Alfred Thayer Mahan believed that controlling land in Central America, through which the United States could build a canal, would assist the United States in trading with both eastern nations such as China and nations to the west, in Europe. Other economic leaders took up this idea and championed it for the next several years. These people kept tabs on the involvement of foreign nations in Central America as well as China, looking for ways the United States could gain footholds there. Many advocated increased involvement in Caribbean islands such as Cuba and Pacific islands such as Hawaii to further support future east-west trade.

"The prosperity of our people... depends largely on their ability to sell their surplus products in foreign markets at renumerative prices."

—Secretary of the Treasury John Carlisle

Others believed that expansion would help the United States gain greater political power. They felt that the United States needed to catch up with Britain, France, and other European powers, who had been building overseas empires, in extending America's influence abroad. All of these advocates of further involvement abroad were called expansionists.

For some among the expansionists, acquiring a few strategic ports to service American ships and to open doors to foreign markets was sufficient. Others wanted the United States to build a sizeable overseas empire in which the United States would conquer and rule over strategic foreign territories and nations (a policy called imperialism). This control would enable the United States to secure export markets, raw materials, and cheap labor. The imperialists, as this second group was known, considered its strategy central to America's role in the world. Just as supporters of Westward Expansion, or Manifest Destiny earlier in the nineteenth century believed that America's mission was to expand across the continent, the imperialists held that the course of history was pointing the United States abroad.

"The Final Competition of Races"

One way the imperialists justified their ideas was to call upon a set of pseudo-scientific theories popular at the time known as "social Darwinism." Social Darwinism had its origins in Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection. According to Darwin, animal species evolve over time to adapt to their environment through natural selection. His phrase "survival of the fittest" described this selection process: those animals most adapted—or "fittest"—to their environment would survive, while others would die out. The followers of Darwin applied the same principles in an effort to chart the social and economic progress of different groups of people.

Proponents of social Darwinism explained differences among the world's racial and ethnic groups in terms of evolution. For social Darwinists, the cultures of western Europe—and particularly the Anglo-Saxons of Britain—had demonstrated their superiority by extending their influence over much of the globe. Imperialism, in their opinion, reflected the "survival of the fittest." Social Darwinists claimed that the "success" of western Europeans was a result of their being more suited to positions of power than other races and cultures. They considered the domination of western European cultures as a natural process in the advancement of civilization.

> ***"The great nations are rapidly absorbing...all the waste places of the earth. It is a movement which makes for civilization and the advancement of the race. As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march."***
>
> —Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

What was "scientific racism"?

Like social Darwinists, followers of what is now known as scientific racism assigned differences among people according to racial and ethnic groups. These scientists saw mental abilities and personality traits as racial characteristics. Whites were considered innately superior to other races. Even among white Europeans, sharp distinctions were drawn. The peoples of northern Europe, such as the English and the Germans, were thought to be the most intelligent and energetic. Blacks in Africa, the United States, and elsewhere were considered among the lowest levels of humankind.

> ***"By the nearly unanimous consent of anthropologists this type (the pure Negro of central Africa) occupies the lowest position in the evolutionary scale.... The attempt to suddenly transform the Negro mind by foreign culture must be as futile as the attempt would be to suddenly transform his physical type."***
>
> —Encyclopedia Britannica, 1884

Scientific racism rested on a foundation of faulty biological research and historical analysis. Particular importance was attached to brain size and skull development. (The same factors were used at the time to assert that men were innately more intelligent than women.) The achievements of individual blacks, such

as the scientist George Washington Carver, were dismissed as rare exceptions.

Racism was not uniquely targeted against African Americans. From the earliest days of the Republic, Native Americans suffered from prejudice, mistreatment, and violence as well. Asian Americans experienced racism as soon as they arrived in the United States. While the explanation of racial differences through scientific "discovery" might have been new in the late nineteenth century, the presence of racism in American society was not.

Scientific racism went hand-in-hand with the theories of social Darwinism. Together, they affirmed the view that the United States and a handful of European nations were destined by nature to dominate the world. Prominent universities and newspapers gave scientific racism further legitimacy. America's leaders largely accepted the conclusions of scientific racism, and the majority of Americans seldom questioned its basic principles.

How was Protestantism connected to social Darwinism?

In the 1890s, many Protestant churches, agreeing with the ideas of social Darwinism, suggested that the role of Americans in the world should be to "lift up" the "downtrodden" of other nations, and sent missionaries overseas to do this work. Influential religious leaders believed that God had specially blessed Americans and that the duty of Americans and other Anglo-Saxons was to civilize the world. Some viewed imperialism as part of God's plan for the human race. One leader, Reverend Josiah Strong, wrote a highly popular book which said that Anglo-Saxons had been preparing throughout history, as they moved westward, to eventually take over the world. To Strong, the destiny of the United States was to be the future leader of this new, civilized world.

"Separate but Equal"

The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, ratified after the Civil War, established that African Americans enjoyed the same political and legal rights as other Americans. In fact, the spirit of the amendments was soon subverted by new laws in the South, as well as in many northern states, that separated the races. State governments created two sets of schools, parks, cemeteries, and other public institutions. In practice, the discriminatory laws, known as "Jim Crow," meant that blacks were typically denied a good education, adequate services, and job opportunities.

Jim Crow laws seemed to be an easy target for a legal challenge on constitutional grounds. A test case came before the Supreme Court in 1896 in response to a Louisiana law that required "equal but separate accommodations" for white and black railroad passengers. Homer Plessy, a shoemaker who was one-eighth black, defied the law. Found guilty in state courts, he appealed his case all the way to the Supreme Court. By a seven to one majority, however, the court upheld the constitutionality of the law.

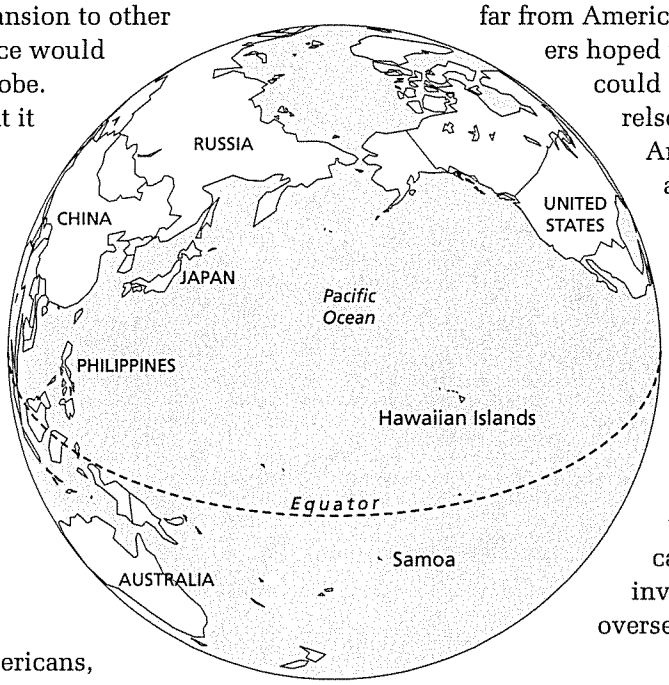
In the majority opinion, the justices held that the 14th amendment was not intended to promote integration between blacks and whites. They also rejected the notion that the Constitution should be used to overcome racist attitudes.

The African-American community met the Plessy v. Ferguson decision with widespread disappointment. The Supreme Court's ruling confirmed for many blacks their second-class status in society, especially since facilities for blacks were rarely equal to those reserved for whites. Other black Americans became more determined to break down racial barriers. However, more than fifty years would pass before significant progress could be made in breaking down this type of Jim Crow segregation.

"It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future.... The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken.... Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history—the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled.... Then this race of unequaled energy... will spread itself over the earth."

—Rev. Josiah Strong

Some thought that when the United States had concluded its expansion to other parts of the world, peace would reign over the entire globe. Some even thought that it was the duty of "civilized nations" such as the United States to eliminate political instability in other parts of the world so as to ensure civilization and export markets would spread properly.



Spreading the American Way Overseas

Many ordinary Americans, as well as most politicians, were content that the United States should be only an example, or at best an advisor to these "uncivilized" parts of the world. President William McKinley, whom Americans had elected in 1896, initially opposed imperialism as well. McKinley supported protecting American manufacturing industries. Like most leading Republicans, he called for economic expansion overseas, but he stopped short of arguing for the annexation of new territories.

"Our diplomacy should seek nothing more and accept nothing less than is due us. We want no wars of conquest; we must avoid the temptation to territorial aggression. War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed; peace is preferable to war in almost every contingency. Arbitration is the true method of settlement of international as well as local or individual differences."

—President McKinley, inaugural address

On the other side were the group of imperialist-minded political and military leaders who sought to extend America's reach to areas far from America's shores. These leaders hoped that the United States could stabilize any "quarrelsome" nations so that American commerce and influence could travel safely across the seas. Little by little their writings and world events began to convince others in power of their views. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the United States became more and more involved in conflicts overseas.

How did the United States come to control parts of Samoa?

In 1878 the United States Senate agreed to a treaty that promised American assistance in case of foreign interference in Samoa, a group of tiny Pacific islands, in return for free access to Samoa's harbor. Shortly thereafter Germany and Britain each made plans to take over parts of Samoa. For eight years the United States was involved in the conflict which also included Germany, Britain, and various Samoan groups. The United States even sent weapons and warships. In the end the islands were partitioned. In 1898, portions of Samoa became an

American territory. To the expansionists, this development meant that American ships now had a permanent, secure resting and refueling point on their way to Australia, where they could trade.

Why was the United States concerned about British involvement in Venezuela?

On the other side of the world in 1895, the U.S. Secretary of State, Richard Olney, became concerned that Britain was bullying Venezuela, which shared a border with the British colony of Guiana and held large deposits of gold. Olney did not want Britain—or any other European countries—to get the idea that they could carve up Latin America for colonies as they had recently done in Africa. Such action would prevent the United States from expanding its own commercial ties to Latin America. Olney invoked the Monroe Doctrine to try to prevent Britain from taking any further steps.

> ***"Today the United States is practically sovereign on this [Latin American] continent, and its fiat is law...."***
>
> —U.S. Secretary of State Richard Olney

This complex and lengthy dispute with Britain was frequently heated. At times it almost seemed the two nations were headed to war. In the end, Britain and the United States agreed to a commission that would investigate and settle the border dispute. The commission did not include any Venezuelans.

Why did the United States annex Hawaii?

Finally, in 1897 Hawaii came to the forefront again. About one quarter of Hawaii's population were Japanese immigrants who worked in the American sugar plantations. When the white American government tried to restrict Japanese immigration, Japan sent a message—and a cruiser—telling the United States not to do so. American political leaders, including President McKinley, who had become convinced of the imperialists' ideas, agreed that at some point in the not-too-distant future those Japanese immigrants would gain power on the islands and begin to demand rights. They might even prevent the United States from accessing the U.S. Naval base at Pearl Harbor. To maintain control, President McKinley put forward a resolution to annex the islands. It passed by huge margins in both the House and Senate, and Hawaii became a colony of the United States in 1898.

> ***"We need Hawaii as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is manifest destiny."***
>
> —President McKinley

In addition to these three examples, the United States intervened in 1891 in a revolution in Chile, and in 1894 in the Brazilian revolution. The United States also negotiated with many different groups in Nicaragua from 1893 to 1895, including sending the Marines to quell disturbances, so as to be sure that an American canal-building company could continue to operate there. (Ultimately, the canal was built in Panama, not Nicaragua.) These examples reflect the willingness of the United States in the end of the nineteenth century to ensure political stability abroad and therefore to provide a stable environment for American commerce.

The 1890s was a period of great change for the United States. For many Americans, these changes were alarming and frightening. Leaders considered a number of different approaches to restore economic well being, promote American ideals, and assert American power. A significant element of U.S. policy in the 1890s was involvement overseas, usually without considering the desires of the people who lived there. Eventually, this approach would lead to war.

Part II: The Spanish-American War

As the United States experienced dramatic changes in the 1880s and 90s, the island of Cuba, a colony of Spain, held renewed interest for many Americans. American presidents and average citizens alike had coveted Cuba for many years. In the years before the Civil War, many people hoped that Cuba would become another slave territory of the United States. President Polk, in 1848, had even offered to buy Cuba from Spain.

> ***"...if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only to the North American union [the United States]...."***
>
> —John Quincy Adams, 1822

Cuba, the largest island in the Caribbean, was especially significant for policymakers in both Spain and the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. For Spain, Cuba was the last major remnant of what had once been a huge empire in the New World. Nearly all of Spain's possessions in the Western Hemisphere had gained independence in the 1800s, and Spain itself had sunk to the level of a third-rate European power. Nonetheless, the government in Madrid refused to consider granting independence to Cuba—"the Pearl of the Antilles"—or selling the island to another country.

At the time, the country with the greatest interest in acquiring Cuba was the United States. For many Americans, extending U.S. control over the lush island ninety miles from the tip of Florida seemed only logical.

> ***"It is our destiny to have Cuba and it is folly to debate the question. It naturally belongs to the American continent."***
>
> —Stephen Douglas, 1860 presidential candidate

Revolution in Cuba

In 1868, a revolt against Spanish rule broke out in Cuba. Many of the leading rebels hoped eventually to join the United States after breaking free from Spain. U.S. President Ulysses Grant was open to the proposal, but his secretary of state persuaded him to keep the United States out of the conflict. After a decade of fighting and the loss of 200,000 lives, the Cuban rebels put down their arms. Spanish rule remained in place, although Spain pledged to allow Cuba limited self-government.

What were U.S. interests in Cuba?

With the revolt over, $50 million worth of American investment flowed into Cuba. Most of it went into the island's sugar industry, which represented four-fifths of the Cuban economy. The United States was also by far the largest consumer of Cuban sugar. In 1890, the United States removed tariffs on Cuban sugar entering the American market, making it less expensive to buy the sugar in the United States. The legislation boosted the fortunes of both the overall Cuban economy and American investors on the island. Cuban-American trade soon approached $100 million annually.

The depression of 1893, however, affected the U.S. and Cuban economies. Pressure mounted in the U.S. Congress to cut back on imports and protect sugar producers in the United States. In 1894, the United States imposed a 40 percent tariff on sugar imports from Cuba. Cubans immediately felt the effects. As Cuba's economy sputtered, the rebellion against Spain again gained momentum. This time, much of the funding and organization for the movement came from Cuban immigrants in New York and Florida. They helped to buy weapons and to smuggle them into Cuba

"Spanish Warfare"

aboard ships sailing from southern U.S. ports. Such expeditions were illegal under international law, and U.S. coastal patrols blocked most of them.

How did Spain respond to the Cuban revolt?

A full-scale revolt erupted in Cuba in 1895 and quickly engulfed the island. Spain responded even more harshly than in the first round of rebellion, sending more than 120,000 troops to fight an estimated 60,000 Cuban rebels. These rebels were also called nationalists, because they sought to free the Cuban nation from Spanish rule.

The military commander of the Cuban nationalists, Maximo Gomez, used tactics that would shake the economic foundation of Spanish rule. He attempted to cut off Spanish garrisons, or military posts, in the cities from food supplies in the countryside. He ordered sugar growers to stop producing, and forbid small farmers from selling supplies to the Spanish. Gomez warned that the rebel military would severely punish violators. By 1898, Gomez had brought the Cuban economy to a standstill. Civilians paid a heavy price for his strategy.

Like the nationalists, the Spanish also saw economic control of the island as the key to victory. Unable to capture the nationalist forces, the Spanish sought to isolate them from the general population in the countryside so that non-rebels could not supply them with food or shelter. To that end, Spain's governor in Cuba, General Valeriano Weyler, herded hundreds of thousands of Cuban peasants into towns policed by Spanish troops. The "reconcentration" camps, as they were known, lacked adequate food, housing, and sanitation. Disease and starvation took a terrible toll, killing many thousands.

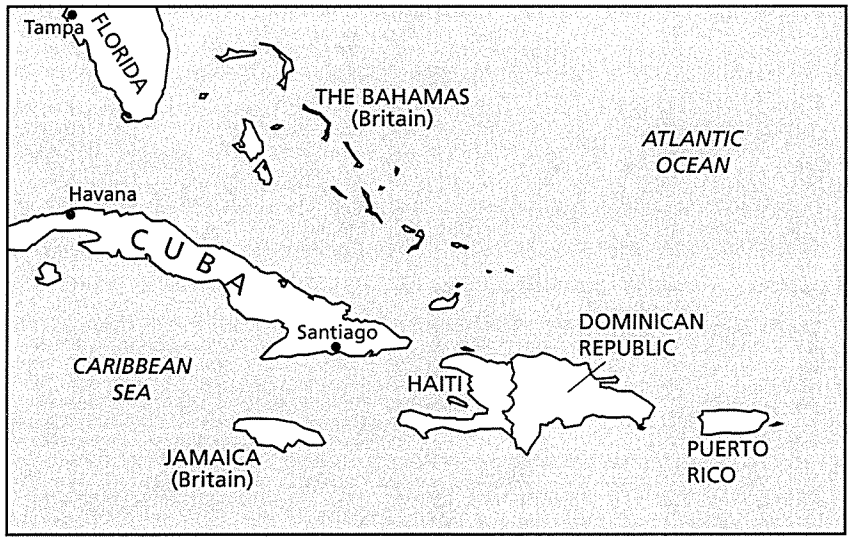
How did the press sway U.S. public opinion?

As the war in Cuba intensified, coverage in the American press increased. Often, Cuban nationalists living in the United States supplied the stories. Publishers soon found that news of the Cuban revolt sold newspapers. They were eager to print reports of Spanish

atrocities, real or fictitious.

William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, owners of two of the largest newspaper chains, competed fiercely for news about Cuba. Both men sent teams of reporters and artists to cover the revolt and generate support for U.S. intervention in the conflict. Religious magazines, particularly those published by Protestant denominations, likewise called for the United States to join the fighting on humanitarian grounds. Other publications argued that American property on the island was being destroyed in the fighting.

> ***"No man's life, no man's property is safe. American citizens are imprisoned or slain without cause. American property is destroyed on all sides.... Cuba will soon be a wilderness of blackened ruins. This year there is little to live upon. Next year there will be nothing. The horrors of a barbarous struggle for the extermination of the native population are witnessed in all parts of the country. Blood on the roadsides, blood on the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood! Is there no nation wise enough, brave enough to aid this blood-smitten land?"***
>
> —*New York World,* a Pulitzer paper



How did Americans respond to events in Cuba?

Despite the calls for intervention in the press, Americans were divided about their country's role in the Cuban revolt. Many Americans identified with the struggle of a small colony against its oppressive, European government. They were appalled by the atrocities they read about. The struggle of Cuba, which had a large black population, had gained particular sympathy in the African-American community. These groups hoped the United States would intervene militarily. On the other hand, many in the business community of the northeast wanted peace restored so their investments would no longer be threatened. Lastly, some American merchants advocated for intervention as the rebellion caused their trade to dry up.

Among the political leadership, advocates of full-scale war with Spain were in the minority, although they voiced their opinions loudly. Some called on the Monroe Doctrine, saying that Spain had no business meddling in the Western hemisphere. Others argued that a future Central American canal would be more profitable if the United States rather than Spain controlled nearby Cuba. Often Congressional support for strong action was tied to a religious conviction that America should help ease suffering abroad. Most Congressmen, however, sided with the cautious policy of President McKinley, who favored a peaceful settlement of the revolt.

How did the Spanish ambassador insult President McKinley?

In February 1898, two events turned American public opinion sharply toward favoring war. On February 9, the *New York Journal* published a private letter which the Spanish ambassador to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lome, had sent to a friend

$50,000 REWARD.—WHO DESTROYED THE MAINE?—$50,000 REWARD.

EXTRA 6 O'CLOCK A. M. NEW YORK JOURNAL AND ADVERTISER. EXTRA 6 O'CLOCK A. M.

EDITION FOR GREATER NEW YORK.

NO. 8,373. —NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1896.—16 PAGES. PRICE ONE CENT

THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS SPLIT IN TWO
BY AN ENEMY'S SECRET INFERNAL MACHINE!

Officers and Men at Key West Describe the Mysterious Rending of the Vessel and Say It Was Done by Design and Not by An Accident.

Front page of the *New York Journal*, a Hearst paper, February 17, 1896.

in Spain. The letter included a biting critique of the president.

> ***"McKinley is weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd besides being a would-be politician who tries to leave a door open behind himself while keeping on good terms with the jingoes [extreme patriots who advocate an aggressive foreign policy] of his party."***
>
> —Enrique Dupuy de Lome

Publication of the letter—and the incendiary newspaper headlines that accompanied it—provoked outrage in the United States. Many Americans took de Lome's comments as an insult against their country. The Spanish ambassador quickly resigned and Spain apologized. Before the episode died down, however, a much more serious incident in Cuba's Havana harbor stunned Americans.

How did Americans "Remember the Maine?"

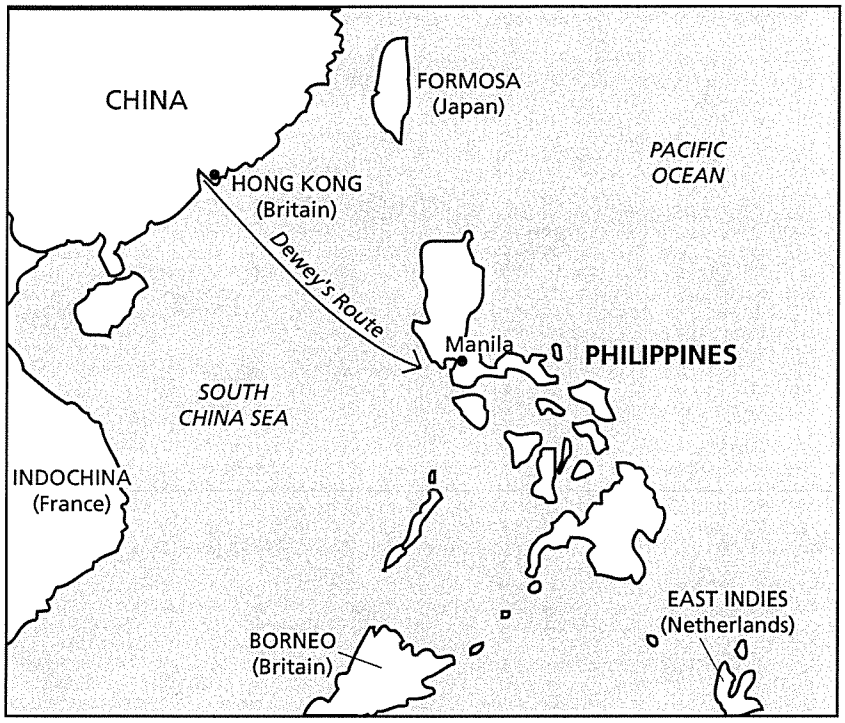
On January 25, 1898, the battleship U.S.S. *Maine* dropped anchor in Havana harbor on a "courtesy" call. While Spain had little interest in hosting an American warship, peaceful visits by foreign warships were common in the late nineteenth century, and Madrid had no choice but to welcome McKinley's request to send the *Maine* to Cuba.

McKinley had two purposes for dispatching the *Maine*. First, the ship's sailors would be in a position to protect and even evacuate American citizens living in Havana if a threat to their safety arose. Second, the warship's presence gave McKinley added leverage in pressing Spain to reach a just settlement with the Cuban nationalists.

After passing three uneventful weeks in Havana harbor, the *Maine* was ripped apart by a tremendous explosion on the night of February 15. Two hundred and sixty American sailors died. Although the *Maine's* captain, who survived the explosion, urged a careful investigation to determine the cause of the disaster, the American press immediately blamed the Spanish authorities. A new slogan—"Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain!"—swept the nation. *The New York Journal* even offered $50,000 in exchange for the identity of the culprits. Within the McKinley administration, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt expressed certainty that "the *Maine* was sunk by an act of dirty treachery on the part of the Spanish."

Throughout the spring of 1898 the McKinley administration considered the best course of action. Pressure mounted on McKinley

from both the public and Congress to respond to the situation. McKinley learned in March that many business leaders were now advocating war with Spain as a way to gain not just greater stability in world affairs, but also increased economic strength for the United States. Spain owned not just Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean but Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific. Victory in a war with Spain would likely mean that the United States would come to control strategic ports from which it could increase the lucrative trade with Asia.



War with Spain

Although McKinley had doubts about the cause of the *Maine* explosion, he did little to calm the war fever that was building in the United States. Without waiting for the results of the official investigation, he took steps to prepare the United States for war. On March 9, 1898, both houses of Congress unanimously approved the president's request to add $50 million to the defense budget. U.S. investigators, working under intense political pressure, reported to the public on March 28 that the *Maine* had been sunk by an underwater mine. This news, combined with additional news that many business leaders now supported the war, gave McKinley the opportunity to take yet bolder measures.

When did the United States declare war?

Meanwhile, U.S. diplomats found Spain increasingly anxious to avoid war with the United States. They reported that the Spanish were prepared to dismantle the concentration camps in Cuba, as McKinley had earlier demanded. On April 9, Spain announced a truce in its campaign against the nationalists and pledged to expand the scope of Cuban self-government. The United States was not satisfied. Leaders felt the only way the United States could get Spain out of Cuba, and get U.S. military and economic interests in, was war.

On April 19, responding to a request from President McKinley, Congress granted him the authority to go to war.

What were U.S. goals in Cuba?

Both McKinley and Congress wanted to present their stance strictly in terms of defending the rights of the Cuban people. To that end, Congress passed an amendment to the war resolution stating that the United States had no interest in asserting "sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control" over Cuba and promised to "leave the government and control of the island to its people" once peace was restored.

The amendment, named for Senator Henry Teller, addressed two sources of criticism. First, anti-imperialists worried that intervention in Cuba disguised a larger plan to acquire an American empire. Second, sugar growers in the South feared that the annexation of Cuba would leave them unable to compete with the island's sugar plantations.

The U.S. declaration left Spain with few choices. On April 24, 1898, Madrid declared war on the United States. The United States was not prepared for war, however. At the outset of the war, the U.S. Army numbered only 28,000 men. Most were stationed at remote posts in the southwest. In contrast, Spain had 150,000 tired but seasoned troops in Cuba. Thousands of American volunteers were needed to defeat the Spanish.

How did victory in Manila lead to an increase in volunteers?

Fortunately for the U.S. war effort, the U.S. Navy provided the country with an early taste of victory. Nearly two months before the war began, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt had instructed the commander of the Pacific fleet, Commodore George Dewey, to draw up plans to attack the Spanish fleet based in the Philippines. When Spain declared war, Dewey had already led the U.S. fleet from its home port in Hong Kong to the mouth of Manila harbor. On May 1, he attacked. Dewey's squadron first knocked out the Spanish cannons on shore, then sank every ship in the Spanish fleet.

Dewey's triumph sparked an outpouring of pride in the United States. In the months that followed, more than 220,000 volunteers signed up to fight the Spanish in Cuba. Among the most prominent of the volunteers was Roosevelt, who resigned from the McKinley administration to form a cavalry regiment. Joined by his friend Colonel Leonard Wood, an army surgeon who had been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, Roosevelt recruited primarily from the rugged territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, as well as from North and South Dakota. The unit, nicknamed the "Rough Riders," also included a sprinkling of volunteers from Ivy League colleges.

Arming, clothing, transporting, and training the volunteers taxed the capabilities of the army. The ships that had been assembled in Tampa, Florida to sail for Cuba even lacked space for the horses of the Rough Riders. Nonetheless, a U.S. force of seventeen thousand soldiers landed in southeastern Cuba on June 22, 1898.

Why did black Americans volunteer to fight?

Many black leaders saw the war as an opportunity to elevate the status of blacks in the United States. They hoped that black participation in the fighting would win the African-American community new respect and chip away at the wall of discrimination.

> ***"In the eyes of the world the Negro shall grow in the full height of manhood and stand out in the field of battle as a soldier clothed with all the inalienable rights of citizenship."***
>
> —*Illinois Record* (a black newspaper)

After the Civil War, military service had been one of the few avenues for advancement open to blacks in American society. The army's four all-black regiments (each comprised of four hundred to eight hundred troops) were ranked among the country's most elite units. Stationed mostly in frontier posts,

Charge of the Rough Riders, as painted by artist Frederic Remington.

U.S. troops in Cuba suffering from tropical diseases, by Charles J. Post.

black soldiers had a much lower rate of desertion and discipline problems than their white counterparts. Nonetheless, they were denied promotion into the officer corps.

How did black soldiers contribute to the U.S. victory over Spain?

When war was declared, the black regiments were among the first units to be mobilized. War Department officials assumed that black soldiers were better suited to Cuba's tropical climate and more likely to withstand tropical diseases. In the fighting, black soldiers earned widespread praise for their bravery.

In addition to the regular black units, thousands of black men offered to fight as volunteers. Initially, they were rejected by all but three states. In the second call for volunteers, five more states accepted black recruits. The African-American community also pressed for the inclusion of black officers, and in three states blacks were put in command of the volunteer units. At the same time, the War Department organized ten volunteer regiments made up of men who were presumed to be immune to yellow fever. Four of the regiments consisted of black soldiers led by black lieutenants. The black volunteers were not given the chance to fight in Cuba. Only one black unit, a regiment from Massachusetts, saw action in the Caribbean, taking part in the invasion of the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico. Meanwhile, their uniforms seldom shielded them from discrimination at bases in the United States.

How did the United States win the war?

The Americans set their sights on Santiago, the principal Spanish garrison in Cuba, and steadily advanced against determined Spanish resistance. Casualties were heavy on both sides. Among the U.S. forces, 10 percent of the troops involved in the offensive against Santiago were killed or wounded. Nearly all of the 345 Americans who died in battle during the entire war were killed in the Santiago campaign. (More than 2,500 U.S. servicemen died from disease, food poisoning, and accidents during the Spanish-American War.)

The decisive battles of the offensive took place on July 2, when the Americans captured two heavily fortified hills overlooking the road to Santiago. Spearheading the assault up Kettle Hill were Roosevelt's Rough Riders and two regiments of black soldiers. At the same time, other U.S. regiments charged San Juan Hill. By the end of the day, the Americans controlled the route to Santiago.

The following day, American warships met the Spanish Caribbean fleet outside of Santiago harbor. As in the Philippines, the Spanish ships were outgunned. They were either sunk or forced to shore. On July 17, the Spanish surrendered Santiago. The war in Cuba was all but over.

The swift course of the war as well as the overwhelming U.S. victory restored a

great deal of pride in Americans who had felt concern for their nation's status in the world. Americans were thrilled to learn of their military success. Some felt that the war's progress proved that the United States was no longer a bit player on the world stage but had demonstrated its position as a great world power.

Revolution in the Philippines

Half a world away in the Philippines, Spanish defenses in Manila were likewise crumbling. Although U.S. ground troops did not reach the Philippines until two months after Dewey's naval victory, once there they joined forces with Filipino rebels who had been fighting the Spanish since 1896.

What did Filipino nationalists demand?

As in Cuba, the struggle against Spanish colonialism in the Philippines had built up slowly. Initially, Filipino nationalists did not press for full independence. Instead, they called for political, economic, and religious reforms. Their demands included full equality before the law, local self-rule, freedom of the press, equal pay for equal work, and the return of land which Spanish religious authorities had taken from native Filipinos.

The first round of rebellion had ended in a stalemate in December 1897. The Spanish promised to make modest reforms and, in turn, the rebels agreed to a cease-fire. The leader of the nationalists, Emilio Aguinaldo, went into exile. In March 1898, the nationalists resumed their revolt, complaining that the Spanish had failed to live up to their promises. Their goal was now full independence. The nationalist cause received a boost when Dewey sank the Spanish fleet at Manila. Three weeks later, Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines to again take command of the struggle.

How did the war in the Philippines end?

The Filipino war for independence had aroused little interest in the United States. In late 1897, an appeal from Aguinaldo for U.S. support fell on deaf ears in the McKinley administration. President McKinley was scarcely exaggerating when he later told a group of clergymen that, before Dewey's victory, he was not even sure where the Philippines were located.

Dewey was the first American to take the Filipino nationalists seriously. Although he destroyed Spain's naval capability, he realized that U.S. ground troops would not reach the Philippines for at least two months. Dewey saw Aguinaldo's forces as allies in the war against Spain, and supplied them with rifles, ammunition, and small cannons. Dewey's strategy, for which he was later criticized, was based on his experience as a Union soldier in the South during the Civil War. He recalled that freed black slaves were an asset in defeating the Confederacy.

> ***"I said these people [the Filipinos] were our friends and we have come here and they will help us just exactly as the negroes helped us in the Civil War."***
>
> —Commodore George Dewey

The main attack against Spain's defenses in Manila took place on August 13, 1898, one day after Washington and Madrid signed a preliminary peace treaty. A communications delay left both sides unaware of the agreement. From their positions outside Manila, U.S. and Filipino forces quickly trapped the Spanish. After a brief show of resistance, Spain's commander surrendered.

Following the Spanish Defeat

In line with the racial stereotypes of the day, most American leaders had little hope that the blacks and Asians who lived in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam could be a force for progress. At the same time, the Spanish were thought of as backward and cruel. Few expected that the inhabitants of these islands were capable of developing stable democracies on their own. Likewise, Americans worried that bringing the islands into the United States would threaten the American political system.

> ***"Fancy the Senators and Representatives of ten or twelve millions of tropical people, people of the Latin race mixed with Indian and African blood;...fancy them sitting in the Halls of Congress, throwing the weight of their intelligence, their morality, their political notions, and habits, their prejudices and passions, onto the scale of the destinies of this Republic.... Tell me, does not your imagination recoil from the picture?"***
>
> —Carl Schurz, newspaper editor

Why were the Cuban rebels not included in the negotiations about the future of Cuba?

When the United States defeated Spain's forces in Cuba, the Cuban rebels were not invited to confer on the surrender. On the whole, in fact, the United States ignored the Cuban rebels. Many in the administration and Congress felt that the rebels, most of whom were black, needed guidance in managing all of their affairs. After the Spanish defeat Congress looked again at the language of the Teller Amendment, which called for "pacification" before Cuban independence. Congress interpreted the term to mean that United States forces would need to remain as occupiers of Cuba until a stable government could be formed. As a result, American businesses returned to Cuba, taking over land and railroads and dominating the economy.

What happened to the Philippines?

The Philippines presented white Americans an even more alien picture than the Caribbean. Before the Spanish-American War, only a handful of Americans had been aware of the Filipino revolt against Spain. In the political cartoons that appeared in U.S. newspapers after the outbreak of fighting, Filipinos were often depicted as having African features. William Howard Taft, the future president, referred to Filipinos as "little brown brothers." While their cause won support in the African-American press, there was scant effort in white newspapers to explain the position of the Filipino nationalists.

Emilio Aguinaldo, the nationalist leader, had assumed that the United States meant to liberate the Philippines after the war. On May 24, 1898, he had proclaimed himself the head of a temporary revolutionary government and pledged to hold elections. He had even expressed his special gratitude to the United States.

> ***"The great North American nation, the cradle of genuine liberty, and therefore the friend of our people, oppressed and enslaved by the tyranny and despotism of its rulers, has come to us manifesting a protection as decisive as it is undoubtedly disinterested towards our inhabitants, considering us as sufficiently civilized and capable of governing ourselves and our unfortunate country."***
>
> —Emilio Aguinaldo

Despite Aguinaldo's hopes for immediate independence, the preliminary treaty of August 12, 1898 said that Spain would permit temporary U.S. occupation of Manila until the status of the Philippines was determined in a final treaty. The preliminary treaty also said that Spain would relinquish all claims to Cuba, and give control of Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States. In the next few months, both the public and leaders in the United States would discuss what longer-term strategy to embrace.

Fall 1898: America at the Crossroads

Throughout the remainder of the summer and fall of 1898 the public discussed the peace treaty's terms and debated whether the United States should permanently annex territories as far away as the Philippines. President McKinley even went on a mid-western speaking tour in October to gauge public opinion on the issue. It was the Philippines—not Cuba—at the eye of the storm. At the conclusion of the war Congress had authorized the occupation of Cuba, but had failed to address the future of the distant Philippines and its nearly ten million people.

At the same time, U.S. and Spanish negotiators (no Filipinos) worked out the details of the final treaty in Paris. Of the five members of the U.S. peace commission President McKinley appointed, four were backers of expansion. It took several months for the negotiators to hash out a treaty. One of the proposed articles they discussed would add the entire archipelago of the Philippines to the United States as a colony.

Opponents of imperialism were outraged upon hearing this news. The various groups of anti-imperialists felt they should join forces to form the Anti-Imperialist League. This way they could more effectively project their message to the American people and to Congress, who would eventually be voting on the final draft of the treaty.

The anti-imperialists contended that the creation of a colonial empire would change the political system in the United States and alter the character of the nation. They were particularly concerned that annexation would mean the United States could no longer hold itself up as a government in power by the "consent of the governed," a principle of the Declaration of Independence. Among the ranks of the anti-imperialists were former President Grover Cleveland, industrialist Andrew Carnegie, and labor leader Samuel Gompers.

> ***"We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism.... We insist that the subjugation of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government."***
>
> —Platform of the Anti-Imperialist League

Leading the fight for the annexation of the Philippines was a powerful coalition of politicians, businessmen, religious leaders, and military strategists. Within its ranks were Theodore Roosevelt, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and Indiana Senator Albert Beveridge.

> ***"It is destiny that the world shall be rescued from its natural wilderness and from savage men.... In this great work the American people must have their part."***
>
> —Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana

A third group, made up mostly of big businessmen and others concerned with commerce, favored retaining only the harbor of Manila so that the United States could gain a secure economic foothold in Asia. Advocates of this position did not like the idea of the United States becoming an imperial power, and predicted that annexation of all the islands of the archipelago would be costly.

> ***"Can such markets be opened only by annexing to the United States the countries in which they are situated?... And as to coaling-stations and naval depots, can we not have as many as we need without owning large and populous countries behind them?"***
>
> —Carl Schurtz, former secretary of the interior

All segments of the debate influenced the negotiations for a peace treaty in Paris.