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The Birth of American Empire: Spain, the Philippines, and the Debates over Expansion

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The Birth of American Empire:
Spain, the Philippines, and the Debates over Expansion

By

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# Table of Contents:

Introduction  
Chapter 1: Creation of a New America  
Chapter 2: The War with Spain  
Chapter 3: The War in the Philippines  
Conclusion  
Appendix  
Bibliography
Introduction

The whirlwind of activity that occurred in American foreign policy at the end of the nineteenth century is largely forgotten about. Situated between the Civil War and the First World War, this era is often overlooked in terms of importance to American history. It was, however, a major formative time in the history of the United States. During these years, the United States committed to actions outside of its borders that would have major ramifications on the future course of the country. These events were the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War, both fought in the period from 1898 to about 1902, and they were new types of wars that the United States had never fought in before. The first was a large scale humanitarian effort, while the second was a brutal colonial conflict in a faraway territory. These wars came at a time of change in American political thought, when the ideas of imperialism and empire building overseas began to prominently become a part of the American mindset. Although these feelings of expansion and national glory would become more mainstream during this time, they were met with a fierce backlash by many who opposed the new direction of the United States, raising new political questions and debates throughout the country. The wars and their outcomes would produce battlegrounds abroad and spark political battles at home.

This study explores the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars, and the profound impact they had on the United States. It will illustrate how each war came about, and the sharp contrast between how each war was fought, and how each was viewed in the United States. This study will explore the rise of expansionist feelings in the United States and the beginning of imperialist ambitions since the end of the Civil War, and their evolution before the Spanish-American War, and how this set up the war fever that would involve the United States with Spain and the Philippines. I will then look at the war with Spain, how it began and the forces
that were driving the “war fever” that swept through the United States, and the counter anti-
imperialist movement that arose as a response. Finally, it will explore the war in the Philippines,
and show how it was different from the Spanish-American War, although the two were fought
only a few months apart, which shows that the Philippine-American War was a pure colonial
conflict, just like the ones waged by Europeans. Primary sources such as newspaper headlines and
political cartoons will be used to show the opposing sides of these heated debates.

Those involved in the imperialist faction in the United States went by and were called many
names, including imperialists, expansionists, and the colorful term “jingoes.” Jingo is a term
adopted by Americans who supported expansion from Great Britain, where it was also a term for
expansionists. The term was used both by the Americans who supported the movement, and by
those who did not. Supporters saw it as a term of endearment, while their detractors used to as a
synonym for being a war hawk, which was often the case as well. Both the expansionists and their
opponents battled in out during this period in political debates and by using mass media to try to
persuade public opinion. They did this because they thought they were battling over the future
direction and spirit of the United States of America.

These events were an important part of American history, but they were also part of
something bigger as they show how the United States became of part of the larger history of
imperialism taking place around the world at this time. These events help show that the United
States was more involved in global affairs and in the affairs of other nations before the event that
was seen as the first “major” American intervention, the First World War. These events help
people today understand expansionist and anti-expansion feeling at home, while also contributing
to the worldwide rush for empire and glory that took place at the end of the nineteenth century.
This connection helps shed more light and understanding on these important historical moments that cannot be overlooked, and that is what this thesis is attempting to do.
Chapter 1: Creation of a New America

This chapter will explain the factors that led up to American involvement in the Spanish-American War, and it will explore the cultural factors that helped push the United States towards this new era. This chapter also looks at the rise of the two main forces that were present in this era, jingoism and anti-imperialism. It will highlight some of the early American ventures into “interventionist” policies, and will focus greatly on the American involvement in Hawai’i during the 1890’s, an event that was the major precursor to later American actions worldwide. My argument will focus on the importance of these early events, and how they started to shift the United States closer to imperialism.

Hawai’i: the beginning

The origins of American overseas imperialism can be traced to a small chain of islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Discovered by British sailors in the 1770s, the Hawaiian Islands are an archipelago of eight islands in the so called “Sandwich” island chain, named after the British Lord Sandwich.¹ At the time of discovery all the islands were ruled by Kings as separate kingdoms. In 1795 one king, King Kamehameha, soon to be called the “Great King of Hawai’i,” brought the islands under one leader as a single unified kingdom.² This was how the island was ruled for almost the next one hundred years. During this time, the islands began to attract attention from powers across the world. Both the United States and Canada were trying to establish deeper connection with Hawai’i, mainly for the strategic position that the islands occupied in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and the valuable trade that both parties saw coming from the islands which,

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at this time, was mainly sugar with some rice. The first major American treaty with Hawai‘i was signed in 1876, which allowed for rice and “lower grades of sugar,” to enter the United States duty free. This treaty immediately showed economic results in the United States, with the rate of sugar entering the United States from Hawai‘i increasing exponentially. Before the treaty, no more than 20 million pounds of sugar from Hawai‘i had ever entered American markets, but after the treaty was signed, sugar began to pour into the country, reaching 100 million pounds in 1882. Only five years later that amount had doubled to about 200 million pounds of sugar.

All of this growth was taking place at a very important time in American history. Starting with the American Civil War, the country had gone through a long period of terrible warfare and then experienced rough times during the Reconstruction period of the late 1860s and most of the 1870s. The war had hurt the United States not only morally but also economically. The rest of the nineteenth century was spent trying to increase American businesses and production. American capital was looking for any ways it could increase production and profits. Hawai‘i offered a magnificent opening to American businesses looking to expand.

The trade treaty with Hawai‘i did more than just increase her monetary and trade connections with the United States. Seeing an opportunity to expand, American businesses and American citizens began to move to the islands. This movement of men and capital had a greater impact than simply strengthening the economic ties between these two countries. Americans had been in contact with Hawai‘i for a long time by the late nineteenth century, having sent whalers

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3 Ibid., p.265.
4 Ibid., p.265.
6 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.265.
and many missionaries to the islands in years past. This connection was only strengthened as time went on, and the development of a stronger economic bond helped bring more attention to the islands in American minds. With the increased sugar trade and production on the islands, American “sugar barons,” along with more American settlers began to travel to the islands and settle down. This increased American presence on the islands began to change the layout of Hawaiian cities. Hawaiian towns now began to resemble American towns, with similar “clapboard storefronts and hitching posts,” reminiscent of a “Western boomtown.” The many transplants on the islands also celebrated the strictly American holidays of the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving with as much joy and energy as those on the “mainland.” The American “transplants,” on the islands were becoming more and more a part of the islands, and they changed the islands to fit them into the American mode of life. Soon these foreign elements in Hawai’i would begin to flex their growing power.

In the 1880s, the foreigners in Hawai’i made their first moves to undermine the authority of the Kings. The King that ruled the islands in the late 1880s was seen as corrupt by these foreign elements, and as person who was “a great seeker of personal power.” During his time in power, the King exponentially increased the national debt of Hawai’i from almost $400,000 in 1880 to a staggering over $1.9 million by 1887. This King only worsened his position on the islands by then taking bribes and making deals with the two rival opium dealers. At this point the foreign elements, mainly American, on the islands decided to take action against the King. The foreigners

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8 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.67.
9 Ibid., p.67.
10 Ibid., p.67.
11 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.266.
12 Ibid., p.266.
13 Ibid., p.266.
organized a united movement against the King of Hawai‘i, and after “an uprising of such magnitude that it took the King’s breath,” the King agreed to several reforms that were laid out by the foreigners. These reforms included concessions but the main reform pushed was stripping much of the King’s power and handing it over to a Legislature that would rule under a new Constitution.\textsuperscript{14} This helped establish a new Hawaiian government that was much more sympathetic to the American planters that had so much invested on the islands. The reasons for the lack of resistance from the Native Hawaiians was not clear.

Shortly after the first uprising that had given the planters more power on Hawai‘i, another revolt took place in 1889. This time it was led by, Robert W. Wilcox a native Hawaiian born to an American father and a Hawaiian mother. He launched a revolution against two major flaws that he saw in the new Hawaiian government, what he perceived as the “King’s extravagance,” and, more importantly what he saw a too much power being left in the hands of businessmen from other countries, including the United States.\textsuperscript{15} Wilcox’s revolution was a failure, however, and power remained tightly held by the Hawaiian Legislature and the American and other foreign planters. This showed, however, that Hawaiians did not just sit back and take this imposed Constitution, though they would have to wait a few years until the next major challenge to the planter class would come along.

This next challenge would come in the form of Queen Liliuokalani, who ascended to the throne of Hawai‘i after the death of her brother Kalakaua, who was the King that had been forced to accept the new Constitution by the planters on the islands.\textsuperscript{16} However, the new Queen soon showed that she would not operate as the old King had done. She eventually made a move and in

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p.266-267.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p.267.
1892 and pushed for the right to remove her brother’s old Cabinet in order to appoint her own.\textsuperscript{17} She wanted to undo some of the harm that had been done to the national government during the planter uprising in the 1880’s. She also wanted to push through a new Constitution that would give her more power and “disenfranchise a class of citizens who paid a large proportion of the taxes to the Government,” although she was met with very strong resistance from her own government officials.\textsuperscript{18} As the Queen began to ponder what actions to take next, other elements on the islands were moving into action.

The American planters on the island were deeply worried about the actions being taken by the new Queen. They saw her moves a power grab to make her an “absolute monarch,” and as an attempt to take away their rights, which they had taken during her brother’s rule.\textsuperscript{19} Although the Queen’s first attempt at this “power grab” was unsuccessful, the planters knew that she would eventually find a way to push the legislation she wanted.\textsuperscript{20} However, these American planters also had plans of their own they wanted to put into action.

The United States had a military and strategic interest in Hawai’i since the 1880s. Its position in the Pacific Ocean would provide the growing United States with a greater position to expand economically into Asia, with the ultimate goal being to easily reach the markets in China.\textsuperscript{21} The American economy at this time was producing a decent amount of goods, and many wanted the United States to become more involved in the massive markets that existed in China.\textsuperscript{22} Hawai’i was only the first stop on the longer American ride to mainland Asia, so it was important that

\textsuperscript{17} March, \textit{The History and Conquest of the Philippines}, p.267.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p.267-268.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p.267.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p.268.
\textsuperscript{21} Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.71.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p.71-72.
Americans retained a foothold on the island. Americans had already tried this once in 1889, when they offered the King of Hawai‘i a treaty that would give the United States a permanent naval base at Pearl Harbor, while also creating total free trade between Hawai‘i and the United States, giving Hawai‘i “full participation in any bounties to be given to American producers of sugar.”23 In all but the official words, this treaty would have made Hawai‘i a protectorate of the United States, where it would “enjoy all the privileges of one of the United States,” so long as she did not enter into treaties with other powers.24 This treaty was eventually rejected by the King, however, and Hawai‘i remained effectively an independent country, albeit with very close relations to the United States and American citizens.

However, Americans had not given up on this idea of a protectorate or the annexation of Hawai‘i. In early 1892, the Minister to Hawai‘i, John L. Stevens, was in communication with the American planters on the islands about a possible “overthrow” of the current monarchy and a push for annexation by the new “Provisional Government.”25 With the push by the Queen Liliuokalani to consolidate power back in the hands of herself and her government, the American planters decided that now was the time for action. A Committee of Public Safety was formed by the American planters and citizens on the islands in January of 1893, which soon began to call for a new “Provisional Government.”26 The Committee of Public Safety assembled an Executive Council made up of prominent American planters and businessmen who would head this new government that they wanted to set up.27 These actions showed where the true interests of the

23 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.266.
24 Ibid., p.266.
26 Nearing and Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy, p.76.
27 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.269.
Committee lied, with the American planters and their interests. Finally, in January of 1893, the Americans in Hawai’i made their move.

On January 16, 1893, Stevens called on a U.S. Navy ship, the U.S.S. Boston, to land Marines on the main Hawaiian island of Oahu.28 This action was followed by a proclamation by the Committee of Public Safety calling for a new government of Hawai’i, and citing Queen Liliuokalani for all of her “broken promises” and the “wrongs” that she had inflicted on the people of Hawai’i.29 There was no going back for the Americans at this point. The Committee on Public safety even sent out a call for volunteers, and was able to bring with it 500 armed men to help overthrow the Queen.30 They would not be alone though. In support of the Americans in Hawai’i, the United States Marines that had been deployed by the U.S.S. Boston escorted the armed men to the government buildings, where, on January 17, 1893, the committee of Public Safety took control of the Hawaiian government and declared themselves the official “Provisional Government” of Hawai’i.31 The coup was bloodless, with the help of the Marines, and the now deposed Queen was allowed to retire to her private residence, which was now guarded by the new government volunteers that had taken over for the old government guards in guarding the government buildings and military installations.32 The planters had achieved success.

The coup was not the end of the American planters’ plan, however. As soon as the Provisional Government had established control over the islands, the first things they did were to send emissaries to various foreign governments to gain recognition for the new government and to send other representatives to the United States to immediately negotiate a treaty of annexation

28 Nearing and Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy, p.76.
29 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.270.
30 Ibid., p.270.
31 Nearing and Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy, p.76.
32 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.270.
of Hawaiʻi. The representatives reached the United States and through a series of quick negotiations had an annexation treaty prepared, signed, and placed before the United States Senate on February 15, 1893, only a month after the initial revolt in Hawaiʻi. Both the Americans in Hawaiʻi and those on the mainland United States who supported Hawaiian annexation were soon confronted with another major roadblock to their plan. Unfortunately for the Provisional Government, the Senate was unable to ratify the treaty before they adjourned. This is where the treaty ran into even bigger issues.

President Benjamin Harrison was the President when the representatives first arrived in the United States, but he was soon replaced by Grover Cleveland in March 1893. Harrison supported the annexation of the islands and tried to pass through the treaty, but his successor Cleveland had a very different stance on the Hawaiʻi question. He was very skeptical of the forces that had brought the Provisional Government into power, and so when he took office, he launched an investigation into what had really happened and to investigate specifically if there was a conspiracy between the American Minister, the captain of the U.S.S. Boston and the Provisional Government to overthrow the Queen. Cleveland sent a representative to the islands, who soon thereafter sent back a report to the President. The report stated that the revolution had been the result of a conspiracy, and that the Queen of Hawaiʻi should be returned to her position. However, President Cleveland ran into problems trying to restore the Queen to power. Cleveland requested as a condition of her return that she not punish the members of the Provisional Government, which she refused, and then he asked the Provisional Government if they would “vacate” Hawaiʻi so she

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33 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.270, & Nearing and Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy, p.76.
34 Nearing and Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy, p.76.
36 Ibid., p.272.
37 Ibid., p.272.
38 Ibid., p.272.
could return to power, and then they refused.\textsuperscript{39} Having reached a stalemate, Cleveland decided to drop the matter, and would take no more action on Hawai‘i during his administration, since he was opposed to annexation. This would leave Hawai‘i in a strange limbo for the next four years.

The Provisional Government was now left in an unforeseen circumstance. They had revolted against the Queen so they could become a part of the United States, but the current President of the United States wanted nothing to do with them. As result of this, they began to set up and actual government for the islands, writing a Constitution and declaring themselves the Republic of Hawai‘i on July 4\textsuperscript{th}, 1894.\textsuperscript{40} This was how the island was run until 1897, when the debate about annexation was brought up again in the United States government when William McKinley took office. McKinley was much more receptive to the idea of adding Hawai‘i to the United States. He saw the island as an important stepping stone for American commerce towards China in the Pacific and as a strategic base.\textsuperscript{41} He also wanted to annex Hawai‘i into the United States to keep it from the growing American rival in the Pacific, the Japanese Empire.\textsuperscript{42} McKinley sent a new annexation treaty into the Senate, where fierce debates would take place over the Hawai‘i question.

In the Senate, a fierce expansionist anti-expansionist debate took place throughout 1897 and into 1898.\textsuperscript{43} Many Senators saw the annexation of Hawai‘i as a “bad proposition,” and were willing to debate “all summer” in order to make sure that the treaty did not pass. McKinley tried to add his support to the treaty, stating the United States and Hawai‘i already had a “special

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p.272-273.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p.273.
\textsuperscript{41} Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.73.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p.73.
\textsuperscript{43} Nearing and Freeman, \textit{Dollar Diplomacy}, p.77.
relationship” dating back all the way to the early 1800s.\footnote{“Treaty with Hawaii: Signed and sent to the Senate with a Message from the President Urging Favorable Action,” \textit{The New York Times}, June 17, 1893.} However, this did little to persuade the Senate, and the debates over annexation continued throughout the summer of 1897. The debate was set to continue into the following years, but something got in the way of this debate, the long build up to the Spanish-American War took over the headlines and government business for most of 1898, with the Hawai`i annexation question being pushed back until that summer.\footnote{Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.196.} However, the war also provided some needed push behind these talks. By the time Hawai`i was again brought into the conversation, the war was drawing to a close, and the United States was preparing to enter a new chapter in its history, one in which it was seen as an imperial power. McKinley and Congress saw this change in the public perception toward annexation, and now the need for a vital strategic base in the Pacific Ocean was more pressing than ever.\footnote{Ibid., p.196.} With this swell of popular feeling towards Hawai`i, both the House of Representatives and the Senate passed the annexation bill, although the vote was much closer in the Senate.\footnote{Ibid., p.196-197.} The long process begun by the Committee of Public Safety and Minister Stevens all those years ago had finally been fulfilled. In 1898, the Republic of Hawai`i ceased to exist, and Hawai`i officially become one of the new territories of the United States.

The long experiment with Hawai`i was the United States’ first real adventure into the realm of imperialism. Before Hawai`i, the United States had been an expansionist nation, but it had mainly been a land based expansion, more accustomed to battling Native Americans for western lands. The only exception to this was the territory of Alaska, which had been bought from the Russians years earlier. Either way the American mode of expansion had always been contained...
to the continent of North America. The experience in Hawai‘i was completely different from this. In Hawai‘i, an American backed revolt had been allowed and the new government was allowed to be eventually brought into the American fold all in the name of protecting American interests in Hawai‘i and more broadly in Asia as a whole.48

This was something new for Americans. What had happened was more similar to the European excursions into Africa and Asia, such as the British in Egypt, more so that it was the traditional American expansion.49 This first experience would prove to very important to the United States over the next few decades. It showed it gave them experience in this new type of imperialism they had never been involved with before. It also helped give rise to the two political forces that would face off over the next decade over imperialism. While the annexation of the islands had been in question for a long time, the Spanish-American War had also helped to turn public opinion and push the “jingo” ideology forward. Hawai‘i was the blueprint that would help navigate the new waters of this imperialist age and the two major wars that followed it.

**The Time since the Civil War**

By the time that many Americans were beginning to pay attention to the broader world affairs of the 1890s, it had been more than three decades since the end of America’s Civil War. The war was, and still is, the deadliest war ever fought by the United States, and its legacy of bloodshed has left a very long shadow over American history. However, at this time, while the massive body count from the war was still fresh in the minds of many Americans and many of the veterans of the war were still around in large numbers at this time, the horrible legacy of the war began to shift. The Civil War was transformed during the years before the Spanish-American War

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48 Nearing and Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy*, p.77.
49 Ibid., p.74.
from a horrible tragedy that had consumed the United States to more of an idealized and “model” time period for the new generation of Americans.\textsuperscript{50} The Civil War and its veterans became a symbol during this time for what true American valor and honor should look like. These ideas were deeply ingrained in the minds of many of the prominent men during this period, and this would have a major effect on American polices during this time.

By the 1890s, the generation of the Civil War was growing old and beginning to die off. These people were being replaced by the post-Civil War generation, filled with men and women who had never seen the bloody battlefields or endured the full hardships of the war.\textsuperscript{51} In the time period after the war, the fighting and the veterans themselves took on a sort of symbolic meaning and reverence in the United States.\textsuperscript{52} The veterans and their actions entered into an almost mythical status among the American people. This group came to dominate the American political scene, with every President until Theodore Roosevelt, only excluding Grover Cleveland, being a Northern veteran of the Civil War.\textsuperscript{53} The mythology surrounding the events and the people would have a major effect on the new generation of politicians in the 1890s.

Two of the most prominent examples of this group were Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge. Both men were young boys at the outbreak of the Civil War, and some of their most striking moments came during that time. Lodge remembers the proud feelings he felt about his father when the elder Lodge hoped to “raise himself” a Calvary regiment to lead, only to be thwarted by old age.\textsuperscript{54} Lodge also witnessed the all black 54\textsuperscript{th} Massachusetts Regiment leaving

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\textsuperscript{51} & Hoganson, \textit{Fighting for American Manhood}, p.1. \\
\textsuperscript{52} & Ibid., p.24-25. \\
\textsuperscript{53} & Ibid., p.24-25. \\
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for war in 1863, a moment the young Lodge “never forgot.”

Roosevelt, although younger, was also deeply affected by what he had seen during the war years, including when he witnessed the procession of Lincoln’s funeral parade in New York City in 1865. As a young child Roosevelt liked to dress as a wounded soldier when he was suffering an asthma attack, showing his early fascination with the military and soldiers. The war left a lasting effect on the two men, who bought into the mystique of the war and its combatants. Even Roosevelt’s father, who got out of the fighting by using substitutes, was greatly haunted by his decision, and was plagued by a “troubled conscience.”

It was as though he had passed up a great opportunity that he would never get back.

From this it can be seen how deeply these feelings ran into American society after the war. The war and its veterans were placed on a pedestal in the minds of many Americans. These feelings would help shift the collective consciousness of Americans on the concept of war. During the Civil war and in the immediate aftermath, the country was shocked by the amount of suffering that took place during this time. However, as time went on the American peoples’ feelings on war began to shift. Even the feelings of old veterans of the war began to shift during this time. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was wounded in the war and was driven to the edge of insanity by the fighting, began to shift his tone as time went on. Holmes began to express regret over resigning from the Union Army before the end of the war, and took an active part in the numerous veterans and memorial celebrations in the years after the war. In a speech at one event, he even spoke against the soft and easy life while praising war as “divine.” This was coming from the same

56 Ibid., p.20-22.
57 Ibid., p.22-23.
58 Ibid., p.63.
59 Ibid., p.63-64.
60 Ibid., p.64.
man who nearly driven insane by the slaughter and terrors of the war, but was praising the glory of war and battle only thirty years after his horrific experiences.

These ideals of war and glory were not only restricted to the aging veterans of the war itself. The post-Civil War generation had grown up around the stories of bravery and battlefield glory for their entire lives, and these had become deeply seeded ideas to them. They began to equate veterans and war service as a “manly” quality that was important to life, and this message was cultivated by many, including William McKinley to help his presidential campaigns. Roosevelt and Lodge were also deeply affected by this “manliness” drive about war. When, in the mid-1890s, there was a war scare with Great Britain over a border dispute in South America, Roosevelt and Lodge were “excited and gratified by it all.” Lodge was seen to be “bubbling with delight,” over the prospect of a war, while Roosevelt was doing everything in his power to make sure that he would have some sort of military role to play in the conflict. These men saw a war as the greatest thing that could possibly happen to them.

The reactions of men like Roosevelt and Lodge to the prospect for war, and the change of heart for battle veterans like Oliver Wendell Holmes, shows how the idea of war changed in American during the span of thirty years since the end of the Civil War. As time went on and began to separate people from the actual horrors of the war, the war itself began to change in the minds of the American people. No longer was it the perfect example of horrific slaughter and suffering on a large scale, it was now seen as having helped “develop the mettle,” of a generation of Americans. This was something the post-Civil War generation looked up to and idolized

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63 Ibid., p.69.
greatly, but it was also something they saw as lacking in their generation. Roosevelt even wrote during the war scare with Great Britain, “Let the fight come if it must; I don’t care whether our sea coast cities are bombarded or not.”

Time and distance from the Civil War had totally morphed the average American’s views on warfare. It was no longer a solemn, terrible act, but rather a grand opportunity and adventure. As the nineteenth century drew closer to its end, this idea shift would have a major and long lasting effect on American policy, and it would lead to a major shift in American policies worldwide.

**American Foreign Policy: Before the Wars**

During the time since the American Civil War, the United States had changed a great deal. Through the devastation of that war, the United States had tried to rebuild itself and move towards the future. The main preoccupation after the Civil War was transforming the United States into and industrial powerhouse with the expansion of factories and railroads all across the country. However, as time went on and the country began to heal, new ambitions began to rise up. Nearing the end of the nineteenth century, American industry had matured, and it now had the capacity to produce a navy and other weapons that would be needed for these imperial efforts. However, it would be a long process before the United States and her citizens were thinking out expanding overseas.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the United States had a very different role as a world power than the one it would adopt at the end of the century. Although the United States did have a presence worldwide in the form of a navy and trade fleets, it was nowhere near as

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powerful as the leading world powers at the time, mainly Great Britain. Also, despite the fact that some Americans wished to expand American territory at this time, they were in the minority, with most figures simply wanting to enforce American trade and “rights” abroad. Max Boot refers to this policy as “butcher and bolt,” a term used by the British in India to describe military expeditions to punish a group, or punitive expeditions. This practice was used widely by the United States during this time, particularly in Asia. However, it was no until much later that Americans began to seriously consider staying on foreign soil.

The reason for this long delay in American expansion overseas can be attributed to the geography of the United States. From where the originally boundaries of the United States began on the East Coast, a vast frontier stretched all the way to the Pacific Ocean for Americans to expand into. It was this expansion that most Americans focused on the in nineteenth century, and it filled the need for expansion felt by Americans at this time. However, towards the end of the century, this began to change. In 1893, Fredrick Jackson Turner wrote an essay describing the importance of the western frontier. Turner described the frontier as a vast, open landscape where European immigrants were “modified” and where American life “developed.” Turner recognized the importance of the frontier, not only to American manhood, as discussed earlier, but also to the American spirit more broadly. Since the United States was a nation of immigrants, the old western frontier allowed these new immigrants to become a part of the “American” national identity. To Turner, and many other Americans, the West had always been seen as a great source of unity. It was something that, in theory, belonged to all Americans and was available to them.

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70 Ibid., p.38.
72 Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, p.5.
after the end of the dividing factor of slavery mid-century, the frontier could really support the
growth of a unified American nationalism. However, by the 1890’s, the “frontier had gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.” To many Americans, this was an epoch defining moment. With no more western frontier, American ideals of unity through expansion were in serious trouble. These conditions prompted many to begin looking elsewhere for expansion, such as places overseas.

With the end of one era in American history, people began to try to understand how to open a new era and a “new” frontier. In the years leading towards the new century, several opportunities would allow the United States to test itself in world politics. Captain Mahan’s book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, published in 1890 on the influence of naval power influenced many people working in the United States military and government, including Theodore Roosevelt. One of the first areas that became a target for this new idea was the island of Samoa. The United States did have contact with the Samoan islands earlier than the last decade of the nineteenth century, as President Grant had worked to acquire a naval station at the port of Pago Pago on the island. This type of deal with the natives fit right into the type of strategy that Captain Mahan would later advocate for in his book. However, control over Samoa would not come easily to the Americans. Despite the American deal with the natives, the British and Germans were playing an old school imperial game with the island. The British agreed to allow German influence in the South Seas and equatorial Africa after Germany had recognized British control over Egypt in the 1880s. This led to a confrontation in 1886, with both the Americans

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73 Ibid., p.5.
74 Ibid., p.9.
and the Germans claiming protectorate status over the island. This crisis grew hotter until the situation finally had to be handled. German Chancellor Bismarck called a Conference about Samoa in 1889, where the British, Americans, and Germans were given condominium over the islands, which were finally divided between the Americans and Germans ten years later, right at the time the United States was dealing with the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. Even as early as the 1880s, the United States was beginning to spread it wings to new areas of the world. This would be its first taste of imperial power.

In addition to its early expansion in the Pacific, with the Samoan islands and the eventual control over the Hawaiian Islands, the United States also began to test the waters of intervention. Although the Monroe Doctrine had been issued during the 1820s, the United States had not made it a habit of intervening in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors. However, like many things, this also began to change in the 1890s. Besides the ever present distraction of Cuba, in the early 1890s the United States’ focus was on another South American country, Chile. In Chile, the United States had supported a government that had fallen to a revolution, and the new government was very hostile towards the Americans. This tense situation finally spilled over into violence in 1891. American sailors that were on shore in the town of Valparaiso were attacked by a mob of Chileans, which result in one sailor being killed by police fire. Several other sailors were beaten and stabbed during the riot. The American government was greatly upset by the incident. President Harrison issued a statement denouncing the “cruel and disastrous” attack on American sailors, and threatened to terminate diplomatic relations with Chile unless an apology was issued.

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79 Ibid., p.31.
80 Ibid., p.38-39.
and damages paid.\textsuperscript{83} Faced with these harsh words and threatening tone from the American President, the Chileans backed down quickly.\textsuperscript{84} This was another major moment for the United States, as it was able to force another country to bend to its pressure, all while acting on the “just” side of the incident. It was its first taste of “intervention” in another major state, and the United States did not even have to fire a shot. These incidents, along with the Venezuelan Crisis a few years later, helped build the foreign policy confidence of the United States headed towards the Spanish-American War. It would help shape one of the most influential political and cultural movements in American history, the jingoist or expansion movement.

**Rise of the Jingoes**

Even before the war with Spain broke out, American eyes had already begun to look at factors that were taking place outside of American borders. This was the high point of global empires, with Europe expanding and flexing its muscle across nearly every continent. As empires spread, lands and resources were taken over, causing some Americans to begin to wonder how the United States would play a role in this new imperial world. Some saw the United States as taking a spot with the other powers, while other saw America as more of a force for good and aid in the world. These ideas existed and combated each other long before America became involved in a conflict with Spain.

In addition to interests in Hawai’i, the United States become involved in a number of issues around the world. One of the major events before the war with Spain that started to rouse the spirit of jingoism in the U.S. was the dispute in South America with the British Empire. In late 1895, Great Britain was in a dispute with Venezuela over the border of the British colony of Guyana and

\textsuperscript{83} James D. Richardson ed., “Messages and Papers of the Presidents: 1789-1897,” *America as a World Power*, p.43-44.

\textsuperscript{84} Ferrell, *America as a World Power*, p.45.
This dispute began to escalate when America became involved in the dispute between the two countries. President Cleveland invoked the Monroe doctrine and America’s right to intervene on behalf of Venezuela. Strictly speaking on political and military terms, while in the past the United States was not in a position to actively enforce the Monroe Doctrine, at this point in time the American nation had “grown in power and resources,” and, “had demonstrated its power on land and sea.” So from a political perspective, the United States had finally reached a level where it could formally challenge the old European Empires.

However, there was also another factor that was pushing forward this confrontation over Venezuela. The United States made it clear to Great Britain that the “honor and interests,” of the United States were wrapped up in this confrontation and that these could no longer be treated with “indifference,” by the European powers. This brought the issue to a higher level of thought for Americans. Not only did they now have the power to act on the Monroe Doctrine, according to their government they had a right to do so. This was a dual right. It included not only protecting American honor by defending a hemispheric ally, but also it was willing now to go out and protect its own rights abroad. This showed a changed American state from only a few years previous.

The actions of President Cleveland against Great Britain during the Venezuelan Crisis stirred up a fervor among the hard-core jingoes in the United States. Jingoes such as Roosevelt and Cabot Lodge were excited by the possibility of a war and Roosevelt hoped that there would “not be any backing down among our people.” They and the other expansionists were eager for

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85 Thomas, The War Lovers, p.67-68.  
87 Olney, “On American Jurisdiction.”  
88 Ibid.  
89 Thomas, The War Lovers, p.69.
a military confrontation with Great Britain, or anyone really, and the New York Times even ran an article claiming that the “Country was Aroused,” and “Want[s] to fight England.” Although the crisis was eventually revolved peacefully between the powers, the confrontation showed the growth of this faction in America. The jingo spirit that was sweeping through the United States showed itself during the Venezuela Crisis, and would continue to play a part in the evolving American forging policy of the 1890s.

The jingoes were greatly influenced by the time that had passed since the end of the Civil War. They were part of the cultural element in American Society that held an idealized vision of the American Civil War and its veterans. They saw the American Civil War as having united American men who had served in the war with the experience of combat, even between the Northern and Southern soldiers. To the jingoes, the bonds that were formed between the men represented a “fraternity” that only they belonged to, and it represented a form of “social solidarity” that could only be achieved through wartime experiences. To the jingoes warfare brought men together and helped form powerful social bonds that could not exist without war. Warfare and expansion was not only helping the state become more powerful but it was also helping its men become more connected in the “fraternal” bonds of soldiery. Men such as Roosevelt believed that the United States was “incalculably richer” from its experiences during the Civil War, and that as a whole it had helped American men and the American state.

Some jingoes also saw more tangible goals for possible American expansions. They believed that expansion and warfare could help unify people and bring them to look past or ignore

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90 Ibid., p.68.
91 Hoganson, Fighting for American Manhood, p.36-37.
92 Ibid., p.38.
93 Ibid., p.38-39.
the political and social divisions in the United States in service of a “higher” cause. In addition to this, another tangible asset for the jingoes were the economic benefits that came with acquiring new territories around the world. As seen with Hawai‘i, American businesses had interests all around the world at this point in time, especially reaching into the various Pacific regions of Asia and the Caribbean. The coup attempt in Hawai‘i was made by American businessmen and planters with American interest in mind, and it success proved that American expansion could also be very profitable to the United States.

Finally, the jingoes also were concerned with the level of American prestige and power worldwide. At this time Americans were looking out into a world with massive European Empires. The United States needed a way to enter the world stage, and Alfred Thayer Mahan provided a guide to do just that. A Naval Captain, Mahan believed that the United States needed to become imperialist to compete in the world because at the time imperialism was the “dominate not in the world politics today.” This shows another side of the jingo argument, namely that the United States did not have to expand because it wanted to, it needed to expand to play any role in world politics; it was a necessity. Expansion was an important topic in America at this time. American professor Fredrick Jackson Turner published in essay in 1893 which talked about the role of expansion to Americans. The western frontier allowed Americans to spread west, grow economically, and grow their civilization over time. However, Turner had also declared that by 1893, “the frontier was gone.” With such an important aspect of American culture now gone,

94 Ibid., p.39.
97 Ibid., p.9.
people began to look for alternatives to westward expansion. This caused people, including jingoes to begin to look overseas.

During the 1890s there were sparks of hope for the jingoes as more Americans were taking on their world view. In a series of incidents over this decade, the new policies of the United States were taking shape. In 1891, after a violent incident involving American sailors in Chile, the U.S. threatened military retaliation until it was payed $75,000 for damages. Later in 1894, the U.S. intervened in Brazil by sending a fleet to break a blockade of Rio de Janeiro during civil war. Including the Venezuela Crisis that occurred the next year, the United States was starting to show an interventionist pattern. This was all building up to a crisis and wars that would help define this new America. However, the expansionist movement was not growing unopposed. Their rapid rise and aggressive politics sparked a faction of opposition that would attempt to keep them in check for the next decade.

The Anti-Imperialist Opposition

Despite the growing feelings of jingoism during this time, they were not the only ideology battling for America’s future. Some Americans wanted the United States to become more involved overseas, but for very different reasons. Some wanted the United States to take more actions in protecting the rights of others. These ideas stemmed from both religious and humanitarian positions. There were also people and groups in the United States who wanted the U.S. to move away from foreign actions all together.

Before the war with Spain broke out, there were still some major world affairs that were able to draw the attention of the anti-imperialists. One was the relief expeditions that were sent to
help the Armenians who were suffering in the Ottoman Empire. In 1895, the conditions faced by the Armenian minority in the Ottoman Empire were terrible, and missionaries operating in the region reached out to the American Red Cross to provide aid to these people. 100 Some in the United States also saw that America should “support Humanity” and look to help their fellow Christians who were suffering in Armenia. 101 The people who supported these actions were very different from the jingoes that were trying to shift American foreign policy. While these people and organizations did advocate for more American actions overseas, their rationale and purposes were entirely different. While the jingoes wished to expand American power and influence around the world these humanitarians only wanted to use American resources to help others, in this case in Armenia. These particular groups, along with others who wished to spread humanity and liberty through the world, would find themselves in a very complex position in the aftermath of the coming war with Spain.

There was also another group of more traditional anti-imperialists who wanted to United States to stay out of other countries and territories all together. These individuals and groups still held humanitarian ideals, but they were very worried about the potential outcomes of the possible wars in regard to territories. 102 They valued humanitarian ideals, but they feared that if the United States were to enter the world stage as an imperial power, it would simply become “one more bully among bullies.” 103 They were worried about the future of the United States, just like the jingoes, but from the polar opposite perspective.

100 Clara Barton, America’s Relief Expedition to Asia Minor under the Red Cross, http://armenianhouse.org/barton/red-cross/clara-barton.html (May need better info for this section)
102 Kinzer, The True Flag, p.6.
103 Ibid., p.6.
Before the debates over war with the Spanish, the main imperial question that confronted the United States was the Hawai‘i question. Since 1893, Hawai‘i had been ruled by a provisional government run by American businessmen and officials who had come to power through a coup against the rightful Queen of Hawai‘i. The President at the time, Grover Cleveland, angered by the coup and the role of the American Navy in helping it succeed, refused to even consider bringing the islands into the Union.\footnote{Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.67-68} This angered both the Provisional Government and the jingoes at home, with the islands being left in limbo for nearly four years. Another opponent to the annexation of Hawai‘i was a surprising one, Republican Speaker of the House John Reed. Known as the “Czar” because of his political power in government, Reed saw the possible annexation as “unwise [and] absurd.”\footnote{Kinzer, \textit{The True Flag}, p.7.} Reed was a major opponent against the rising tide of jingo feelings in the Republican party, using past ideals of American democracy from Washington to Lincoln to argue against the jingoes.\footnote{Ibid., p.7-8.} Reed also felt that there were more important things for the American people to worry about than simply Cuba and war. He believed that economic issues, such as the recent Depression and civil rights violations such as lynching’s were more important to the American people than possible overseas adventures.\footnote{Thomas, \textit{The War Lovers}, p.191.} Others shared Reed’s views and saw the responsibility of the United States government to first “cure the evils in our own country,” instead of worrying about other territories.\footnote{Kinzer, \textit{The True Flag}, p.16.} Many also agreed that by acquiring or conquering foreign peoples, it went against the very ideals of American liberty that had been established, while the jingoes saw imperialism and war as helping bring Americans closer together.\footnote{Ibid., p.13.} These debates over Hawai‘i showed the growing ant-imperialist sentiments in the United States. The jingoes
were not the only faction on the rise during this period. Both ideas would be debated and argued for before the Spanish-American War broke out, but it was during and after the war that they really began to battle. They were battling over the future of the United States, and neither side was going to back down easily or gently.
Chapter 2: The War with Spain

This chapter will look at the Spanish-American War, how it started and what the outcomes of the outcomes of the war were. It will explore how tensions build up between the United States and Spain in the years prior to the war, how these helped create the “yellow journalism” in America, and focus on how the war was portrayed in the United States. It will look at how the war started and the narrative of the war, will highlight the growing animosity between the jingoes and the anti-imperialists, and will set up the major confrontation over the spoils of this war. My main argument for this chapter focuses on how the expansionist faction in America was pushing for this war, and that victory in this conflict helped give confidence to this movement.

Lead up to the War

The flash points for the Spanish-American War can be centered around one major starting point, the island of Cuba. The United States had a long economic relationship with Spanish Cuba before hostilities broke out. The islands had been a major source of American sugar, tobacco, and cigar shipments, and the island had been very important to American trade and American consumers for many years. However, beginning in the 1890s the situation on the island began to change dramatically for all parties. In 1895, the Cubans began an uprising against the Spanish rulers of the island, the second uprising to occur since the 1870s. The Spanish immediately sent more troops to the island to put down this rebellion, and the Spanish troops and commanders became more brutal in their treatment of the rebels as the war dragged on. Unlike previous colonial wars, this war in Cuba would reach Americans at an unprecedented level through the mass media.

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10 March, The History and Conquest of the Philippines, p.308-309.
11 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.85-86.
12 Ibid., p.86.
While the Cuban uprising did have a severe impact on the amount and value of sugar shipped to the United States and was a visibly brutal war, the actual fighting had a very minimal impact on the lives of most Americans.¹¹³ This was the era of colonial conflicts around the world, from Africa to Asia and now in the Caribbean. Europeans powers were operating in this manner in nearly every corner of the globe. It was not the actual war that got Americans interested in the fighting, but how it was covered. At this time the United States, newspapers, were the main source of information gathering for the average American, and at this time two papers reigned supreme, the *New York Morning Journal* and *The New York World* which were run by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, respectively.¹¹⁴ Both of them were rich executives who were looking for good stories to sell their papers. The Rebellion in Cuba provided just the headline they were looking for. Through a little embellishment, the two newspapers began to print headline grabbing stories on the war in Cuba, pulling in more readers with each headline.¹¹⁵ This type of news, with eye catching headlines that often contained embellishments, was known as yellow journalism. It would play a very important role in the coming war.

The actions by the newspapers of Hearst and Pulitzer only helped increase the amount of already high American interest in the growing Cuban conflict.¹¹⁶ Although the war had little actual impact on American and their ways of life, Cuba itself was something special to the United States. Just like with the Hawaiian Islands, Cuba had been looked on as a place for American expansion since at least the 1820s.¹¹⁷ Former President Thomas Jefferson had commented on this draw in the 1820s, and President John Quincy Adams called the annexation of Cuba “scarcely possible to

¹¹³ Ibid., p.86-87.
¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.87-88.
¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.88-89.
¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.89.
¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.89.
resist,” and the island itself “indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself.”\textsuperscript{118} The United States had even attempted to buy Cuban from Spain in 1848 under President Polk for $100 million, a very large amount at the time, which the Spanish minister quickly rejected stating he “would rather see the island sink” than belong to the United States. \textsuperscript{119} These comments show what Cuba was in the American mindset at this time. Cuba sits so close to the United States so it was only a matter of time before Americans began to look towards it for expansion, as they were halfway across the world in the Pacific with the Hawaiian Islands.

However, the feelings for Cuba ran much deeper. The proximity played a role in this, as did the previous failed American attempts to acquire the island. Americans had seen a “special” relationship develop with Cuba, based partially on its proximity to the continental United States and also based off of political reasons.\textsuperscript{120} In the American mindset, not matter what class or political party, the Monroe Doctrine was a hallmark of American foreign policy. It laid out very clear terms on the position of the United States on foreign powers operating in the Western Hemisphere. The Spanish occupation of Cuba was something that many Americans saw as a direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine and something that the Doctrine should prevent.\textsuperscript{121} During the years after the Civil War, repeated revolts in Cuba kept this subject firmly in American minds. In these early years, the first signs of the jingo, martial spirit began to appear with one letter from a Kentuckian to the administration of President Grant urging him to take action because “times were dull,” and “a war with Spain would be very popular in this state.”\textsuperscript{122} This was during the Ten

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., p.89-90.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., p.89-90.
\textsuperscript{120} H. Wayne Morgan, \textit{America’s Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion}, (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1966) p.4.
\textsuperscript{121} Morgan, \textit{America’s Road to Empire}, p.4.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., p.4.
Years War, which was a Cuban revolt that lasted from 1868 to 1878. Although Grant and many others wished to intervene, a moderate faction in American politics was able to cool the war fever. Instead, American policy towards Cuba became one of constant and firm pressure on the Spanish to accept American arbitration and move towards a free Cuba. Although Spain rejected this proposal, this remained the main focus of American policy towards Cuba and was carried on by the administrations that followed Grant, although there were no major revolts or actions in Cuba again until the 1890s. Despite this lull in major action, the American focus on Cuba never wavered, although it did become quiet. So, it was with expecting eyes that Americans began to pay more attention to the situation in Cuba during the 1890s.

Much like in the 1860s and 1870s, it was a major war that again focused American interest so firmly on the island of Cuba. In 1895, another major revolt broke out in Cuba against Spanish rule. Much like before, Spain immediately sent thousands of men and tons of material to maintain its control over its island possession. Just as in the United States, Cuba occupied a very special cultural and political spot in the Spanish imperial system. Besides being a major economic component of the Spanish Empire, the “Ever Faithful Isle,” kept alive the rich past of the now fading Spanish Empire, giving the poor and divided Spanish people a source of national pride. Although many in the Spanish government and military saw the Cuban War as fruitless and ultimately a lost cause, they had no choice but to commit to the war because of public opinion. Just as in the United States at the time, the Spanish public were pushing the political opinions and

123 Ibid., p.4.  
124 Ibid., p.5.  
125 Ibid., p.5.  
126 Ibid., p.5.  
127 Ibid., p.5-6.
actions of their country in a specific direction, which was one of direct collision with the United States.

Documents at this time show how deeply the American government took its role as “protector” of the Western Hemisphere from outside powers. As shown in the Venezuela Crisis that took place the same year, the American government saw its duty as “protecting” its neighbors in Latin America.\textsuperscript{128} The United States saw the Monroe Doctrine as giving it the total authority to act in these regions on behalf of its neighbors.

**The U.S.S. Maine Incident**

By the beginning of the 1898, the tensions between the United States and the Spanish Empire had nearly reached their boiling point. The Cuban Revolt had gained the attention of the American government along with the American public, and both had turned on Spain.\textsuperscript{129} The crisis between the United States and Spain had died a little during the end of 1897, with a more liberal government taking power in Spain and trying to both make peace with the Cubans and to keep the United States from becoming directly involved with the island.\textsuperscript{130} However, despite these reforms in Spanish policy, American attention on Cuba did not end. The stories of atrocities and hardships that flowed from Cuba into American newspapers, whether real or imagined, kept American interest in the growing conflict.\textsuperscript{131} In fact it would be one of these stories that helped increase tensions between the United States and Spain and lead up to the incident that would eventually propel the countries into war.

\textsuperscript{128} Olney, “On American Jurisdiction.”
\textsuperscript{129} March, *The History and Conquest of the Philippines*, p.311.
\textsuperscript{130} Thomas, *The War Lovers*, p.191.
\textsuperscript{131} Morgan, *America’s Road to Empire*, p.13.
In January 1898, the New York Journal ran an article that claimed that American citizens in the Cuban capital of Havana were being attacked and beaten by mobs of people. The paper then ran headlines that called for immediate war with Spain “within forty-eight hours.” Despite all the sensation that surrounded this supposed “attack” in Havana, the story was false on two counts. One, no Americans had been attacked by any large mobs in Havana, and secondly, the United States was nowhere near ready for an immediate war with Spain. In spite of the falsehood of these accusations, tensions again began to rise between the two countries. In January 1898, the American ambassador to Cuba sent a message to Washington D.C. asking for the U.S.S. Maine, which was anchored at Key West, to sail to Havana, on a “friendly visit,” to show that formal relations with Spain had been restored. However, this move was much more politically driven. In addition to the disagreements with Spain over Cuba, President McKinley, was beginning to worry about another imperial power. Rumors began to swirl around Washington that Spain might make a secret deal with Germany over Cuba. This simply added another layer of distrust and paranoia over what was going on in Cuba. With the tense backdrop, the Maine set sail for Cuba. There the United States would be set on its path towards destiny with Spain.

The Maine finally arrived in Havana on January 25, 1898, just as tensions between the United States and Spain were beginning to heat up again. Only a few days later on February 9, the New York Journal published a paper that was headlined with a letter written by the Spanish ambassador to the United States that mocked President McKinley and called him “weak.” This was used by the Journal as a sensational headline. Around the same time, they had also published

134 Thomas, The War Lovers, p.197.
137 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.116.
an editorial that had called for all Cuban ports to be occupied by the American Navy as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{138} This was the powder keg that the \textit{Maine} was sitting on in Havana. It would not last for long. On the night of February 15, 1898, as the \textit{Maine} was sitting quietly in Havana harbor, a violent explosion tore through the ship.\textsuperscript{139} Survivors were gathered out of the water and were evacuated from the ship, but over 250 men out of a crew of 355 on the \textit{Maine} were lost.\textsuperscript{140} As news reached the United States, this became a tragedy on an epic scale, and would set into motion the war that so many Americans had longed for so long.

Despite the fact that the destruction of the \textit{Maine} had occurred in a Spanish harbor, many Americans recommended caution when looking into the incident. The captain of the \textit{Maine} himself, in his report to Washington after the explosion, had urged that “public opinion should be suspended until further report,” on what had actually destroyed the Maine.\textsuperscript{141} This advice was not even considered by the many newspapers in the United States. This was the beginning of the age of mass media in the United States. As mentioned above, newspapers were the way most Americans received their daily news. As a result of the headline worthy events of the previous few months, the newspapers had become very outrageous in their headlines and were almost begging for war with Spain. When William Randolph Hearts learned of the explosion of the U.S.S. \textit{Maine} in Cuba, he told his editor that “There is not any other big news. This means war.”\textsuperscript{142} This was only the beginning.

Overnight the \textit{Maine} had become the biggest story in the United States. The newspapers across the country jumped on this incident as the largest story in the country. The magnitude of

\textsuperscript{139} Thomas, \textit{The War Lovers}, p.206-207.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., p.207.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p.208.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., p.208.
the explosion of the *Maine* was shocking to the American public. It was most costly military disaster that the United States had suffered since the Civil War over thirty years earlier.\textsuperscript{143} With nearly 300 men lost in one night, the public immediately began looking for the villain in the situation. Most of their eyes fell squarely on the Spanish. The *New York Journal*, the lead among these yellow journalists, immediately began running loud and eye-catching headlines claiming that “Destruction of the War Ship *Maine* was a work of the Enemy,” and even offering a $50,000 reward to the person who convicted the “Criminals” behind the *Maine* disaster.\textsuperscript{144} This was not the first taste of this for the *New York Journal*. Long before the *Maine* incident, the *Journal* had been running stories about the Spanish in Cuba and what it, or Hearst, thought the United States should do about it. This had even included at one point running stories about a Cuban girl martyr who was being held by the Spanish, with Hearst demanding she be released by the Spanish.\textsuperscript{145} The *Maine* incident was different from before, however. Now the newspapers and jingoes had a real, major tragedy and military incident on their hands. Their calls for war were now justified, in their minds.

Not every American was as eager for war as the jingoes. These included many people in government, including the President himself McKinley. Having served in the American Civil War and having seen the violence and bloodshed of that conflict, McKinley said of the prospect of war, “I have been through one war, I have seen the dead piled up, and I do not want to see another.”\textsuperscript{146} However, after the Maine, McKinley was part of the minority in America. One of the most active jingoes at this time was Theodore Roosevelt, who by this time was the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Seizing on an opportunity when he was alone in the Naval office, Roosevelt, along with

\textsuperscript{143} Miller, *The President and the Assassin*, p.118.
\textsuperscript{145} Thomas, *The War Lovers*, p.181.
\textsuperscript{146} Kinzer, *The True Flag*, p.34.
Lodge, sent order out to all naval squadrons to fill up on coal and ammunition, to prepare for action, and he even ordered Admiral Dewey, head of the Asiatic Squadron in Hong Kong, to prepare to move and attack the Philippines if war was declared.\textsuperscript{147} Roosevelt's actions represented a powerful sway that was taking hold of the government. With the public firmly behind the prospect of war after the destruction of the Maine, Congressmen and other officials, like Roosevelt, began pushing McKinley for a declaration of war. Many Americans saw it as the "just" thing to do to help the Cubans and avenge the \textit{Maine}. In Congress, despite the best efforts by Speaker of the House Harry Reed, hawkish Congressmen kept trying to bring about conversations about Cuba, with fights even breaking out in the halls.\textsuperscript{148} The newspapers at the time even took to attacking Reed for his stance on the \textit{Maine} disaster. One newspaper showed Reed as a man sitting on a wooden box labeled "The House" that was smoking with the caption, "Cuba feels Reed's heavy hand again."\textsuperscript{149} The paper is trying to display Reed as holding back the intentions of the House, and by extension the people, to move forward to help Cuba. It also showed it becoming more difficult for Reed to handle, which showed that the \textit{Journal} is hopeful that soon the House could get past Reed on this issue.

The anti-expansionist Congressmen did gain a victory in these early hours, however. In order to show the just nature of the American cause in Cuba, they pushed through the Teller Amendment in Congress, claiming the United States had no territorial objectives in Cuba accept the "pacification thereof," and wished to "leave the government and control of the Island to its people."\textsuperscript{150} With this last obstacle taken away by the Congressmen who opposed annexation of Cuba, the Amendment passed, and was signed by McKinley. This was the beginning of the end.

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p.35.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p.37-38.
\textsuperscript{149} "Cuba feels Reed’s heavy hand again," \textit{New York Journal} in Thomas, \textit{The War Lovers}, p.243.
\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Kinzer, The True Flag}, p.38.
for those who wanted to avoid war. In early April 1898, Spain quickly rejected the Teller Amendment’s proposal for an independent Cuba, just like it had so many times before, but this time their rejection was met by an American blockade of Havana.\textsuperscript{151} Finally the point of no return had been reached by the Americans and the Spanish. Between April 24 and 25 the two countries declared war on each other.\textsuperscript{152} This was the beginning of a new American path, one that would take the United States a long way from home.

Before the war with Spain even broke out, the newspapers in the United States had been working hard to turn public opinion against the Spanish. This form of yellow journalism was carried out to great effect using political cartoons. Many of these cartoons were used to stir up feelings against the Spanish, and help create a greater call for war. One image shows a woman, representing Cuba, being cooked over the fires of “anarchy” that the Spanish have created over Cuba.\textsuperscript{153} This image was trying to show the suffering of “helpless” Cuban people, and create a call for their rescue by the Americans. The Journal often used this image of a woman in trouble to create these feelings. An image from the Journal shows a woman being “strip searched” by three Spanish men, again showing the helplessness of the oppressed and the vulgar behavior of the Spanish.\textsuperscript{154} Other images used the memory of the men lost on the Maine in addition to the suffering of the Cubans to elicit a react from individuals.\textsuperscript{155} These images helped shape American public opinion toward Spain, and helped push the country towards war.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., p.38-39.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p.39.
\textsuperscript{153} See Figure 1 in Appendix.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{New York Journal} in Thomas, \textit{The War Lovers}, p.152, and Figure 2 in the Appendix.
\textsuperscript{155} See Figure 3 in Appendix.
The War with Spain

With the outbreak of war during the spring of 1898, the United States had been thrown into a frenzy. Stirred up by the constant attention given to the Cuban crisis and the Spanish by the yellow newspapers, the American people reacted to the outbreak of war with excitement that could not be contained. Right as the war was officially declared, President McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers to serve, considering that the Regular United States Army numbered only about 28,000 men at this time.¹⁵⁶ The American people responded enthusiastically; over one million men “answered the call” for volunteers and enlisted or sought commissions.¹⁵⁷ The government and Army were overwhelmed by the sheer number of men who wanted to fight in the war. McKinley and his staff were swamped with requests for commissions and at one point had to create an assembly line to sign of them because the number was so great.¹⁵⁸ No one wanted to be left out of the war, from the cities to the countryside me rushed to take part in the fighting.¹⁵⁹ Men all around the country saw the war as a chance for a great “adventure,” fun and exciting like Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show.¹⁶⁰ The country had not seen a major war, outside of scattered Indian conflicts, since the end of the Civil War, so this war with Spain was seen as something new.

The excitement for the war did not stop with the average American. One of the most enthusiastic about the prospect of war none other than Theodore Roosevelt. On April 25, right after war had been declared, Roosevelt went into the office of the Secretary of the Navy and resigned from his post as Assistant Secretary in order to enlist and fight with the infantry.¹⁶¹ The

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¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.243.
¹⁵⁸ Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.173.
¹⁵⁹ My own great-great-grandfather, from rural Kentucky, attempted to enlist in the Army by eating 20 pounds of bananas because he was initially told he was 20 pounds too light. He, however, did not succeed.
¹⁶⁰ Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.172-173.
Secretary, and many others, including many of his friends, thought that Roosevelt was crazy for wanting to go off and fight a war, especially at his age and considering he had a family. Roosevelt was a deep believer in the jingoist and manliness ideals that had spread before the war, so this was his chance to prove what he believed in. Also, he saw himself as “doing [his] duty,” and redeeming the personal anguish he felt for his father not fighting in the Civil War thirty years earlier. Whatever the real reasons may have been, Roosevelt and hundreds of thousands of other men began to train for war during the spring of 1898.

During this time, the yellow journalists continued to run wild in America. In early May, the New York Herald, the main competitor of Heart’s Journal, ran a story claiming that a correspondent had seen the Spanish Atlantic Fleet sail past the Cape Verde Islands on its way towards the East coast of the United States. This obviously set off a massive panic along the East coast, as well as keeping hooked on the news stories. However, this did get the military commanders in Washington looking for the Spanish fleet. After searching all across the Caribbean, the Spanish fleet was finally found to be hiding in Santiago de Cuba, now trapped by their lack of coal and the Americans. This set the stage for a confrontation in the south of Cuba.

In addition to their wild stories, the journalists also continued to use political cartoons to help shape the American view of the war. One of the most common ways of doing this was to try and make the Spanish out as evil and vile, thereby making America’s involvement in this war “just.” One of these images showed a Spanish soldier, made to look like a gorilla, with a bloody

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162 Ibid., p.243-245.
163 Ibid., p.245-246.
164 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.176.
165 Ibid., p.176-177.
166 Ibid., p.177.
knife and hands standing over the grave of the sailors from the *Maine*.

This evil looking figure attempted to show what the Spanish were and why the United States should be fighting them. It also contrasted sharply with the wholesome, valiant image of an American soldier going off to war. However, journalists in the United States were not the only ones using this type of propaganda. A Spanish cartoon showed Uncle Sam reaching out into the Caribbean attempting to grab up Cuba. This was Spain’s attempt to discredit the United States as a land hunger power, and to justify their war effort. This type of journalism was not unique to the United States, although American newspapers nearly perfected it.

While most American eyes had been squarely fixed on Cuba in the months leading up to the war, the first real action of the conflict would take place on the other side the world, in a place that few Americans had paid attention up until this time, the Philippine Islands. In Asia, long before war seemed imminent, the Asiatic Squadron had been given orders by Roosevelt that if war broke out to head towards the islands and attack Manila, the Spanish capital. Command of the Asiatic Squadron was held by a Civil War veteran, Admiral George Dewey. Dewey led his command towards Manila, and on May 1, 1898, the fighting of the Spanish American War began. The fighting was intense and confusing, with the American view of the Spanish ships and shore batteries being hidden by the amount of smoke in the air. Finally, after two hours of fighting, the Americans ended the firing, after running low on ammunition, but a great victory had already been won. The American fleet had destroyed nearly the entire Spanish fleet, while killing or wounding about four hundred Spanish sailors. Only one American had died, and it was from heat

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167 See Figure 4 in Appendix.
168 See Figure 5 in Appendix.
169 See Figure 6 in Appendix.
170 Miller, *The President and the Assassin*, p.150-151.
exhaustion.\textsuperscript{173} Overnight, Dewey became the face of the war for the American people, clothes, streets, food, and even new babies were named in his honor.\textsuperscript{174} Dewey’s victory gave the American people exactly what they had wanted. He delivered them a quick, decisive, and nearly bloodless victory, and so early in the fighting. In June of that year, another quick victory would help buoy the American people. On the isolated island of Guam, in the middle of the Pacific, another American fleet headed out to capture the Spanish island. When the American fleet arrived, they found no Spanish ships, and hardly any Spanish troops on the island.\textsuperscript{175} The few who were their even thought that the American shells fired at their fort had been a military salute, they had no idea there was a war going on.\textsuperscript{176}

The Americans captured Guam easily, and by doing so began to change the face of the war. While the fighting in Cuba was seen as a humanitarian campaign against the barbarous Spaniards, the American public had no such outcry over the Philippines or Guam. However, the capture of Guam and the occupation of Manila Bay by the Navy, who were waiting for the Army, now gave the United States the possibility of overseas possessions, far beyond what people had before thought possible.\textsuperscript{177} Anti-expansionists in the United States were shocked by the actions abroad, and soon tried to organize a defense against the coming expansionist wave.\textsuperscript{178} Many of these early activists were also against the war, seeing that the United States needed to fix itself before it should go out into the world and try to help others.\textsuperscript{179} The activists would soon be hit from two fronts, however. As the war was raging in the summer of 1898, Congress brought up the question of

\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., p.155.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., p.155-156.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., p.180.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., p.180-181.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid., p.156.
\textsuperscript{178} Kinzer, The True Flag, p.47
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., p.47-48.
annexation surrounding Hawai’i that had been in limbo for almost five years. This would set the stage for fierce political battles after the war. In the meantime, however, the American public turned to the place where it all began, yet it was still relatively quiet: Cuba.

Theodore Roosevelt was part of the American force that landed in Cuba during the summer of 1898. Roosevelt had helped form and arm the First United States Volunteer Calvary Regiment, more commonly remembered as the “Rough Riders.” The Regiment, along with Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt, had captured the public imagination about the war and the Americans who were fighting it. After a layover in Tampa Florida, where the Army tried in vain to organize and supply itself properly, the invasion force set sail for southern Cuba. Finally the quest to “liberate” the island from the Spanish was underway. When Cuba was within sight, Roosevelt was heard to say, “We land tomorrow! Whoopee!” and that night the officers gave a toast, “To the officers- may they get killed, wounded, or promoted.” These men were basking in the glory of the conflict they were about to enter. The deep feelings of dread that had affected the soldiers of the Civil War were long gone from these men. For the jingoes back home, the ultimate test of their policies and ideas was about to take place on the lands surrounding Santiago de Cuba.

As the American Army began the march towards Santiago, trouble began to arise between the American forces and the Cuban rebels. American troops saw the Cubans as being “filthy, indolent, and thievish,” and most were surprised at that color of their skin. Despite these tensions, the Army began to move against the Spanish. Small battles were fought on the way to

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180 Ibid., p.48.
181 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.174.
182 Ibid., p.174.
183 Ibid., p.175-176.
185 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.192-193.
the city, but the major action of the campaign would be decided in the hills just outside of Santiago. At San Juan Hill Roosevelt would gain his fame by leading his regiment, and a mix up of other commands in an attack upon the Spanish fortifications on the ridge.\textsuperscript{186} Roosevelt was in his element during this hard battle. After the American forces had taken the ridge, Roosevelt was at an extreme high, bragging to an old friend he found on the battlefield that he had “doubled up a Spanish officer like a jackrabbit,” and that he was basking in the “power of joy in battle.”\textsuperscript{187} Even Hearst, the man who helped enflame American public opinion about the war, was at the scene of the battle, working on stories for his paper.\textsuperscript{188} To them, this was the culmination of all of their work. These men had achieved not only a great personal thrill and victory, in the case of Roosevelt, but also a great triumph for the United States.

By the middle of summer, it was all over for the Spanish in Santiago. In early July the Spanish fleet had tried to break out of the American blockade, but just like in Manila Bay, the American ships utterly destroyed the Spanish fleet, sealing the fate for the Spanish army left inside the city.\textsuperscript{189} The Spanish finally “capitulated” the city (the word surrender was not used in the documents) to the American forces on July 17, however the commander of the Cuban forces was not originally allowed to attend the ceremony, and even after he was allowed he was held up by American soldiers who were told to “block any Cubans from entering the city.”\textsuperscript{190} Around the world, other American campaigns were also drawing to a close. In a trend that was reminiscent of the treatment of the Cubans in Santiago, the American ground commander in the Philippines conspired with the Spanish commander to cut the Filipinos and their commander Emilio Aguinaldo

\textsuperscript{186} Thomas, \textit{The War Lovers}, p.321-328.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., p.328-329.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., p.331-334.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., p.342-347.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., p.350-351.
out of the surrender of Manila.\textsuperscript{191} In a staged battle, where each side still suffered casualties because of confusion, the Filipino capital was taken by the Americans.\textsuperscript{192} Just as in Cuba, the Americans had actively worked to cut the natives out of their own victory. This would set up the post war confrontations between the Americans and the Filipinos. In Cuba, Roosevelt, the Rough Riders, and the American forces were overwhelmed by sickness as the summer dragged on.\textsuperscript{193} Instead of wasting away on the island, Roosevelt longed to continue actually fighting the war, either moving north to take part in the “great campaign” to capture Havana or move to help take Puerto Rico, also being attacked at this time.\textsuperscript{194} He would not get this chance. In Puerto Rico, American troops were advancing across the island. However, the American troops would only have to conquer about half the island, by August 12, 1898, Spain and the United States had agreed to an armistice, ending the fighting of the Spanish-American War.\textsuperscript{195}

While the fighting of the war was finally over there was still much to be done before the war could officially be concluded. A peace conference was called to take place in Paris in October of 1898 to iron out the terms to end the war.\textsuperscript{196} In terms of what the administration and the jingoes wanted, the war had been a total success. Not only had American forces won nearly every battle of the war, while taking relatively few casualties, as compared to the Civil War, they also occupied many foreign territories by the end of the fighting. Just in the initial agreements with the armistice, the United States already acquired the islands of Puerto Rico and Guam, and were prepared to discuss the Philippines with the Spanish.\textsuperscript{197} Dealings with the Spanish would be the least of the

\textsuperscript{191} Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.214-215.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., p.214-215.
\textsuperscript{194} Roosevelt, \textit{The Rough Riders}, p.220.
\textsuperscript{195} Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.216.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid., p.216.
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid., p.216.
jingoes’ concerns, however. In the United States, sides were being taken on the proposed expansions into the Pacific and Caribbean. As the outcome of the war and the talking points of the Peace Conference shook out in the summer of 1898, anti-imperialist committees began to appear across the United States.\textsuperscript{198} While the battle abroad had already been won, the battle lines at home were just beginning to take shape, and this conflict would last far longer than the one with Spain.

**The Aftermath**

Although the fighting of the Spanish-American War ended on August 12, 1898, the actual war still had a lot to play out. The United States’ swift victory in the actual war, the fighting only lasted about fifty-five days, had left the nation in control of “five far-flung lands … Guam, Hawai‘i, Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.”\textsuperscript{199} The jingoes in the United States, including Lodge and Roosevelt, were thrilled by the outcome of the conflict, calling it “a wonderful war,” especially because everything had been achieved “at such a small cost.”\textsuperscript{200} Especially for Lodge, who was finally hoping to implement his “large policy,” which called for the expansion of the United States into foreign territories.\textsuperscript{201} The United States had come out of the war in a state of total dominance over the defeated Spanish Empire. The United States had demanded most of what was left of the Spanish Empire, and the Spanish were in no real position to resist the American demands. The more important battle for the expansionist would be fought on the home front.

However, though the outlines of the treaty had been established by the Peace conference after the armistice, the major challenge for the jingo element in the American government was

\textsuperscript{198} Kinzer, *The True Flag*, p.68.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid., p.66.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid., p.67.
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid., p.67.
getting the treaty ratified. As 1898 drew to a close, both sides of this debate were gearing up to state their side of the argument. Roosevelt, after being demobilized from the Army, was immediately swept up in the coming New York gubernatorial race. 202 This quick turn of events resulted from having been made a national hero by the events of the war in Cuba. Despite the relatively narrow focus of the Governor of New York, Roosevelt began campaigning and giving speeches on the expansionist ideas and policies of the jingoes. 203 The jingoes were now making a shift in their policies. Before they had focused solely on taking the country into a war. Now, they had achieved this goal and had fought and won a “splendid little war.” This time, however, there was no grand rallying cry such as the U.S.S. Maine. Now, with the imperial dream so close to their grasp, they needed to rally people to their cause, and more importantly, win the political battles over expansion.

Even the President was involved in this public relations push by the jingoes. At first uneasy about how to approach the subject of the annexation of the Philippines and the other territories, McKinley went on a speaking tour across the country to “engage the public,” over this issue. 204 McKinley phrased his arguments on very practical lines. One of his major arguments for annexation was the expansion of “new markets,” for American goods and the benefits this could bring. 205 A similar point was used to push for the coup and annexation of Hawai’i, so this was an area of great importance to many Americans. Also, he used the argument of honor, asking “shall we deny to ourselves what the rest of the world so freely and so justly accords to us?” 206 He was making the obvious point that the United States had won the Philippines in the war, so by those

202 Ibid., p.73.
203 Ibid., p.76-77.
204 Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.236.
205 Ibid., p.236.
206 Ibid., p.236.
rights it was ours. Although the “freely” and “justly” comments would be subject to much debate. Being religious, McKinley also claimed that, as the victors, it was the duty of the American people “to educate the Filipinos, and uplift them … civilize and Christianize them.” McKinley’s arguments appealed to many of his followers, who cheered him at rallies and who McKinley actually “feared” if he went against annexation. McKinley and Roosevelt, among many others worked hard to promote the annexation point of view to the American people over the latter months of 1898. However, they were not the only ones at work.

On the other side of the political spectrum, the anti-imperialists were working just as hard to prepare and fight this proposed annexation of these far-flung territories. Anti-imperialists in government had already lost the debate over Hawai’i, but another even more important debate was just upon them. Although the United States occupied the Philippines and the other Spanish possessions militarily, they were still not formal territories of the United States, despite what the expansionists wanted. As the Peace Conference in Paris drew on at the end of 1898, it became clear to many that in the proposed treaty, most of the won territories, except Cuba, would be given to the United States. From the center of the anti-imperialist movement in the northeast, George Boutwell worked to organize the anti-imperialist movement, and brought thousands to their cause. In November of that year, the movement finally came together formally to create the Anti-Imperialist League, which included former President Grover Cleveland and capitalist giant Andrew Carnegie. Finally, the movement had united to form one voice to confront the jingoes and their expansionist policies. Despite the united front, however, the Anti-Imperialist League faced tough opposition from the entrenched expansionist politicians, and their public backing.

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207 Ibid., p.237.
208 Ibid., p.236.
210 Ibid., p.90.
While the conflict between the United States and Spain had defined the Spanish-American War, the conflict between the jingoes and the Anti-Imperialist League would define the next war.
Chapter 3: The War in the Philippines

This chapter will explore the war that followed the end of the Spanish-American War, the Philippine-American War. It will show the origins of this war, and how the fighting and the purpose of the war were so different than America’s past wars. The growing conflict between the jingoes and the Anti-Imperialist League and each sides’ goals will also be explored. Also, the war in the Philippine islands will be examined, including the controversies that plagued the war from the beginning. This chapter will also show the differences between this war and its predecessor, showing how the United States changed so much in such a short amount of time. The argument I am making in this chapter centers around what the Philippine-American War actually was. It was a war against a colonial rebellion, and the methods used during the fighting helped shape American foreign policy going forward.

Beginning of the Conflict

The Senate debate over whether or not to annex the Philippines and other Spanish possessions was one of the most heated. The anti-imperialists made strong push in the debates about annexation in 1898, with several leaders of the anti-expansion movement having made speeches both in and out of the Senate arguing against the treaty on the grounds of it going against the ideas of American democracy and tradition.211 This hard offensive was wearing down the supporters of the treaty in the Senate. Lodge himself, one of most forceful proponents of the treaty told Roosevelt that the debates and resistance to the treaty were “disheartening.”212 The anti-imperialists were also buoyed by the events occurring in the Philippines. While American soldiers were still occupying the islands, the Filipinos had been at work setting up what they thought would

211 Ibid., p.110-112.
212 Ibid., p.110.
be their own republic. They had set up and elected a Congress, which had named Aguinaldo as the “President of the Supreme Government,” and had written a Constitution that was based off many western constitutions, such as France’s.\(^{213}\) The Senators who were against the treaty in the Senate though this gave them some extra moral ground in their arguments. They thought that the United States should allow the Filipinos to be free, something that “any honest American,” would allow.\(^{214}\) These developments made the debates even more frantic for those in the Senate who supported the treaty. They tried to use the independence argument for their own use as well, they argued that independence for the islands would come in time, but that to turn over the islands to the Filipinos at this point would be “the highest cruelty,” and that it was the American “duty [to] extend Christian Civilization,” to the islands, despite the fact that many were already Christian.\(^{215}\) Both sides were entrenched in their opposition. Even President McKinley, was “puzzled” by the delay of ratification in the Senate.\(^{216}\) As one person described it, it came down to a debate, “which shall American be: Nation or Empire?”\(^{217}\) A final vote on the treaty was finally scheduled for February 6, 1899,\(^{218}\) and the history of the United States was shaped by these decisions for decades to come.

While the Senate was debating whether or not to ratify the Treaty of Paris, events in the Philippines were beginning to spiral out of control. Aguinaldo and other Filipinos had not found out about the Treaty of Paris and what it entailed until December 1898, and Aguinaldo would later say the news hit him “like an atomic bomb.”\(^{219}\) The hopeful feelings and outcome of freedom that

\(^{213}\) Ibid., p.112-113.
\(^{214}\) Ibid., p.112-113.
\(^{215}\) Ibid., p.113.
\(^{216}\) Ibid., p.113.
\(^{217}\) Ibid., p.115.
\(^{218}\) Ibid., p.115.
\(^{219}\) Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.239.
many Filipinos had anticipated with the fall of Spanish leadership over the islands was now in great peril. It did not help the Filipinos’ opinion of the United States that American troops were still stationed in the former Spanish capital of the islands, Manila. Tensions between the American troops and the Filipino civilians and Aguinaldo’s soldiers outside the city continued to grow during the months of debate over the Treaty of Paris. American soldiers traveled together, Filipino civilians began to carry weapons, and American soldiers frequently raided suspected weapon caches and would meet protests with weapons of their own.220 Feelings of “mutual hatred” ran through both sides in a city that was quickly turning into a powder keg.221 The city was set to explode.

The city finally reached a breaking point early on February 4, 1899, only two days ahead of the Senate vote on the long-term fate of the islands and the Filipino people. Early that morning, a young private was on guard duty in a disputed area in Manila, when he was approached by a patrol of Filipinos soldiers, and when the private yelled halt at the soldiers, they continued to move towards his position.222 This was when the fragile peace that had been holding on in the Philippines finally fell apart. The American soldier fired at the Filipinos, killing the two on patrol before running back to his unit shouting that the “[Filipinos] are in here and all through the lines!”223 His cries spread like wildfire though the American camps and units, and soon afterwards the whole perimeter around Manila was engulfed in fighting. The American Army in Manila, which at this point was still made up of many volunteers, remnants from the last war, began to push the Filipinos back from the key points around Manila, and pursued them outside of the city. One soldier

220 Ibid., p.239.
221 Ibid., p.239.
222 Ibid., p.239.
223 Ibid., p.240.
remarked that shooting the fleeing Filipinos was “more fun than a turkey shoot.” This type of enthusiasm caused problems for the American war effort later in the conflict. Back in Manila, American soldiers torched suspected rebel Filipino hideouts and even put down a planned rebellion from inside of Manila itself. The first battle of this new war was an American victory, but it was only the precursor of what was to come in the Philippines.

Back in the United States, the outbreak of fighting in the Philippines, and just before the Senate’s vote on the Treaty of Paris, was a major game changer in the debates. While the Treaty had already been close before the fighting started, this new factor gave hope surprisingly to both sides of the argument. The anti-imperialist inside and out of the Senate used the fighting as proof that the Philippine Islands should not and could not be “subjugated” by the United States. However, their opponents had more justification in their arguments about the fighting. The supporters of the Treaty in the Senate portrayed that battle as an attack by the Filipinos on their American “liberators” and that they had now become “public enemies” of the United States. The anti-imperialists were then dealt more devastating blows leading up to the ratification. First, President McKinley, not surprisingly, came out to support the jingo cause and ordered American troops in the islands to hunt down Aguinaldo’s rebels. Also, the journalists, at least initially, came out decrying the attack on American troops, although Hearst, the diehard expansionist from the Spanish-American War, was surprisingly quiet, a shift from his outspoken tone towards Spain. This already showed the fractures coming about in the jingo alliance that had prevailed against Spain. At this moment, however, the anti-imperialists were again shocked when William

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224 Ibid., p.240.
226 Kinzer, The True Flag, p.119.
227 Ibid., p.119.
228 Ibid., p.119.
229 Ibid., p.119-124.
Jennings Bryan, a longtime Democrat politician and fierce anti-imperialist himself came out in favor of the treaty, believing that fighting so hard against the treaty now could ruin the cause of the movement.\(^{230}\) As ratification approached, it looked to be a close decision. In the end, thanks to a few defections from the opposition, the Treaty of Paris was approved by the Senate by only one vote.\(^{231}\) The Philippines officially belonged to the “new” United States, one that was an imperial power. However, although the jingoes had just won a major battle, the war would turn out to be very long.

Back in the Philippines where the actual war was occurring, the American military was beginning to run into issues. In the beginning the American forces had success, advancing over 20 miles outside of Manila to capture the provisional capital of Aguinaldo’s republic, Malolos, while always defeating their Filipino opponents in open battle.\(^{232}\) However, this success did not last forever. The Army that was in the Philippines was a remnant from the Spanish War, made up of many volunteer troops whose enlistments were about to expire.\(^{233}\) The Americans also encountered fierce resistance and hostility from the Filipino population, discovering that the rebels were larger than a simple “faction.”\(^{234}\) This was different from the “liberator” status that many American had enjoyed during the earlier war. The war itself also began to change. Realizing his armies could not beat the American Army head on, Aguinaldo and his followers dispersed into the countryside, beginning a phase of guerrilla war for the Philippines in late 1899.\(^{235}\) Now, the war

\(^{230}\) Ibid., p.121-122.
\(^{231}\) Ibid., p.121.
\(^{233}\) Ibid., p.109.
\(^{234}\) Miller, The President and the Assassin, p.242.
\(^{235}\) Ibid., p.242-243.
at home and in the Philippines would enter a new stage, it shifted into a realm the United States had never been in before, and tested the resolve of the American people.

**The Anti-Imperialist Movement**

The Anti-Imperialist League was founded on a broad premise, in order to stop what they viewed as the unwanted and unnecessary expansion of the United States into other territories. For the early years of its existence the members had a more specific goal, to stop the annexation of the Philippine islands. However, while many anti-imperialists shared these broad goals, the personal reasoning behind them were quite varied. Many of the anti-imperialists had even supported going to war with Spain in 1898, truly believing in the “humanitarian” mission of the United States.\(^{236}\) This group included prominent Americans such as Mark Twain and Andrew Carnegie. They, like many others, believed in the humanitarian, and more importantly limited, mission of the United States in Cuba. Others who joined the movement were driven by more basic influences. Many viewed it as negative that the United States would be interacting with the “lesser races.” Men such as William James, who supported the Spanish War but was against annexation, viewed it as more of a burden to take on the Philippine islands.\(^ {237}\) To them, anti-imperialism was more based on race than on humanitarian ideals.

Regardless of what type of anti-imperialism, actions by the government after the armistice began to enflame these ideas. The passage of the annexation of Hawai’i and the proposed annexation of more territory helped them get mobilized for their cause. While at first it was difficult to raise an opposition in the face of victory in the war, by the end of the summer “anti-

\(^{236}\) Kinzer, *The True Flag*, p.68.

\(^{237}\) Thomas, *The War Lovers*, p.375.
"imperialist committees" began to appear across the country.\textsuperscript{238} This began the long, but in the end fruitless, struggle to stop the passage of the Treaty of Paris that would eventually lead to the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League. The League was a mix match of politicians, businessmen, and social activists. Born from debates, the League would spend its existence fighting, often times in vain, to counter the expansion pushed by the jingoes.

**Support and Opposition to the War**

In addition to the actions of politicians and the newspapers during the Philippine War, other literary figures took the stage to try to persuade the public towards either the jingoes or the anti-imperialists. One of the most influential writers of this time was Rudyard Kipling, an Englishman born in Bombay who had plenty of interactions with empire building. He was born in and lived in the crown jewel of the British Empire which at this time was India, a powerful symbol of European expansionism all over the world. Kipling was paying attention to the United States’ war with Spain and its immediate aftermath. Kipling was a very prominent “mythologizer” of empire and imperial ambitions, so the sharp debates over the future of the Philippine Islands and America’s role as an imperial power drew his attention.\textsuperscript{239} To help further the American jingo, Kipling wrote a poem that was published in three American newspapers, two in New York and one in San Francisco on February 5, 1899, which ironically was the same day that word of the fighting around Manila reached American audiences.\textsuperscript{240} The poem was titled, *The White Man’s Burden*, and was a hallmark of the emboldened American jingo faction:

\begin{quote}
"Take up the White Man's burden--
Send forth the best ye breed--
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;"
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{238} Kinzer, *The True Flag*, p.68-69.
\textsuperscript{239} Ibid., p.120.
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid., p.120.
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild--
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden--
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden--
The savage wars of peace--
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden--
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper--
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden--
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard--
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:--
"Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden--
Ye dare not stoop to less--
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloak your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden--
Have done with childish days--
The lightly-proffered laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!"241

In his poem, Kipling is encouraging Americans to “take up the white man’s burden,” “to serve your captives' need,” while describing the “captive” Filipinos as “Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.”242 Kipling paints a very primitive view of the Filipinos, and places the responsibly for these supposed childlike people on the United States and Americans in general. Throughout his poem, he makes it seem like it is the duty of white, able bodied Americans to go out to the Philippine Islands to attempt to make it better for the devilish and childlike people who live there.243 He even makes the point that the United States will have to accomplish this task with “your living … and your dead.”244 This was Kipling’s attempt to draw the United States deeper into the European model of imperialism. Since the mid-1800s, Europeans had been trying to carry out this “civilizing mission” in Africa and Asia, which was often met with revolts and bloody reprisals. Kipling was trying to point to the more noble aspects of the Europeans’ mission, portraying it, and American involvement in the Philippines, as a thankless, bloody job, but one that needed to be done.245 For many Americans, especially the jingoes, this is exactly the kind of public support they needed for annexation. The missionary and democratic ideals of American society fit neatly into Kipling’s model.246 It was the push the some American initially needed to

242 Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands.”
243 Ibid.
244 Ibid.
245 Ibid.
246 Kinzer, The True Flag, p.120.
get behind the annexation of the Philippines. Few could have imagined, however, how much of a “burden” the Philippines would really be.

The anti-imperialists had their own literary support as well. Their ideolog was one of the most well-known and popular American writers of this time, or anytime, Mark Twain. Twain was living in Europe when events in the Caribbean and Pacific began, but that only sharpened his hatred of colonial ideals. While he was very critical of British imperialism, Twain was at first very enthusiastic about America’s war with Spain, stating that he had “never enjoyed a war … as I am enjoying this one.” Like so many other Americans, Twain was caught up in the war fever that swept up so many Americans, even all the way in Europe. As time went on however, his views shifted dramatically. Twain did not even begin to associate with the Anti-Imperialist League until he met with Booker T. Washington in London in 1899, who impressed him greatly. Twain did not arrive back in the United States until the end of 1900, but he had left his old views on American policy behind in Europe. Twain viewed the prolonged Philippine War as a “quagmire,” and believed that the islands should govern themselves “according to Filipino ideas.” He soon began to give speeches and started writing from the anti-imperial point of view, firmly entrenching him within their movement. In one particularly harsh essay, Twain stated that with the war, “we have debauched America’s honor and blackened her face before the world.” Twain’s words were just as sharp as Kipling’s had been only a short time before. However, he was making his case in the opposite direction. Twain was trying to point out how in his mind, and the minds of many other Americans, the war for the Philippine islands was doing nothing but harm to what America

247 Ibid., p.150.
248 Ibid., p.50.
249 Ibid., p.150.
250 Ibid., p.178.
251 Ibid., p.181-182.
stood for and that no good could come from this fighting. He even rewrote the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, the song of the Union cause in the Civil War, with words criticizing the American war objectives and the “lust” of the war.\(^{252}\)

Twain and Kipling were not the only figures trying to persuade audiences to their cause. Carnegie, a longtime supporter of the anti-imperialist movement, also published pieces championing his cause. In an article in the *North American Review* in early 1899, Carnegie laid out his ideas on imperialism and why American should not be involved in East Asia. Carnegie recognized that America was greatly overmatched by the countries that were occupying part of East Asia.\(^{253}\) He also stated than in order to counterbalance this, America would have to become involved in formal alliances with some of these powers.\(^{254}\) This was a principle that had been preached against since the time of George Washington as it went against many American values of independence from other nations. Carnegie also argued for allowing the Philippines to rule itself, under the same “protections” Cuba was under, allowing itself to create its own government.\(^{255}\) Carnegie and others like him were arguing for the independence of the island under American protection, still a form of imperialism but one that was more hands off. Many anti-imperialist viewed this as preferable to the full-blown occupation that was adopted by expansionists.

In addition to the written arguments for and against the Philippine War, political cartoons were again utilized by both sides. Arguments made in writing were also made in pictures, such as

\(^{252}\) Ibid., p.184.  
\(^{254}\) Ibid., p.11-12.  
\(^{255}\) Carnegie, “Americanism versus Imperialism,” p.3-4.
Carnegie’s idea for the Philippines. An image showed a woman, representing the Philippines, telling Uncle Sam that if he treats her like Great Britain treats Egypt, there will be no violence.\textsuperscript{256} This attempted to personify what type of imperialism many in the United States wanted, which was a more hands off, peaceful existence with the Philippines, not a full-scale occupation. Another harsher criticism of the war in the Philippines took aim at the “civilizing mission” idea put forth by many jingoes. This cartoons shows lady Justice revealing to President McKinley the atrocities being committed in the United States, mainly lynching and race violence, as he stares at a map of the Philippines.\textsuperscript{257} This is a very harsh criticism of the McKinley administration. It pointed out that while many Americans want to “civilize” and help the Filipinos, they were ignoring their own problems. It took aim at the whole idea of the civilizing mission. The expansionists also had their own cartoons to counter the anti-imperialists. A cartoon from 1899 shows Uncle Sam trying to teach his new students, the Philippines, Hawai’i, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.\textsuperscript{258} This was a clear reference to the civilizing mission, but it is painting it in a much better, although somewhat satirical, manner. This was the attempt by supporters of the American mission in the Philippines to paint American presence as a good thing. Both attempts show how each side is trying to get their message out to the American public.

The writings of Twain, Kipling, and others along with the use of political cartoons show the harsh divide that was seeping into American literature during the fighting in the Philippines. No longer were Americans everywhere rallying around the flag to support the war like they had with Spain. The nature of this war had caused conflict and which was now dividing public opinion. As the war went on and casualties on both sides mounted, many Americans began to wonder why

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{256} See Figure 7 in Appendix.}\textsuperscript{256} \textsuperscript{257} See Figure 8 in Appendix.\textsuperscript{257} \textsuperscript{258} See Figure 9 in Appendix.\textsuperscript{258}
it was so important to have the Philippine islands to begin with. As Twain stated, many now believed the American flag should now have “the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and cross-bones.” While the jingoes still had quite a bit of support for the cause of expansion, the country was no longer so tightly united like it had been when war broke out with Spain. As the war in the Philippines dragged on, new headlines would continue to sharpen this divide.

**The Election of 1900**

During all of this bloodshed and infighting, the United States was also approaching a very important political event. While the war in the Philippines was raging, and many other imperial actions taking place around the world such as the Boers and the Boxers, the United States was racing towards a Presidential election. Both sides felt the importance of this election. McKinley had been able to accomplish so much as a jingo President, even if he was somewhat reluctant and first. He led the United States in a successful war against the Spanish that had given American her first real colonial possessions, and had even finally helped settle the Hawai’i question that had been up in the air since 1893. His re-election would have showed that the American public supported the jingoes’ plans for the future of the country and what they had done up to this point. However, they were not running unopposed in this election. The anti-imperialists were preparing to stage a major challenge to McKinley and the jingoes, many of whom were aligned with the Republican Party. This was their chance to put an end to the quick paced that the American imperial movement was growing.

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259 Kinzer, *The True Flag*, p.182.
Early on in the election process, the jingoism received a pleasant addition to a already strong Party ticket. With an eye towards future presidential elections, Lodge worked to get his friend Roosevelt nominated for the vacant Vice President position behind McKinley. Although Roosevelt was in a tough position politically in New York (he had angered the powerful party boss soon after being elected Governor) he was not excited for a vice president nomination which he saw as a dead end. In the end agreed to run if nominated by the convention, which he was. This gave McKinley an even more powerful imperialist platform to run on. Not only did he have his powerful reputation, but he now also had Roosevelt’s, a war hero in the last war and one of the most prominent and vocal supports of expansion. The anti-imperialists would have to amount a string attack to knock off this group. Up to this point in time, they had lost every major decision or actions that had taken place between them and the jingoism. This was a perfect chance to make up for all of these loses in one fell swoop. It would not come easily to them, however.

In response to this Republican ticket, the anti-imperialists also turned to a known commodity in American politics at this time. This was William Jennings Bryan. He had run for president before and had even lost to McKinley in 1896, but he was the best chance for the anti-imperialists. However, this was far from a perfect marriage like the Republican ticket. Bryan came into the 1900 race with a few marks already against the anti-imperialists, chief among them was refusing to help stop the Treaty of Paris a year earlier. Also, though he really was against jingoist policies in the United States, the issue that Bryan cared about most was the gold versus silver standard for American currency. This put him at odds with many anti-imperialists who

260 Ibid., p.162.
261 Ibid., p.163-164.
262 Ibid., p.163.
263 Ibid., p.163.
264 Ibid., p.163-164.
supported the gold standard, including prominent member Andrew Carnegie. It was with this mismatched and uneasy alliance that Bryan and the anti-imperialists went into 1900.

On the campaign trail, constantly Bryan gave many speeches, including one concerning the Philippines and American involvement in the islands. In this speech, Bryan explains how he viewed the occupation of the islands, and American imperialism in general. Bryan first states that the only reason he supported the passage of the Treaty of Paris was he believed that it would make the process of independence for the Philippines easier.265 He then went on to explain what he thought was wrong with imperialism in the United States. He viewed conquest as being “not in our principles,” although he did not object to expansion into areas that wished to join the United States.266 He saw the forced annexation of the islands as being unjust, and so it should not occur. Bryan’s next argument again showed why there were so many divides in the anti-imperialist camp during the election. Bryan believed that, because American and Filipinos were of different races and that the “white race will not live so near the equator,” they could not function together.267 However, Bryan did believe that the American “protectorate” system, like the one being use in Cuba, was more acceptable than straight annexation.268 Bryan’s speech showed the disconnect in the anti-imperialist camp. Although many did agree broadly that expansion and annexation was wrong, as stated before, their reasoning differed greatly.

Against the Republican and jingo coalition, the Democrats and anti-imperialists rolled out an interesting political coalition of their own. In addition to Bryan’s strongholds in the populist

266 Ginger, “Mr. Bryan’s Address on Imperialism,” William Jennings Bryan, p.61.
267 Ibid., p.62.
268 Ibid., p.67.
Midwest and “Solid” South, the Northeastern based Anti-Imperialist League was added.\textsuperscript{269} While the election may have seemed within reach before, the anti-imperialists and their coalition were soon faced with a political decision that would doom their campaign in the long run. A key strategy for this coalition in the 1900 election was to shift the issues to a referendum on expansion and the war in the Philippines, but Bryan was still clinging to his “free silver” ideas.\textsuperscript{270} This not only worried many members of the Anti-Imperialist League, but, it also worried many in the general American public.\textsuperscript{271} This scared many voters away from Bryan. Both sides campaigned heavily that summer, but the enthusiasm was lacking in this election for the most part. Unless a person was fully for either candidate, many voters were stuck in an uneasy middle ground between the two. All the non-jingoes saw McKinley as being tainted by the imperialist wars and conquests, while Bryan, on the other hand, was seen as being far too radical for most, primarily based off his silver stance.\textsuperscript{272} In the end, voters went back to the safer, known choice in McKinley and his popular Vice President Roosevelt. It was a landslide victory for the Republicans, with many jingoes seeing it as a “mandate” of their actions and policies.\textsuperscript{273} Once again, the anti-imperialists had missed a golden opportunity, and would have to continue to fight an uphill battle against the firmly entrenched jingoes.

\textbf{The Waller Trial and the End of the War}

The war in the Philippines was characterized by the sheer brutality of the fighting that took place across the islands. After the fighting had broken down into guerrilla war, the tactics employed by both sides showed how far the war had come from the short, “noble” Spanish War.

\textsuperscript{269} Kinzer, \textit{The True Flag}, p.169.  
\textsuperscript{270} Ibid., p.169-173.  
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid., p.172.  
\textsuperscript{272} Ibid., p.176.  
\textsuperscript{273} Ibid., p.177.
The Filipinos took to launching hit and run attacks on American positions and patrols, launching 442 such attacks in the first four months of 1900 alone.\textsuperscript{274} This change in tactics was accompanied by a change in methods for the Filipino fighters as well. The Filipinos began to employ booby traps across their territory, trapping Americans in spiked pits or shooting them with arrows launched by a trip wire.\textsuperscript{275} These methods also transferred over to their treatment of prisoners, where American soldiers who were captured were often tortured and mutilated.\textsuperscript{276}

The American soldiers in the Philippines responded to this with a brutal streak of their own, but on a much larger scale. Even before the war had official broken out, Americans had looked down upon and mistreated Filipinos in their sections of Manila. When met with the brutal and scare tactics of the Filipinos, the Americans responded in their own horrific ways. In response to a rebel attack or possible presence in a town, the Americans took to burning and destroying entire villages, and adopted a “no prisoner” policy that soon swept through American ranks, and mandated that any Filipino suspected of being a rebel was to be shot on site.\textsuperscript{277} In some cases, all the inhabitants of a town were killed as retaliation for an American death, a horrific tactic that is very reminiscent of the European colonial wars of the time.\textsuperscript{278} Even the Filipinos fighters lucky to escape death were not entirely safe as captives. Americans also adopted many torture techniques to get what they wanted from the Filipino prisoners, including the “water cure,” which involved forcing a prisoner to drink water until his stomach looked like “he was pregnant,” then the water was “forced” back out of the prisoner and the cycle began again.\textsuperscript{279} This type of cyclical violence occurred throughout the war, with each side becoming more entrenched by the others’ actions.

\textsuperscript{274} Miller, \textit{The President and the Assassin}, p.244.
\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., p.244.
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid., p.244.
\textsuperscript{277} Ibid., p.244.
\textsuperscript{278} Ibid., p.244.
\textsuperscript{279} Ibid., p.244.
However, one event would not only rock the Americans and Filipinos in the islands, but also the American public back home.

This deadly process began with the massacre of American troops stationed in a village in the island of Samar. Ambushed early in the morning while unprepared, the American detachment of 74 was decimated, with 48 men killed and all but 4 wounded in the attack.\(^{280}\) Although the Americans did respond quickly with and attack on the village and later burning the village itself, the war on Samar would turn into slaughter that no one could have imagined. Soon after the massacre of Americans on Samar, new commanders with new tactics were brought into the area. Two of them would become icons for the war in the Philippines, and for all the wrong reasons. General Jacob Smith was put in command of a brigade assigner to Samar, and under him was a Marine Major named Littleton Waller Tazewell Waller who, under Smith’s orders, was to command and expedition to pacify Samar.\(^{281}\) It was the tactic they were to use that would bring new attention to the Philippine War. Smith gave Waller orders to “[kill anyone] who are capable of bearing arms,” on Samar and when Waller asked what that age limit was, Smith told him it was ten.\(^{282}\) Waller and his command set out across Samar, burning and killing “rebel” Filipinos as they went, until Waller decided to divide his command and try to traverse Samar through thirty-five miles of thick jungle, which killed many of his men and weakened all others, including him.\(^{283}\) When he was finally got out of the jungle, Waller then had eleven of his Filipino porters executed for possibly being rebels.\(^{284}\) According to Smith’s plans, Waller’s operation had been a success,

\(^{281}\) Ibid., p.120.
\(^{282}\) Ibid., p.120.
\(^{283}\) Ibid., p.120-122.
\(^{284}\) Ibid., p.122.
and he devastated Samar and killed many rebel troops in the process. Despite this perceived success, in the end it all began to unravel.

The trouble for these men began when Waller was arrived back in Manila in early 1902. His matter of fact execution of the eleven Filipinos had caught the attention to the Army high command, who were now charging Waller with war crimes.285 A Senate committee began to investigate atrocities in the Philippines, and uncovered a mountains worth of evidence. They not only read more into Waller’s atrocities, but learned of the “water cure” torture among other acts of violence in the Philippines.286 While this was a boost to the anti-imperialist side, Waller was not left completely out to dry by the jingoes who still controlled the government. Henry Cabot Lodge was the chairmen of the investigation and tried to shield Waller, as did President Theodore Roosevelt and his Secretary of War.287 This was nowhere near enough for Waller, however. He was soon tried by court martial, and would reveal more damaging information about the jingo’s war.

In classic court drama, the actual details of the Samar case came out in a flare of excitement. Originally taking the responsibility for his action on Samar to save his superior officer, Waller was greatly offended when General Smith put sole responsibly for the atrocities on him when he testified.288 In an act of revenge, Waller took the stand again to tell Smith’s true orders, which were supported by other officers in Smith’s command.289 The secret had finally been let out, and it was now spreading like wildfire. Back in the United States, the orders to “kill everyone over ten” swept through the American public, causing widespread backlash against those accused and

285 Ibid., p.122.
286 Ibid., p.122.
287 Ibid., p.122.
288 Ibid., p.123.
289 Ibid., p.123.
support for the war. This horrific scene was even created as an image for newspapers.290 Newspaper headlines across the country ran headlines calling out the General Smith and his barbaric order, even the jingoistic *New York Journal*. Newspapers began running stories about the trial of the former “Hero of Samar,” over what was called “atrocious cruelty” committed against the “natives.”291 Unlike the last war, which produced many untainted heroes such as Roosevelt, some of this war’s heroes were tainted by cruelty. This was something totally unique from the previous war. The American newspapers covered all the aspects of the court martial, including Waller testimony that Smith told him “the more he killed and burned the better pleased [Smith] would be.”292 These accusations even began to spread up the chain of command in the Philippines, when the Judge Advocate General of the Philippines, Colonel Groesbeck, was questioned for making remarks praising the conduct of both Smith and Waller.293 This type of controversy had never plagued the war with Spain, which was seen as a “just” war from beginning to end. The horrors of colonial war had finally reached the American public.

Americans were confronted with the harsh reality of this war. No longer were the newspaper headlines calling for revenge against a bloodthirsty enemy like they had only four years earlier against the Spanish. Now, in the newspaper headlines and the minds of many Americans, their commanders were the ones committing atrocities that needed to be answered for. The flare and excitement that had existed during the Spanish-American War, and Roosevelt’s charge up San Juan Hill, were now long gone. The war in the Philippines had morphed into something entirely different. Roosevelt put Smith on trial for his orders because of public outcry, but like with most

290 See Figure 10 in Appendix.
things during the war in the Philippines, American were still sharply divided.\textsuperscript{294} Jingoist politicians and newspapers came to the defense of Smith, Waller, and others, supported the war and the Army’s actions fully.\textsuperscript{295} Concerning the atrocities in the Philippines, Roosevelt had compared the fighting of “savages there to the old Indian wars against the Sioux and Apaches.\textsuperscript{296} He believed that coming into contact with “savages” and their warfare style would make some whites commit equally savage actions, and although those must be punished with “merciless severity,” the war could not be given up because of this because it would be “utterly unworthy of a great people.”\textsuperscript{297}

This was the viewpoint taken by many in regard to the Philippine atrocities. Yes, they were terrible, but in the bigger picture they did not account for much. However, debates still became heated over these issues, with two Senators getting to a fist-fight on the Senate floor because of their opposing views.\textsuperscript{298} Still, the changing nature of this war could not keep many Americans on the side of Roosevelt and his expansionists. The war had reached a point of no return for the United States. The virtuous United States that had entered the war against Spain to right wrongs and atrocities, was now committing them just as the other colonial powers had previously done. The terrible cycle had come full circle for the United States.

Even as these stories broke back home in America, the war in the Philippines dragged on. In a lesser known story, and American general in the Philippines, set up “concentration camps” in order to battle the insurgency, much like the often criticized British were doing against the Boers

\textsuperscript{294} Kinzer, \textit{The True Flag}, p.222.
\textsuperscript{295} Ibid., p.222-223.
\textsuperscript{298} Kinzer, \textit{The True Flag}, p.218-220.
in South Africa.\textsuperscript{299} In 1902, after years of fighting, the war was slowly dragging to a close. In a final, brutal campaign an American general burned crops, killed livestock, forced Filipinos into concentration camps, and randomly selected a civilian for execution every time and American was killed.\textsuperscript{300} These were tried and true tactics from other colonial conflicts, but those conflicts were often the ones criticized by Americans for their brutality, such as the British and the Boers. However, America was numb to the war at this point, and glad to see the fighting die down.\textsuperscript{301} Americans at home were worn down from the long duration of the war, three years compared to a little over three months with Spain, and the disheartening news of the conduct of the war. Proclamations in July formally ended the war and annexed the Philippines,\textsuperscript{302} causing the jingoes to let out a sigh of belated relief and the anti-imperialist to finally accept their defeat.

The Philippine-American War ended with much less ceremony than its predecessor. More Americans died in the fighting and much of the country was deeply divided over the purpose and conduct of the war. The purpose of the Philippines helped distance it from the Spanish-American War. There was no vail of self-righteousness to hide behind this time. The jingoes goal of expansion was out for all to see, and many did not like what they saw. This war was America’s first real taste of being a true colonial power, and it had responded in the true colonial way. This is why the Spanish-American and the Philippine-American Wars were viewed so differently; they were two completely different wars. One, even if it was only superficial, was a war to free people from oppression, while the other was subjugating “rebels.” Americans had been given a taste of both types and they clearly had a favorite.

\textsuperscript{299} Boot, \textit{The Savage Wars of Peace}, p.123-124.  
\textsuperscript{300} Kinzer, \textit{The True Flag}, p.224.  
\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., p.224.  
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid., p.225.
Conclusion

With the end of Philippine-American War in 1902, the jingoes were in the position they had always wanted to be in. They had just successfully conquered a colonial territory, and one of their own, Theodore Roosevelt, was occupying the White House. It must have seemed like the aggressive expansionist policy was set to continue. However, surprisingly, it did not. Roosevelt and his successors were indeed interventionists, but the nature of American intervention had changed greatly. After the pacification of the Philippines and the campaign against the Boxers in China, American interest returned to where it all began, the Caribbean Sea. During the years between the Spanish-American War and the First World War, the United States played an active part in the Caribbean nations, including Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, and Mexico.303 However, this was a different type of intervention from actions in the Philippines only a few years earlier. Instead of trying to enforce a lengthy occupation of these countries, American forces adopted a new approach. Now, a sizable American force would land, set up whatever institutions it felt would benefit American interests in that country, and then leave.304 American strategic and economic interests now came before territory. The perfect example of this was American involvement in Panama. In 1903, American forces supported an uprising as Panama broke away from Colombia, and so afterwards received a piece of land to create the Panama Canal, while the rest of Panama was independent, though under heavy American protection.305 This was in stark contrast was what the United States had been doing only a year earlier in the Philippines.

This period of American history is now highlighted for other historical reasons, such as the rise of the progressive movement, instead of the wars that had a huge impact on the course of

304 Ibid., p.129.
305 Ibid., p.133-134.
American history. At this point, 1898, expansionist forces in the United States managed to overcome opposition to put American in the position to become an imperial power, just like the great empires in Europe. The United States even attempted to copy their tactics and forms of suppression in its own colonial holdings, while trying to fuse it with American ideals of civilization and frontier expansion. This period was also one of extreme polarization between the opposing side of this issue. The jingoes and the anti-imperialists were locked into extreme end of the expansion spectrum, and neither was willing to compromise in its quest for what it thought was best for the United States. Both sides utilized the emerging mass media in the United States to push their messages and goals on the public in attempts to win favor with American citizens. These included actual newspaper articles and the political cartoons that accompanied them. These were effective forms of media that helped display the positions of the two ideologies and what their message really was.

This thesis has shown how these events unfolded and the impact they had on the United States. The war with Spain in 1898 showed that the United States could become more actively involved on the world stage. It intervened into the affairs of a European power, even if it was the declining power of Spain, and had come out victorious. It had also done so with what most saw as a “just” cause in the fighting. However, the war in the Philippines had been a wake-up call for the United States. It had attempted to seize a territory using the European model of colonialism, and it had been met with European results. The United States had seen the results and consequences of colonial wars, such as the Boer War, but had not experienced it first hand, until the Philippines. The result of this was the adoption of new imperial policies, such as the one used in Panama. America experienced the effects of colonial war in the Philippines, and used its knowledge from this war to adapt to a new way of operating, creating a new system it would
employ until the Second World War. The American experience in Cuba and the Philippines helped define the country for decades, and it is this definition that has largely been forgotten in the United States. This was the period when the United States began to figure out how to interact with other nations to achieve its own goals. The lessons learned from Cuba and the Philippines formed the basis of American interventions that carried on throughout the twentieth century. American foreign policy from the interwar period to the Cold War was shaped by these lessons. The actions of the United States in the twentieth century cannot be fully understood without knowing about the events surrounding two forgotten wars on opposite sides of the world. They should at least be remembered for that.
Appendix

Figure 1: Image from *Puck*, 1898, showing what Spanish “misrule” was doing to Cuba. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Out_of_the_frying_pan.jpg

Figure 2: Image from the *New York Journal* showing a woman being strip searched by the Spanish. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spaniards_search_women_1898.jpg
Figure 3: Image from *Judge*, May 7, 1898, showing the reasons to go to war with Spain. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Remember_the_Maine!_And_Don%27t_Forget_the_Starving_Cubans!_-_Victor_Gillam_(cropped).jpg

Figure 4: Image of the “Spanish Brute” from *Judge*, 1898. Available at https://www.pinterest.com/pin/123426846011362496/
Figure 5: Image of an American soldier going off to war, *Puck*, 1899. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:They_can%27t_hold_him_back.jpg

Figure 6: Image from a Spanish newspaper showing Uncle Sam trying to grab up Cuba and other parts of South America. Available at http://ushistoryclassroom.blogspot.com/2012/01/spain-cuba-and-yellow-press.html
Figure 7: Image of a woman representing the Philippine telling the United States to treat her more like Great Britain treats Egypt, and there will be no violence, 1899. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:An_Offer_of_Peace.png

Figure 8: Image shows Justice revealing to McKinley the crimes being committed at home while he stares at the Philippine islands. Available at http://historyonfilm.pbworks.com/w/page/18552935/Philippine%20American%20War%20hand-out
Figure 9: Image showing Uncle Sam about to “teach” the newly acquired territories about “civilization,” *Puck*, January 25, 1899. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:School_Begins_(Puck_Magazine_1-25-1899,_cropped).jpg

Figure 10: Order to kill everyone over ten in the Philippines, *New York Journal*, May 5, 1902. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Editorial_cartoon_about_Jacob_Smith%27s_relatio
Figure 11: Map of the United States after its victory in the Spanish-American War. This map compares the original borders of the United States with what it had by 1898. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:10000_Miles_From_Tip_to_Tip_1899_Cornell_CUL_PJM_1133_01.jpg
Figure 12: Map showing “Greater American” after its victory in 1898. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GreaterAmericaMap.jpg
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