

American Economic Imperialism

And the

Spanish-American War Era

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Part One: Historiography

In the spring and summer of 1898 the United States entered into a war with Spain on behalf of Cuba in order to stop the humanitarian disaster there and grant the country its independence. Cuba, a colony of Spain for 400 years, had fought for independence on and off since 1866. The war finished quickly and after a decisive military victory for the United States, they took hold of Spain's colonial possessions. America then found itself a major player on the world stage with new influence in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Along with the annexation of Hawaii during the summer of 1898 the United States transformed into an imperial power. Over the past 114 years American opinion about the actions of that time took on many different adaptations. When we examine the Spanish-American War in the context of economic reasons for expansion and war, we start to see the Spanish-American War as one piece of a much larger picture. A picture that contains an American trend for expansion overseas.

In order to understand the United States during the time of the Spanish-American war, we must understand the overall context of those times. The historical record explains this time as a blending of the concept of Manifest Destiny with newer interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine, new perceptions of the American character, and a crippling depression that caused labor unrest that changed the economic discussion.

In the 1890s, scholarship about U.S. expansion and naval build up from people like Frederick Jackson Turner and Alfred Thayer Mahan heavily influenced the American psyche. Frederick Jackson Turner presented his paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” to a meeting of historians and claimed that the frontier affected the American culture due to the constant change provided by developing new land as the country expanded geographically. In other words, American history had always known expansion. He writes, “This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating the American character.”¹ He also pointed out that the frontier officially closed according to the 1890 census. With the continental frontier closed, many Americans would begin to look outward.

In *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, Alfred Thayer Mahan wrote that sea power inevitably leads to world power. He explained that the United States needed to build more ships in order to promote commerce and protect that commerce when necessary. He also pointed out the necessity of building a canal in the isthmus of Central America in order to connect the two oceans. He saw the United States as avoiding the building of a better navy due to a lack of overseas commerce and no need for hostile activity.²

¹ Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Holt, 1920. 2-3.

² Mahan, A. T. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. 12th ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1918. 35-36.

During the end of the 19th century, Alfred Thayer Mahan's thesis held enormous influence over American leadership. Most important figures of the time agreed with his theory and desired more commerce with the outside world, specifically the Pacific Ocean and the markets of China. Edmund Morris, who wrote *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, stated that Roosevelt drew inspiration from Mahan's writings and even corresponded with Mahan in 1897. Roosevelt told Mahan that he wanted to Annex Hawaii and Cuba, build twelve more naval ships, and dig the canal.³ After Mahan's thesis spread to other politicians the American Navy grew.

Mahan's ideas about the growth of the American Navy entered economic discussions after the United States experienced one of its worst depressions in 1893. Economic journalist John Tinsley wrote that this depression devastated American society causing "distress throughout the country... deep and wide-spread."⁴ The effects of this depression spread to all parts of American society. Business closed, farmers lost land, and social uprising among workers led to drastic actions to break strikes. A rise in inflation caused gold to leave the U.S. Treasury. A "free silver" movement started in order to produce more money to help troubled farmers. This scared the business community that wanted to remain on the gold standard.⁵ Many economists at the time believed that the depression occurred due to overproduction in

³ Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1979. 573.

⁴ Tinsley, John F. "Depressions Past and Present." *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 7, no.2 (1933). 3-7.

⁵ Lossing, Benson John, and Felix Octavius Carr Darley. *Our Country: A Household History for All Readers, from the Discovery of America to the Present Time*. New York: Henry J. Johnson, 1879. 1918-29.

both industry and agriculture. In order to stabilize the economy, many believed development of foreign markets would become a necessity.

Annexation and the idea of foreign investment appeared everywhere in political discussions of the 1890s. A part of these discussions included the definition of the Monroe Doctrine and if the United States should go to war over it. Frances B. Loomis observed the cultural definitions of the Monroe Doctrine five years after the war and found that the initial purpose of the doctrine in the early 1800's involved the guarantee of freedom to all American republics. Yet, when the Yucatan wanted to give sovereignty to the United States, it also approached Spain and Great Britain. U.S. President Polk determined that the area would not transfer to any European power and thus reinterpreted the doctrine to keep out Europe regardless of the desires of independent nations. After Polk, enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine involved the North American continent in disputes with England in the region of Oregon, and again in the rise of a monarchical power movement in Mexico brought on by France.⁶ By the time of the Spanish-American War, Loomis viewed the Monroe Doctrine as determining that no European power should get involved in the Western Hemisphere.

The Monroe Doctrine would again take center stage when in 1895-96 England embroiled itself in a boundary dispute between its possession of British Guyana and the independent Venezuela in South America. President Cleveland advised arbitration and England denied it. When England continued to expand into Venezuelan territory

⁶ Loomis, Frances B. "The Position of the United States on the American Continent-Some Phases of the Monroe Doctrine." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 22, (1903): 1-19.

Cleveland threatened war. England backed down and the dispute settled. After this event, the question of whether America should expand out into South America and the Pacific islands through the use of the military or free trade appeared in political speeches and newspaper editorials.

Massachusetts senator Henry Cabot Lodge, an ardent expansionist, saw no problem with using the navy to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. In his article, "England, Venezuela, and the Monroe Doctrine" he argued about the potential threat to U.S. interests that English expansion would cause. He claimed that threat of war will stop England and show the rest of the world that America will not allow further European influence in the Western Hemisphere.⁷ Among Lodge's other writings and speeches he proposed strong annexation of outside territories.

Edward Atkinson, an economist and founder of the Anti-Imperialist League, disagreed with Lodge about the necessity of military power. On May 16, 1895, Atkinson addressed the American Peace Society about the annexation of Hawaii through peaceful means that also promoted free trade. He considered Americans to prefer peace over war and that "The true American holds that the only incentive to or justification of any war on our part is that we may conquer disorder and wrong and by so doing establish peace, order and industry, to the end that in the great commerce among men and nations each may serve the other's need."⁸ Atkinson believed in

⁷ Lodge, Henry Cabot. "England, Venezuela, and the Monroe Doctrine." *The North American Review* 160, no. 463 (1895): 651-658.

⁸ Atkinson, Edward. "The Neutralization of Hawaii." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 57, no.6 (1895): 125.

annexation to promote economic expansion, but he disagreed with America turning into an overtly military nation.

Following the theory of Alfred Mahan, Atkinson supported a large and well functioning navy that would both promote peace and commerce while also protecting American interests when faced with threats from other nations. He called naval ships “commerce protectors” and not “commerce destroyers.”⁹ Edward Atkinson would go on to help form the Anti-Imperialist League that would maintain an important role in forming public opinion and government action concerning the acquisition of new U.S. territories.¹⁰

At the beginning of the 20th century the publication of *Our Country Illustrated* provided American homes with three volumes of American history covering the time of European discovery to the end of the Spanish-American War. According to its interpretation of the War, economic factors and annexation held little sway over the greater ideal of fighting for Cuba Libre, the movement to free the Cubans who had suffered under Spanish rule and had fought an on again, off again revolution starting in 1866. According to *Our Country Illustrated*, three episodes caused the greatest change in American attitude towards Spain: The mistreatment of Cuban people, the publication of the De Lome letter, and the sinking of the battleship *Maine*.

The mistreatment of the Cuban people received widespread attention in the United States. After many years of costly war between Spain and the Cuban

⁹ Ibid. 125.

¹⁰ Ibid. 125-127.

insurgents, the Spanish government replaced General Marshal Campos with General Valeriano Weyler, a tough general who used brutal means in order to crush the insurgents.¹¹ *Our Country Illustrated* tells about General Weyler's strategies against the Cuban revolutionaries and how that entailed containment policies called reconcentracion. With this policy the Spanish army moved many Cubans from their homes into concentration camps where many suffered great hardships resulting in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.¹² The camps and the ill treatment of the prisoners led to a disdainful view of the Spanish leadership from many outside countries, especially the United States. After President McKinley implored about the strategy of General Weyler, and Spain faced worldwide condemnation, the removal of General Weyler occurred.

Our Country Illustrated then explained that riots broke out in the city of Havana in January of 1898. The rioters, members of the volunteer Spanish army, wanted General Weyler back and destroyed newspaper offices that supported the new General's policy of autonomy for Cubans. These riots never engaged with Americans on the island, yet they provided severe discomfort to commercial interests. With concern for the future of Cuba growing in the United States, and the dangers of the revolution and riots affecting business interests there, President McKinley ordered the battleship *Maine* to Havana harbor in order to decrease the tension.¹³ As the *Maine*

¹¹ Lossing, Benson John, and Felix Octavius Carr Darley. *Our Country: A Household History for All Readers, from the Discovery of America to the Present Time*. New York: Henry J. Johnson, 1879. 1942.

¹² *Ibid.* 1946-1947.

¹³ *ibid.* 1942.

sat in the harbor, war fever continued in the United States as newspapers created sensational headlines about the crisis. Many believed that the papers pushed the issue of war onto the American public.

During the second half of the 19th century the growth of industrialization and the migration of people into the cities allowed newspaper publishing to transform into a big business in the United States. Delos Wilcox observed the social aspects and country wide establishment of the American newspaper business. By the time of the Spanish-American War, two New York City newspapers, Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* competed in a nasty circulation war. Both newspapers used flashy headlines and barely researched stories in order to sell more copies.¹⁴ These papers, and many others, drew the name "Yellow Press" because of how distorted their reporting turned out in attempt to sway public opinion. One major example of this technique involved the printing of the De Lome letter on February 9th, 1898.

The De Lome letter incident involved the theft and publication of a letter written by Enrique Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish minister to Washington. In the letter, De Lome criticized American honesty in dealing with Spain and also calls President McKinley weak for not standing up to hostile members of his party. Someone stole the letter and then handed it to American publishers. American public opinion of Spain sank even lower as the news of the story spread. *Our Country Illustrated* somewhat disagreed with this claim and claimed that American anger stayed

¹⁴ Wilcox, Delos F. "The American Newspaper: A Study in Social Psychology" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 16, (1900): 81-82.

relatively low over the De Lome letter. Outrage would grow far larger six days later when the Battleship *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana Harbor.¹⁵

The explosion and sinking of the *Maine* brought about a war fever that encompassed the whole nation. On the night of February 15th, 1898 the *Maine* suffered two major explosions in the front ammunition magazines and immediately sunk, claiming the lives of 266 men. *Our Country Illustrated* reported that the Initial survey of the disaster concluded that the crew had no fault in the explosion and that the cause probably involved an external factor like a mine in the harbor. The investigation could not find evidence of who did it, but many Americans blamed the Spanish for the disaster and demanded war. Even those who did not believe in Spain's guilt saw the *Maine* tragedy as an obvious sign that the situation in Cuba needed to stop and that American intervention provided the only feasible answer.¹⁶ The United States declared war on April 25th, 1898. McKinley claimed to enter the war for four reasons: the greater humanitarianism, protection of Americans, protection of commerce, and because Cuba's geographic closeness to the United States.

Our Country Illustrated then moved on to describe the action of the Spanish-American war. This narrative of the war mirrored the conventional story. It told of the great naval victory of George Dewey over the Spanish fleet, the mass of volunteers including Theodore Roosevelt and the "Rough Riders", the battles for Porto Rico, and the war in the Philippines. As a book from the era of Alfred Mahan's influence, *Our*

¹⁵ Lossing, Benson John. *Our country...* 1943.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 1945.

Country Illustrated contained many accounts of naval action including the names of ships and every engagement they took part in.¹⁷ *Our Country Illustrated* ended right as the War concluded, so it contained nothing about the continuing conflict for the Philippines. It only mentioned that the uprising on the islands led by Emilio Aguinaldo wanted nothing other than independence, somewhat foreshadowing the trouble ahead.¹⁸ Conflict between the United States and the insurrection in the Philippines would continue until some argue 1913.

The geographic location of the Philippines in the Far East held enormous promise for commercial enterprises. Its location lied directly in the middle of the trade destinations of China, Japan, Indonesia, and the northern tip of Australia. John Barrett, a journalist and U.S. diplomat to Siam wrote an article about the future of the Philippines if war broke out between America and Spain. He saw enormous commercial potential in the islands based on his many visits to the area and interactions with the natives. “The American people, I fear, do not appreciate the actual importance of the Philippines, their wealth and resources, their location and possibilities, their area and population.”¹⁹ John Barrett saw in the Philippines a promise of economic growth stemming from the geographic location of the islands and the people and resources there.

Soon after the Spanish-American War started, and with a focus on the Philippines question, the anti-imperialism movement gained much support and

¹⁷ Ibid. 1958-64.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1979.

¹⁹ Dilke, Charles W. and John Barrett and Hugh H. Lusk. “The Problem of the Philippines.” *The North American Review* 167, No. 502 (1898): 262.

established itself as motivators of public opinion. The anti-imperialism League formed in June of 1898 by several like minded men like Edward Atkinson and George Boutwell. They supported economic growth through free trade, not through war. Most league members opposed the new ideas of imperialism because they believed that the concept of imperialism clashed with the American theory of democracy and republicanism. Boutwell, who acted as league president from 1898 to 1905 wrote in 1898, "In what American precedent can this government find shelter for the doctrine that it may seize communities, exercise jurisdiction over territories and deny to the inhabitants the right? I do not say the privilege? I say the right of self-government?"²⁰

Immediately after the Spanish-American war concluded, many Americans viewed it as a favorable war that displayed American good will towards those who desired freedom and prosperity. Many viewed the war as one in which the United States did not desire, and that gaining new territory meant better commercial enterprises and promotion of good Christian ideals. The consistent historical record considered the war to mark the beginning of the United States as an imperial power. After several years passed, many historians started to re-evaluate the premise and question the actions of all of those involved. They began to see more economic interest underneath the outside image of the United States as the model of higher civilization.

²⁰ Boutwell, George S. "The Problems raised by the War." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 60, No. 10 (1898): 231.

By the 1920's, America had dealt with the burden of imperialism in the Philippines as well as other areas of the Pacific ocean and Central and South America. The world had witnessed the destruction that imperialism could cause during World War One. Robert Dunn, a political activist who worked in the American Civil Liberty Union and a member of the communist party wrote about the massive amounts of foreign investment that the United States had spent since the 1890s. In 1928, he wrote "Foreign Investments and Imperialism" where he casted aside the notion of American entrance into the war as a duty to promote democracy among its new possessions. He saw the Spanish-American War as the continuation of American imperialism that started with the Mexican War. A form of imperialism based solely on the concept of American foreign investment to yield profits. He reports that the United States had developed a pro business foreign policy that promotes commercial expansion backed by the military.²¹

In 1937, Marcus Wilkerson wrote *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War; a Study in War Propaganda*. In this book he shows how the American press controlled public opinion through a well connected newspaper empire. He showed how newspapers sensationalized stories from Cuba in order to sell more papers. Wilkerson also claimed that reporters had little to no access to rebels on the island and had to deal with obstructive Spanish soldiers. Many of the stories faced editing that either stretched the truth or outright lied. Wilkerson's final conclusion alleged

²¹ Dunn, Robert W. "Foreign Investments and Imperialism." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 138, (1928): 13-18.

that the periodicals that promoted yellow journalism wanted to see America enter into a war with Spain.²²

During the Great Depression many historians looked to economic reasons for the Spanish-American War. They looked at the war through the lens of the depression of 1893 and viewed where the business community stood on the options of going to war. Julius W. Pratt wrote that some American businesses did not want war because it would interfere with the economic growth occurring after five years of depression.²³ By 1898, when the trouble with Cuba grew too big to ignore the American economy had finally showed progress towards stability. Many businessmen feared that war would ruin this recent rise and could even bring back the free silver inflationary issues that cursed American domestic policy during 1893. Pratt connected these beliefs to the fact that whenever war seemed very topical the stock market would take a dip and cause greater economic fears. Anti-war businesses also proposed that raw materials were worth more in the market for commodities and construction than for use as munitions for the military. Many believed that war had no long term benefit.²⁴

Pratt also showed that many businesses did support the war if they had vested interests in the countries involved. American investment in sugar production led to businessmen looking for solutions to the problem in Cuba. Most sugar production

²² Wilkerson, Marcus M. *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War; a Study in War Propaganda*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967.

²³ Bailey, Thomas A. "Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands by Julius W. Pratt." *The American Historical Review* 42. No.4 (1937): 806-808.

²⁴ Pratt, Julius W. "American Business and the Spanish-American War." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 14, no.2 (1934): 163-201.

received damage that cost investors \$300,000,000 after three years of civil war. These growers and investors wanted a solution even if it meant war.²⁵

Like the free trade arguments from the anti-imperialists, most business people did not support military intervention, yet that opinion changed after war proved easier than previously believed. Pratt stated that after witnessing the sale of American overproduction to outside markets, many American businesses desired foreign markets for their goods. However, most wanted this accomplishment through peaceful initiatives like free markets instead of the conquest of colonies and costly wars. The American economy had looked to the markets of China as the future of American domination of global trade. The threat concerning American access to new markets expanded as European nations moved into China and set up tariffs and duties that hindered American trade. After the war with Spain proved easier than expected and handed over all of Spain's former colonies to America, the business community, formerly anti-imperialist, now strongly supported the idea of territorial expansion.²⁶

In 1959, William Appleman Williams wrote *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. In it Williams claimed that American foreign policy meant well, but faced a contradiction of imperialism and American ideals of democracy and self determination. Williams writes, "They [Americans] believed deeply in the ideals they claimed, and they were sincere in arguing that their policies and actions would ultimately create a Cuba that would be responsibly self governed, economically

²⁵ Ibid. 163-201.

²⁶ Ibid. 163-201.

prosperous, and socially stable and happy. All, of course, in the image of America”²⁷ Williams also pointed out that most Americans supported economic expansion regardless of political affiliation. He points out that the crisis of the 1890’s caused the need for a solution. He mentioned the depression of 1893, the monetary dispute, and the endless strikes all over the country. He clarified that the debate concerned how to expand, not whether America should expand. Williams also pointed out that expansion, because of its means of selling surplus stock, would solve all these problems and “stifle unrest, preserve democracy, and restore prosperity”²⁸ Williams also supports the historical theme that Frederick Jackson Turner and Alfred Thayer Mahan proposed of expansion, democracy, and prosperity.

By the early 1960’s many historians questioned why business leaders did not support the move toward war despite the belief that economic expansion would lead to prosperity. In the thirties, Julius Pratt concluded that business leaders opposed the war until public opinion changed after the *Maine* explosion. In 1960, Walter Lafeber, a student of Pratt, found evidence that in 1895 business leaders supported President Cleveland’s threat of war during Venezuela’s border dispute. Examining leading journals from all of the financial centers in America, LaFeber discovered that many business leaders supported President Cleveland’s Venezuela message of arbitration or war in its border dispute with Great Brittan. He questioned the continuous claims of

²⁷ Williams, William Appleman. *The tragedy of American Diplomacy*. Rev. and enl. ed. New York: Dell Pub. Co., 1962. 2.

²⁸ *ibid.* 32.

historians and wondered if the business community that supported war in 1895 would oppose war with the weaker Spain in 1898.²⁹

Lafeber summarized his questions and provided more evidence of American imperialist motivation in his 1963 book, *The New Empire: an Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898*. In it he claimed that the road to empire established itself throughout the second half of the 19th century regardless of the colonial gains from the Spanish-American war. He contradicted the common history of the role of empire thrust upon an unwilling United States. He asserted that war had little to do with expansion and that the industrial revolution actually created the environment of desire for expanding markets in order to keep the industrial economy working.³⁰

LaFeber also added to his earlier research by providing examples of business leaders supporting the idea of war, and claimed that those with anti-war beliefs based their opinions on the rapid fluctuations of stock market investments. He found that the businessmen in New York City primarily composed those that did not support going to war. He found that Businesses elsewhere in the country agreed with expansion even at the cost of war.³¹

In 1972 Robert Zevin, following Dunn, Pratt, and Lafeber, observed the Spanish-American war as just another step in American imperialism. With the

²⁹ Lafeber, Walter. "The American Business Community and Cleveland's Venezuelan Message." *The Business History Review* 34, no.4 (1960): 393-402.

³⁰ LaFeber, Walter. *The New Empire: an Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898*. Ithaca: Cornell university press, 1963. 370-406.

³¹ *ibid.* 370-406.

Vietnam War still at full speed, Zevin pointed out the numerous cases of American military or political interference in the Western Hemisphere from the time of the original thirteen colonies to Vietnam. Zevin adopted a “Marxist” approach to the definition of imperialism and wrote with the same conviction of Robert Dunn. He argued that American involvement occurred in almost every country in the Western hemisphere and around the world. He stated the theory that expansion dominated American foreign policy and that the Spanish-American war just provided more territory for American ships of commerce and the warships to protect them. Zevin added that the military might of the American Navy and Marines engaged many countries in order to participate in rebellions, or crush them based on what side provided favorable interests to the United States.³²

In 1980, Howard Zinn published *A People’s History of the United States*, a controversial book that told the history of the United States from the perspective of the common people. Like Zevin and Dunn, Howard Zinn focused on the many episodes of American use of force in their expansion. He also repeated the economic argument that the policy of expansion would increase markets for overproduced goods. Zinn however created a new thesis that claimed that the government and elites in America accepted the war because it would distract the disgruntled lower classes from causing labor disputes and refocus their anger on a foreign enemy. He stoped

³² Zevin, Robert. “An Interpretation of American Imperialism.” *The Journal of Economic History* 32, no.1 (1972): 316-360.

short of calling it a conspiracy, instead deemed it “a natural development from the twin drives of capitalism and nationalism.”³³

In 1983, Gary Marotta examined the academic response to imperialism through examining three learned societies. He analyzed and reviewed the debates over the Philippines within the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The academic societies of America during the Spanish-American war and the years following primarily believed that imperialism would provide a means of selling surplus goods for profit and raising investment that would reap greater profits. More markets would also keep factories running and help both capital and labor issues. Marotta also pointed out that many scholars believed that expansion would spread freedom and liberty across its large empire. Like the writings of the historians before him, Marotta proved that Academics also felt that the colonial gains of 1898 were not the beginning of American colonialism, but rather a growth of earlier expansionist precedent. Despite an academic movement of anti-imperialists, the expansionist scholars dominated the discussion.³⁴

When the Spanish-American war celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 1998 the concepts of social and cultural history dominated the writings about it. David Traxel wrote *1898: the Birth of the American Century*, a book on the events of

³³Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present*. Originally published: New York: 1980. 297.

³⁴ Marotta, Gary. "The Academic Mind and the Rise of U.S. Imperialism: Historians and Economists as Publicists for Ideas of Colonial Expansion." *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 42, no.2 (1983): 217-234.

the whole year of 1898 including the dominance of industry, the first corporations, the war fever, and the celebration after. Traxel unfortunately does not dedicate enough time to context and merely reports the facts he collected from the time period. He does explain the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League by Edward Atkinson, George Boutwell, Andrew Carnegie, and others.³⁵ Traxel wrote that Andrew Carnegie showed concern for U.S. imperialism due to its possible unpopularity with American voters who may pick William Jennings Bryan over McKinley in the next election. Bryan's anti-imperialism advocacy could win his election that would then bring back "free silver" issues that would "destroy the industrial economy that he [Carnegie] and his peers had dedicated themselves to building"³⁶ Traxel fails to elaborate on this theme and seems to pass it off as just an Andrew Carnegie story. The whole episode supported earlier research that claimed that Business leaders viewed the trouble in Cuba as having the potential to destroy the gains made in the economy since the depression of 1893.

Also during the centennial of the Spanish-American war some historians started to see patterns showing "the emergence of a new, distinctly American form of imperialism, one which assumed that commercial development and moral tutelage were twin imperative"³⁷ In 1995, Anders Stephenson explored the impact of manifest Destiny on American history in the aptly titled *Manifest Destiny*. He supported the idea of Christian evangelism as a prominent reason for imperialism and pointed out how this belief formed the support for the war as a humanitarian act to aid the weak

³⁵ Traxel, David. *1898: the Birth of the American Century*. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1998), 283-286

³⁶ Ibid. 284.

³⁷ Tuason, Julie A. "The Ideology of Empire in National Geographic Magazine's Coverage of the Philippines, 1898-1908." *Geographical Review* 89, no. 1 (1999): 35.

Cubans against the tyrannical Spain. He also gave details of an American opinion of superiority and that the United States never sought the opinions of the Cubans about the future of their own country. During the Venezuela crisis of 1895-96 and the war for Cuban independence, the United States never talked with Venezuela or Cuba. Instead, they worked only with Great Britain and Spain respectively.³⁸

In *The War of 1898*, Louis A. Perez wrote an incredible historiography of U.S. and Cuban relations. He proved that the United States looked at Cuba as a future prospect for annexation since the beginning of the republic. He did not question that America rushed to support Cuba against the brutal Spain and proved it through several examples of cultural paraphernalia like music and the yellow press. However, Perez also proved that the United States quickly forgot about the goodwill when it came time to leave the island to itself. He discussed the Teller amendment that promised that the United States would not annex Cuba and would leave when America considered it pacified. He showed that the definition of pacify came to mean staying in Cuba until everything developed there had American influence. He then discussed the Platt amendment, that allowed the United States to intervene in Cuba if order fell apart there. Again, Perez showed the good will of the Teller amendment faded into the imperialism of the Platt amendment. Like Stephanson, he also

³⁸ Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (1. ed.). New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.

questioned why the Cuban voice had no involvement in the peace treaty or the political and economic organization on the island.³⁹

Other authors saw the trend of combining manifest destiny and economic expansion in the foreign policy actions during the turn of the century. Julie Tuason explained that American public opinion about imperialism in regards to the annexation of the Philippines transformed from one of American economic strength in the Pacific to an ideology of developing the country into a sound free and liberal democracy. Tuason proved this by examining the *National Geographic* magazines published from 1898 to 1908. She showed the trend of the magazine from publishing stories of economic possibilities into reporting on progress enlightening the native population. Tuason pointed out that many American investors on the islands saw the native population as lazy and incapable of working hard and requiring more American ideals. She credited the rise of the Anti-Imperialism movement for the change in reporting and later related it to the rise of progressivism in the United States.⁴⁰

As in other decades a predominant theme arose in the volumes of historical research. After the United States entry into the second Iraq War, a large anti-war movement began. Many historians in the 2000's looked to the dissent of the anti-war movement in the 1890's. Piero Gleijeses examined the anti-war press opinions before and during the Spanish-American War to conclude that the anti-war sentiment proved

³⁹Pérez, Louis A. *The war of 1898: the United States and Cuba in history and historiography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

⁴⁰ Tuason, Julie A. "The Ideology of Empire in National Geographic...34-53.

large yet could not change the course of American involvement in war with Spain.⁴¹ Gleijeses also reported the reoccurring theme of conservative economic fears about the cost of war spoiling the economy that had steadily grown since the depression of 1893. He also claimed that annexing the Philippines in order to open the markets of China receives no mention in the press or in government until after Dewey defeated the Spanish navy. Prior to the battle at Manila Bay, most expansionists with goals for China only desired a canal through Central America and the annexation of Hawaii.⁴²

Robert Mann also looked to wartime dissent during the Spanish-American war with an obvious focus on the Anti-Imperialist League and the fight for the Philippines. He explained that the League printed propaganda pamphlets containing letters from soldiers that “attest to not only the brutality involved in suppressing the insurgency, but also the doubts of the soldiers about the morality and brutality of their mission.”⁴³ The American occupation army in the Philippines began committing brutal acts like the Spanish had committed in Cuba that brought the U.S. into the war in the first place. “Just as propaganda helped persuade Americans to support the war, it also generated dissent.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ Gleijeses, Piero. “1898: The Opposition to the Spanish-American War.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35, no.4 (2003): 681-719.

⁴² Ibid. 681-719.

⁴³ Mann, Robert. *Wartime Dissent in America: a History and Anthology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 63.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 63.

Eugene Secunda and Terence P Moran wrote *Selling War to America*, an examination of how the United States government used the media to alter public opinion. He said that the Spanish-American War differed from later wars because the government did not need to sell it; the press did it for them. After the *Maine* sank, popular opinion wanted a war that President McKinley lacked the means to produce. Secunda added that the immediate success of the naval battle produced grand reporting of the American navy's success. After the charge of the "Rough Riders" made Theodore Roosevelt famous, Secunda claimed that "the McKinley administration benefited from the quick victories in the Caribbean that provided the Americans with new heroes and heroics"⁴⁵ McKinley would win his reelection and Roosevelt would campaign on his war hero image as Vice President.

Margaret O'Connor wrote about the Spanish-American war from the viewpoint of letters written from soldiers to their home in Nebraska. The letters describe the reality of fighting in the war in Cuba. They detailed the barracks that they lived in and the trouble of rotten food and disease from the tropical island. O'Connor explained that the war brought about large groups of volunteers who had never traveled far from their homes. Some of the soldiers O'Connor wrote about had never even seen the ocean. The army composed of makeshift arrangements and inadequate vehicles for moving large armies.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Secunda, Eugene, and Terence P. Moran. *Selling War to America: from the Spanish American War to the Global War on Terror*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2007. 19.

⁴⁶ O'Connor, Margaret Anne. "The Not-So-Great War." *Cather Studies* 6, no.1 (2006): 58-69.

Another theme of the historical record of the Spanish-American War involves the concept that it provided a watershed moment in American history. Margaret O'Connor established it, and David Traxel wrote a whole book on it. O'Connor pointed out that the Spanish-American war was one of the first modern wars. The technology used during the war would prove quite efficient in the combat of the twentieth century. Technology like hot air balloons for surveillance, film cameras to capture footage from battle, and the use of the Gatling gun would all become necessities in later warfare. Over the ensuing years after the war, the American military would grow exponentially allowing continuous involvement in world affairs.⁴⁷

The historiography of the United States imperialist expansion and the Spanish-American War Era grows increasingly every year. With this research we see trends appear and theories fade away based sometimes on the viewpoints provided by the context of the decades of publication. The further we move away from the original time frame the clearer the picture becomes as more research provides different viewpoints. For many years the Spanish-American war represented the beginning of America's new role as an imperialist nation. Some still promote this theory as the record shows. Yet, many modern authors now see another side of the story. To some, the Spanish-American War blended into many other themes and events from the time to form one representative whole of consistent national policy.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 58-69.

Part Two: Original Research

“A Noble Imperialism”

An Examination of the
Republican Editorials of the
Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
From 1898

The historiography of the United States foreign policy during 1898 focuses on an era when empire came to the U.S. unexpectedly. Over time other observations and reasons developed concerning American commercial interests driving the movement. The historical sources support these new conclusions when observed for repetitive themes. One source, the editorial pages of the *Democrat and Chronicle* printed in Rochester, New York supports this commerce driving theory. In these editorials we find evidence that the original goal of promoting humane treatment to the Spanish colony of Cuba transformed into a desire to expand commercially into the Pacific Ocean and China after the Battle of Manila Bay in the Philippines.

The history of the Spanish American War and the year 1898 includes a well known timeline. By early January of 1898, Spanish loyalists and soldiers on the

Spanish colony of Cuba started riots over the failure of autonomy. These riots provoked the United States to send the U.S.S. Maine warship to Havana harbor to protect American interests. On February 9th the publication of the DeLome letter, with its harsh criticism of President McKinley, upset Americans. The U.S.S. Maine then exploded in Havana Harbor on February 15, killing 266 American sailors and causing a dramatic rise in patriotism, war fever, and eventual war preparation. McKinley received a declaration of war from congress and the U.S. proceeded to sink the Spanish fleet in the Philippines and removed them from Cuba. Fighting ended on August 12th and the Treaty of Paris formally ended the war on December 10th 1898. Along with these events there involves a larger context of naval growth and American expansion concerning the annexation of Hawaii. As history passed, the year 1898 represented the era of American imperialism with the annexation of Puerto Rico, Guam, The Philippines, Hawaii, and the building of a naval base on Cuba.

In order to examine the larger context of American expansion in the year 1898, I read 118 editorials from the *Democrat and Chronicle* from January 1, 1898 to July 16, 1898. These dates encompass the beginning of the failed Cuban Autonomy to the weeks following the annexation of Hawaii. This timeframe represents a focus on the expansionist ideas that immediately formed after the defeat of the Spanish Navy in the Philippines and the annexation of Hawaii. This time represents a period where expansion looked inevitable, or at least very tempting.

The *Democrat and Chronicle* provided, and still provides news to the people of Rochester, New York, a smaller industrial city that grew after the advent of the Erie Canal. During my research I only chose articles discussing economic and

military expansion, annexation of Hawaii, the crisis in Cuba, The Philippines, and/or Puerto Rico. For the first half of 1898, one or more of these topics appeared in the editorial section every day. To observe for trends I coded the editorials under the topics of economic expansion, military expansion, the promotion of American principles, European involvement, and stock market updates. I eventually noticed the fluctuating trends of opinion as the events of 1898 unfolded. I also discovered more about the context of 1898 and the political opinions of the *Democrat and Chronicle*.

The editorials and papers from 1898 bring to life the world of 1898 in Rochester, New York. All of the historical items and problems we currently discuss about this era appear in the newspaper articles. The editorial staff, including William Adolphe Gracey, Edward Milton Foote, and others, commented on all of the topical issues such as the monetary problems involving the coining of silver, fluctuating stock market prices, the importance of building a new navy, and the battle with the “yellow press”. Outside of the topical importance of these issues, I also examined a completely different world without cars or modern entertainment like the television or even radio. Many articles focused on the growing leisure trend of riding bicycles and the proper ways for women to dress in the latest fashions. The editorial page of the *Democrat and Chronicle* provides excellent primary source material on the events of 1898. However, much of the opinion presented in the newspaper contained strong political bias.

Like many newspapers published in the late 19th century, the *Democrat and Chronicle* contained a one sided opinion and argued with rival papers. In 1898, the paper provided an opinion following the Republican party of the late 19th century. It

disagreed with the Democrat policies of William Jennings Bryan and any promotion of coining silver. It supported the Cuban freedom fighters calling them “patriots” on many occasions. The promotion of American patriotism also fell into many of the articles chosen. The editors also supported the annexation of Hawaii “by its own free will and of its own motion”⁴⁸ Its reputation included promoting “A vast Pacific commerce, a vast American merchant marine on Pacific waters, a great fleet to protect them, and the American flag floating over Hawaii in mid-ocean”⁴⁹ For its rival publication, *The Democrat and Chronicle* primarily targeted the *New York Evening Post* with criticism in at least 15 of my selected articles. The *New York Evening Post*, edited by E. L. Godkin in 1898, opposed U.S. intervention into Cuba and annexation of Hawaii.

In Rochester the Republican ideology made for a successful newspaper as the *Democrat and Chronicle* maintained a large circulation and claimed no equal in “fullness and reliability... by any newspaper west of New York City.”⁵⁰ In the words of famous Rochester Historian Blake McKelvy the *Democrat and Chronicle* appeared “at all times...the official Republican journal.”⁵¹ The paper Began 1898 in the heart of discussing Cuban independence and the annexation of Hawaii.

Through the first half of January 1898, the *Democrat and Chronicle* editorial board dedicated most of their discussion to stories and details about the terrible treatment of Cubans in the reconcentration camps and Hawaiian annexation. The

⁴⁸ “A British Argument for Annexation,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 15, 1898, 6.

⁴⁹ Osborne, Thomas J. . "Trade or War? America's Annexation of Hawaii Reconsidered." *Pacific Historical Review* 50, no. 3 (1981): p.285.

⁵⁰ “In the Lead,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 20, 1898, 6.

⁵¹ McKelvey, Blake. "Rochester's Historical Trends: An Historical View." *Rochester History* 14, no. 2 (1952). P.9.

opinions bordered on patriotic duty to remove Spain and allow Cubans to run their own country. On the subject of business one article questioned why the U.S. conceded to Spain and would not allow American business to trade directly with the Cuban insurgents when other European countries definitely permitted it.⁵² Another editorial challenged German claims that U.S. actions in the Western Hemisphere aim for “annexation of Cuba and the rest of West Indian possessions of European powers.”⁵³ The author disputed the claim and accepted the challenge standing behind the new superior navy that the U.S. produced.

In mid January, Spanish soldiers and supporters of Spanish rule in Cuba started riots in front of newspaper offices that supported the Cuban insurrection. The riots proved two things to many Americans: That Spain lost control of her colony, and that American commercial interests faced extreme danger. Under the title “The Serious Situation in Havana” the author predicted that if the rioters “get the upper hand the American residents would be in serious peril,” and that “hatred for [the U.S.] appears to be the chief animating cause of the recent outbreak.”⁵⁴ Another editorial written three days later somewhat disagreed and explained that the riots indirectly targeted the U.S. due to the intimidation of the impending naval attack that would then ensue.⁵⁵ On the same page contained an article that criticized naval and military preparedness, stating that naval growth stopped and the U.S. lacked preparation for the foreseeable emergencies soon to come.⁵⁶ The contradiction between possessing a great Navy and also an inadequate one appeared many times in the editorials of 1898.

⁵² “Trade with the Cuban Patriots,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 1, 1898, 6.

⁵³ “Our Enemies in Europe,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 1, 1898, 6.

⁵⁴ “The Serious Situation in Havana,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 14, 1898, 6.

⁵⁵ “General Blanco in Danger,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 17, 1898, 6.

⁵⁶ “Apathy in Naval and Military preparation,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 22, 1898, 6.

The going belief concluded that the American navy contains state of the art warships, however, not enough of them.

The concern to American interests caused by the riots led to the decision to send the U.S.S. Maine into Havana Harbor on January 25th. Upon arriving and the days after, the editorials focused on the exceptionality of the Maine, and the effect its presence in Cuba had on Spain and the New York Stock Exchange. One author described to great length the details of the Maine, and claimed that Spanish ships “would stand no show in the presence of even one of [our] battleships.”⁵⁷ Another poked fun at a Spanish threat to send their warships to U.S. ports by proving the absurdity and impossibility of the concept.⁵⁸ Discussions in an article titled “The Wave of strength” concern the arrival of the Maine in Havana causing a rise in the stock market⁵⁹ Editorials in the days that followed pointed out that stocks fell when news spread of the Maine moving to Havana, but rose sharply when the ship arrived.⁶⁰

With the riots in Havana subdued, and the presence of the Maine keeping the peace, the *Democrat and Chronicle* spent the beginning of February discussing the annexation of Hawaii. Hawaiian annexation dominated much of American foreign policy before the spiral of events in 1898 that led to war with Spain. In early February, Hawaiian annexation reached the House of Representatives and looked inevitable yet still popularly debated. From February 2nd to February 14th, with headlines focusing on Havana Harbor, the topic of Hawaii appeared in six *Democrat*

⁵⁷ “The Battleship at Havana,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 26, 1898, 6.

⁵⁸ “Spanish Ships for American ports,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 27, 1898, 6.

⁵⁹ “The Wave of Strength,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 26, 1898, 14.

⁶⁰ “Finance and Business,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, January 31, 1898, 6.

and Chronicle editorials. They contained opinions about the military and commercial importance of the island and about American principles for and against annexation. Most of these editorials mentioned the commercial potential of the Hawaiian Islands as the “key to the Pacific,” and the subsequent need for military protection. As for patriotism, the editors believed that American principles in freedom and democracy could handle growth and would provide better leadership over Hawaii than any other country.⁶¹

On February 9th, the *New York Journal* published the DeLome letter bringing attention back to opposition to Spain. DeLome never meant for the letter to become public knowledge and in it he described Spanish lack of support in granting autonomy to Cubans and described President McKinley as a spineless follower of public opinion leading his country toward war. The *Democrat and Chronicle* does not mention the letter until two days later and finally published it in full on the 12th. Two editorials referenced the letter and criticized Spain for horrible policy while supporting McKinley for his “backbone to avoid war thus far” instead of giving to “tremendous popular pressure in this country in favor of recognition of Cuban belligerency”⁶² DeLome’s letter appeared in later editorials but six days after introduction it fell to the way side when the U.S.S. Maine exploded in Havana Harbor.

February 15th, 1898 remained a famous date in American history for several generations due to the explosion and destruction of the U.S.S. Maine. On February

⁶¹ “An Imaginary Danger,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 2, 1898, 6.
 “Annexation Seems Sure,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 4, 1898, 6.

⁶² “DeLome’s Offense,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 11, 1898, 6.
 “The State Department Knew,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 12, 1898, 6.

16th, The *Democrat and Chronicle* announced that “The Maine is a Wreck” in a rare, two-column headline. With the reason for the explosion unknown the editors pointed out that “the gravity of the situation is impressive, and the American people want to be just.”⁶³ However, a suspicion of Spanish guilt and improper management underscored the editorial opinions. The reality of American intervention in Cuba dominated opinion as 12 out of 16 of the editorials over the next 25 days discussed military issues and/or patriotic support of Cuban independence. For the first time the Philippines received mention as a valuable possession that Spain would need to defend. In war spirit, the editors criticized everyone in a display of 1890’s Republican party ideals. In three different editorials on February 23rd, the authors condemned obstructionists in congress for lack of naval growth, for blocking annexation of Hawaii to gain its ports, and not expanding the small regular army.⁶⁴ They also criticized the delay for action in congress involving recognition of the independence of Cuban belligerents and the lack of government acceptance that war will happen and the country should mobilize.⁶⁵ Over the next month public opinion changed from war fever into war preparation and finally war declaration.

As the world waited for the final assessment of the Maine destruction, the United States prepared for war by allocating 50 million dollars for national defense. Again throughout this period of 17 days the *Democrat and Chronicle* editorials

⁶³ “Destruction of the Maine,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 18, 1898, 6.

⁶⁴ “Fighting obstructionists,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 23, 1898, 6.
 “Hawaii,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 23, 1898, 6.
 “The National Guard,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 23, 1898, 6.

⁶⁵ “War Sometimes unavoidable,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 3, 1898, 6.
 “Postponement is dangerous,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 4, 1898, 6.
 “The Policy of Indefinite Delay,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 7, 1898, 6.

primarily focused on military expansion and missteps, American principles, and Hawaiian annexation. They called for an isthmian canal and the purchase of other Caribbean islands for coaling stations.⁶⁶ They labeled the 50 million dollar budget for defense “one of the most inspiring events in our history,” allowing the U.S. to “defend the honor of the nation and uphold liberty in the Western Hemisphere.”⁶⁷ This author finished by stating that all this inspiration and honor arose out of humane duty and “without the slightest thought of territorial aggrandizement”⁶⁸ Other editorials also defended against criticism of U.S. intentions through denying a desire for territorial expansion.

On March 28th, 1898 The United States naval court of inquiry declared that the explosion on the U.S.S. Maine occurred due to a Spanish mine. The *Democrat and Chronicle* called it an act of war and American anger toward Spain skyrockets. Again the editorials displayed a determination for “absolute and final independence of the Cubans.”⁶⁹ Three other editorials mentioned the righteousness of providing humanitarian relief and political freedom to Cuba. Patriotism flourished as one author quoted the beginning of the Declaration of Independence and declared “This nation owes it to itself to show, in its dealing with the Cuba question, that it has the courage of its convictions.”⁷⁰ On April 5th, in the editorial titled “Why the United States should interfere” the editor wanted intervention because of patriotic duty, the military

⁶⁶ “An isthmian Canal Object Lesson,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 17, 1898, 6.
 “To Purchase the Danish Islands,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 2, 1898, 6.

⁶⁷ “A Great Event in our History,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 10, 1898, 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ “Cuba Libre” The Solution,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 30, 1898, 6.

⁷⁰ “Cuba’s right to Freedom,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 30, 1898, 6.

importance of Cuba's location, and the increasing commercial worth of a Cuba that would trade with the U.S. instead of Spain. Evoking the Monroe Doctrine, this passage promoted the complete removal of Spanish presence and atrocities from the Western Hemisphere. It also pointed out that without Spain, Cuba would offer the majority of their trade to American ports allowing commerce to "vastly exceed that of any period in the history of relations between this country and the island."⁷¹ As war fever built patriotism and drive, and as worldwide attention focused on the Western Hemisphere, Puerto Rico and its role in the conflict received its first mention in the editorials. This editorial assumed that if Cuban belligerents and the U.S. force Spain out of Cuba then Puerto Rico will also gain freedom.⁷²

With America accepting its humanitarian position, President McKinley asked congress for a declaration of war on April 11th. Editorial responses to Mckinley's message to congress involved building a stronger navy, and ongoing patriotism and reaffirmation of American duty to "inaugurate an era of liberty and civilization in the sorely oppressed island."⁷³ Along with the anticipation for war and the patriotism that grew, McKinley's war message caused trouble for the American non-combatants in Cuba. Already on edge after the riots in January, these non-combatants now saw the opportunity to get out of Cuba. "We are dealing with a medieval power," one editorial says, "Americans residing in the island of Cuba [are] in danger of massacre."⁷⁴ Another editorial discussed the rights that non-combatants have in enemy countries

⁷¹ "Why the United States should interfere," *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 5, 1898, 6.

⁷² "Porto Rico Also," *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 9, 1898, 6.

⁷³ "A Quick Response," *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 14, 1898, 6.

⁷⁴ "The Message Today," *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 11, 1898, 6.

and concluded that all Americans should leave Cuba.⁷⁵ Within nine days of this excitement in Cuba, the United States House of Representatives and Senate passed the joint resolution allowing McKinley to take action against Spain.

On April 19th, 1898 the *Democrat and Chronicle* used all four columns for the headline, “Go! Says Congress to Spain.” The headline also featured a rare use of an image of the American flag.⁷⁶ The next few days contained many editorials about patriotic support, American financial strength, and the role that the Philippines will play in the following days. Local support flourished as one editorial claims that “No city of its size has contributed more than Rochester to the relief of the suffering soldiers of liberty in the field.”⁷⁷ The financial strength of the U.S. posed as a significant advantage and appeared as a topic in many editorials published immediately after the beginning of hostilities. They predicted that the United States could afford a war with Spain “without strain or disturbance or trouble with the currency.”⁷⁸ At the same time that the editors gloated about American finance, the topic of the Philippines continued to develop. With Spanish expulsion almost definite, one editorial questioned how Germany, who had the most commercial interest in the Philippines, would react if the Islands transferred into U.S. possessions.⁷⁹

On May 1st, 1898 the United State’s Asiatic squadron, led by Commodore George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet located in Manila Bay. This episode placed the Philippines in the possession of the United States, an outcome that few expected. The definite victory for American forces made a hero out of George Dewey

⁷⁵ “American Non Combatants in Cuba,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 11, 1898, 6.

⁷⁶ “Go! Says congress to Spain,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 19, 1898, 6.

⁷⁷ “Cuban Liberty,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 21, 1898, 6.

⁷⁸ “Our Financial Strength,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 21, 1898, 6.

⁷⁹ “German Interests in the Philippines,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 30, 1898, 6.

and the new territorial acquisition brought about a change in editorial stance regarding overseas possessions. The amazing victory boosted the Republican editors who suddenly saw the enormous commercial potential placed in front of the United States. In a vast change in ideology, the editorials move away from the “jingoism” of patriotism and military superiority. Of the 21 related editorials in the month of May, an amazing 13 focus on the commercial potential of the Pacific islands as well as an increase in trade with Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The “fact” that few expected the outcome of taking the Philippines caused much dispute among historians. Stuart Miller pointed out that “When McKinley was inaugurated in 1897, such "expansionists" as Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge advised him that Manila was the key to America's future in Asia. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt would not only pick Dewey to command the Asiatic Squadron but provide him with orders to strike at Manila when war was declared.”⁸⁰ The immediate decision to attack in the Philippines may have its foundation in imperial strategy, but there always remains the fact that the Spanish fleet just happened to rest in Manila Bay.

The editorials in the month following Dewey’s great victory focused primarily on the Philippines, Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the isthmian canal in regards to commercial strength. Arguments proposed that when Spain leaves, Cuba and Puerto Rico will find American ports as an easier and profitable trade. They also stated that the Philippines, with the protection of ships from Hawaii, would also trade and form a

⁸⁰ Miller, Stuart Creighton . "Compadre Colonialism." *The Wilson Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1976): p. 98.

new market for American goods.⁸¹ One editorial discussing the Philippines called it luck that America “should unexpectedly come into possession of the finest islands in Asiatic waters.”⁸² Supporters of Hawaiian annexation and the isthmian canal used Dewey’s battle and victory to prove the “utmost value” of the islands and canal for military engagement and expanded commerce.⁸³ One editor took the acquisition of the Philippines from Spain one step further and claimed that “Porto Rico shall be among the prizes of the war.”⁸⁴ In that same article, the editor showed concern that the war may end before American troops can enter Puerto Rico and guarantee it as a “condition of peace.”⁸⁵ The Republican editorial board of the *Democrat and Chronicle* put on full display their love for the spoils of war.

American patriotism and exceptionality re-enter the editorial stream in late June of 1898 when American forces landed on Cuba to begin the ground war. The display of patriotism in Rochester caused the newspaper to comment about the dedication of local soldiers and the amount of American flags flying.⁸⁶ On July 4th, the editorial said we are “reminded by the tragic events which are transpiring in Cuba, that the price of liberty is still the blood of the brave.”⁸⁷ Some of the editorials regarding expansion took a different tone however. Now the idea of giving newly acquired possessions back to Spain, or the charge of another European country came across as insulting. One editorial says “the valor of our army and navy has rescued

⁸¹ “A Question of commerce,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 16, 1898, 6.

⁸² “The Philippines and our Asiatic Commerce,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 8, 1898, 6.

⁸³ “Hawaiian Islands to be Annexed,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 7, 1898, 6.

⁸⁴ “The Porto Rico Campaign,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 14, 1898, 6.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ “Look at that Display of American Patriotism,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, July 2, 1898, 6.

⁸⁷ “The Day We Celebrate,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, July 4, 1898, 6.

[these islands] from the hands of the enemy.”⁸⁸ Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines would all benefit from American ideals, commerce and protection.

On July 4th, 1898 the United States annexed Hawaii placing the islands “under the stars and stripes where she rightfully belongs and will prove a valuable possession.”⁸⁹ I don’t believe anyone at the *Democrat and Chronicle* ever thought otherwise. After all the annexation of Hawaii in 1898 had developed for several years before the event occurred. Goals in Hawaii over commercial growth existed prior to the Spanish-American war. The American missionaries had looked to American policies like homesteading to aid the local inhabitants. By 1898, Hawaii evolved into a plantation system for the production of sugar.⁹⁰

I concluded my research in July 1898 after the annexation of Hawaii and when Spain had surrendered major fighting on the island of Cuba. The war proved quick and successful. Although peace came two months later, the outcome of American victory seemed inevitable.

The *Democrat and Chronicle’s* narrative of the events of 1898 left an historical record of how the Republican party of that time expressed its ideology in regards to American expansion. An ideology of “noble imperialism” that projected

⁸⁸ “Questions growing out of the war,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 27, 1898, 6.

⁸⁹ “Hawaii Annexed,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, July 7, 1898, 6.

⁹⁰ Osborne, Thomas J. . “Trade or War? America's Annexation of Hawaii Reconsidered.” *Pacific Historical Review* 50, no. 3 (1981): 285-307.

American principles to promote commerce and uplift countries' status in the world instead of forcing subordinate colonialism like the European powers. Their principles involving American patriotism, military growth, and political and economic freedom supported every opinion. However, the historiography of American expansion in 1898 tends to view U.S. foreign policy as catering to only business ventures and seeking profits. Historians like Julius Pratt and Walter LaFeber both explained how American history always favored expansion since the original colonies looked west. Imperialism always existed throughout the nation's history and American businessmen supported the war and commercial expansion.⁹¹ They also showed evidence that expansion meant finding markets in China and that the war and annexation of Hawaii aided this desire. In the historical record of the *Democrat and Chronicle*, the editorials published after the defeat of the Spanish navy by Commodore Dewey and the question of what to do with the Philippines showed a strong commercial desire behind American foreign policy. Prior to these editorials, and immediately following them, most opinions tended to focus on patriotic duty for the independence of everyone. The editorials in the *Democrat and Chronicle* from the months of May and June of 1898 support the writings of LaFeber, Pratt, and others and showed the commercial desires of the Republican Party at that time.

To understand the opinions of the editors of the *Democrat and Chronicle* we must first know the context of 1890's America. By 1898, American foreign policy dealt with the growing issue of what to do with surplus goods. A depression in 1893

⁹¹ LaFeber, Walter. *The New Empire: an Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898*. Ithaca: Cornell university press, 1963.

Pratt, Julius W. "American Business and the Spanish-American War." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 14, no.2 (1934): 163-201.

established that commercial expansion would assist in exportation of these goods. As Europeans scrambled to find ports in China, America also wanted access to trade there. Most believed that Hawaii would help with this goal and therefore the U.S. had debated the annexation issue for years before 1898, where the issue remained practically settled at pro-annexation. Meanwhile, in what could seem unrelated, America also had to deal with Spanish atrocities on the island of Cuba as fighting there went on for years before intervention. The sudden appearance of the Philippines as a potential possession mixed these two themes. American desire for increased commerce and the ideals of patriotism and principle that guided the war for Cuban freedom created the concept of “noble imperialism”.

Author Piero Gleijeses claimed that annexation of the Philippines in order to open trade with China never gets mentioned until after Dewey’s victory.⁹² The *Democrat and Chronicle* supports this theory. The Philippines come up twice in the editorials before May 2nd and only in the context of the Spanish naval ships stationed there. The defeat of the Spanish navy and the sudden question of possession did take everyone, including Europeans, by surprise.

Editorials from the month of May presented us with evidence that commercial expansion underlied all opinions involving foreign policy in 1898 and that the sudden possession of the Philippines caused this. After the prospect of increasing commerce through Philippine annexation took hold, commercial motivations behind the annexation of Hawaii also appeared. “This country has new interests extending six

⁹² Gleijeses, Piero. “1898: The Opposition to the Spanish-American War.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35, no.4 (2003): 681-719.

thousand miles westward from the Pacific coast,”⁹³ claimed one editorial. Another agreed and added, “with the Hawaiian islands and the Philippines under the American flag our commerce in the Pacific will be secure.”⁹⁴ However, the Countries of Europe also had plans for the Philippines.

The importance of instantly Securing the Philippines had more to do with competing with Europe than with freeing the Filipino people. The Philippines had fought against Spain for years and their struggle mirrored the problems in Cuba. This however, did not provoke the same humanitarian call for intervention as the headlines about Cuba. Most editorials about the Philippines jumped right to the issue of keeping the country out of European hands. At the time, many European commercial interests in the Philippines outnumbered Spain. Throughout the events of 1898, Germany had a visible military presence. Many German ships were in Manila Bay, and two warships were present in Havana Harbor when the *Maine* exploded. The *Democrat and Chronicle* editors remained aware of Germany and other countries and wanted to remove them from the area. They point out German fears of permanent American possession and state that “we are not fighting and spending our substance to enlarge the territory of Germany or any other European power.”⁹⁵ European countries called for the U.S. to sell the islands or split them up amongst five other countries. Editorials called this request an attempt to “prevent us from exercising sovereignty,”⁹⁶

⁹³ “We Must Have Hawaii,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 8, 1898, 6.

⁹⁴ “Hawaiian Islands to be Annexed,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 7, 1898, 6.

⁹⁵ “The Disposition of the Philippines,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 5, 1898, 6.

⁹⁶ “A Question of Commerce,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 16, 1898, 6.

and that “it would be highly absurd, after having captured the Philippine as a prize of war to trade them off for one fifth of a coaling station.”⁹⁷ Editorials explain that Europe objected to American possession of the Philippines because, “our possession of these islands will enable us to seriously interfere with their plans in regard to China.”⁹⁸ The editorial concluded that this is the “strongest reason why we must retain the Philippines.”⁹⁹

After the U.S. celebrated their naval victories, the war moved to the ground in Cuba. The context of freeing the Cuban people developed over several years and the editorials now focus on imperialism for both economic and humanitarian reasons. Throughout the events of 1898 many editorials defended American actions against accusations of “land grabbing” and territorial expansion for promotion of American interests. They always claimed that the noble humanitarian causes of justice and freedom overrode any desire for possession. By the time the war looked like a quick and easy win, and the surprise of taking the Philippines as a possession took hold, the editorials no longer held back their Republican imperial desires. They fully admit supporting the platform of “annexation of Cuba and Hawaii, occupation of Porto Rico and the Philippines, completion and control of the [isthmian] canal, and expanded army and navy”¹⁰⁰ They admit that American history always favored territorial expansion and the events of 1898 only follow experience.¹⁰¹ However, now the reasoning changed. Republicans believed in a greater importance to American

⁹⁷ “The Problem of the Philippines,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 18, 1898, 6.

⁹⁸ “The Question of the Philippines,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 25, 1898, 6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ “New Aspirations aroused by the war,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 11, 1898, 6.

¹⁰¹ “Territorial Expansion,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 17, 1898, 6.

growth. One involving interests in both commerce and humanity. In the editorial, “A noble Imperialism” the author claimed that, “the United States has an outlook for the trade of hundreds of millions of people” and that “the North Pacific ocean will become practically an American lake... and the riches that result will belong to America.”¹⁰² However, the new imperialism differed from the horrible, abusive system practiced by Europe. American gains would develop from “the peaceable and beneficent imperialism of commerce and traffic... and the grasp of the interests of humanity”¹⁰³

¹⁰² “A Noble Imperialism,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, July 14, 1898, 6.

¹⁰³ *ibid*

Part Three: Connections to Teaching

There are many methods of teaching the Spanish-American War Era and the concepts of original research. Robert Marzano, one of the foremost practitioners of educational research, provides many examples of instructional strategies that can apply to this topic. The research of Rochester, New York's editorial board from the *Democrat and Chronicle* in 1898 raised many questions about what we learned in school. These Questions concern how we teach, what we learn, and how we learn. What we normally teach and learn about the Spanish-American War Era conflicts with what we discover in our original research. Textbooks from the Philippines and textbooks from American History both support this difference. Finally, the increase of technology in people's everyday lives will soon change how we study the past. The old way of covering up or leaving out pieces of the past and relying on only teachers and textbooks will become challenged by today's modern world.

In 2001, Robert Marzano et al. published Classroom Instruction that Works,¹⁰⁴ a book collecting all their research on the most effective ways to instruct students for maximum achievement. When compiled, Marzano developed nine categories of instructional strategy. These strategies can prove extremely effective when teaching about the Spanish-American War era in U.S. history. The 9 strategies include: Identifying similarities and differences, Summarizing and note taking, Homework and practice, Non-Linguistic Representations, Cooperative learning, setting objectives and providing feedback, reinforcing effort and providing feedback, Generating and testing hypothesis, and cues and questions. Along with these nine, Marzano also adds instruction on the types of knowledge involving vocabulary and details. These many strategies fit into the educational concept of instruction that will push students to understand more about this era of history and how it affects their culture today.

The concept of identifying similarities and differences¹⁰⁵ ranks highest on Marzano's list of effective instructional strategies. He states that current perceptions of how we learn stem from core beliefs that new information becomes processed and then connected to previous knowledge. Marzano lists many strategies that succeed based on his research. The best of these strategies apply to the content of the Spanish-American War era through two methods of comparing the past to the present, and comparing multiple viewpoints. Marzano also points out the amount of guidance a teacher should give during discussions based on the level of depth to the questions.

¹⁰⁴ Marzano, Robert J., Debra Pickering, and Jane E. Pollock. *Classroom instruction that works: research-based strategies for increasing student achievement*. Alexandria, Va.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2001.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 13-28.

One of the most important skills taught in social studies classrooms entails comparing the past to the present. The importance of comparing the 1898 era to the present rests in the fact that much of our modern culture and national direction began in that era. One example from the social studies curriculum involves comparing Cuba and the Philippines to Iraq and Afghanistan (or any other current military issue). Both wars have their share of similar war aims and questionable brutality. Both have atrocities like torture and slaughter that many tried to hide from people's awareness. Students could also compare the introduction of yellow journalism by comparing our modern opinionated news networks or websites. A third example of comparison from 1898 to now would look into the role of changing technology. Students could possibly relate living in a time period of mechanical growth in the past to a present period of digital communications growth.

Another important skill from social studies class concerns comparing multiple viewpoints of the same event or narrative. Students need to understand the wider world they take part in and the cultural history that brought them to the present. The way they interact with the world will contrast or mirror the way their parents and grandparents handled issues. The advantage of students obtaining knowledge about how other cultures and nations think of their history can supply a rounded understanding of how societies function and interact. Later, this paper will examine examples of other viewpoints from American textbooks since 1898 and Filipino textbooks.

One final point that Marzano makes about identifying similarities and differences relates to the amount of involvement of the teacher when leading

discussions about comparison. He points out that teachers should present straight knowledge and let the students drive the comparison and discussion. Teachers should only get involved when the clarity of the connection needs more definition. In the case of the 1898 era examples of then and now, students should do well when comparing the wars of the past to the wars of the present, or when finding examples of yellow journalism. These topics find their way into life through the media and people's conversation practically every day. However, the deeper discussion about living with technology then and now may require more involvement from the teacher whose advanced wisdom should provide more clarity.

Marzano's second instructional strategy involves summarizing and note taking¹⁰⁶. In the case of viewing newspaper editorials for original research students depend on summarization and note taking. Marzano claims that in order to summarize, students need to undertake a process of deleting information, substituting information and keeping information. In order to accomplish this, students must have a fairly deep understanding of the context that editorials come from. Editorials from the past contain many words or phrases written only to agitate or make people think. Students should obtain enough historical context to separate "jingoism" or patriotic demagoguery from definite policy and real actions. The editorials from the Democrat and Chronicle provide many examples of charged up opinions presented as fact.

Marzano explains other important strategies from summarizing that include awareness of the structure of the document, locating or creating topic sentences, and using summary frames. Students who study editorials need to know the structure that

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 29-48.

these pieces take. They should know that editorials contain one central point followed by examples that prove or disprove it. This will lead to another of Marzano's points, identifying or creating a topic sentence. Topic sentences provide the key to summarization, especially if the student must create it. Like knowing the structure of an editorial, students also benefit from summary frames, or a list of guide questions. A summary frame provided by the teacher for an editorial would need questions of an argument or conversational nature. Teachers would ask to identify the argument and what evidence the writer s use to prove it. A conversational summary frame would inquire about both sides of the issue and what questions they present.

Along with summarization, Marzano also points out the importance of note taking. He stresses that students should take notes often and that these notes should evolve as time goes on and more information presents itself. As the social studies unit progresses the notes take on a work in progress and more connections appear. Their importance fits in with the practice of researching editorials as each one requires a summary and possible connection to all the others. One event written down may directly lead to another written down days later.

Marzano's third strategy describes the importance of homework and practice¹⁰⁷. He found that these two work better for high school students more than elementary students. He stresses that homework must follow a familiar pattern that the students already understand, and that the teacher must comment as soon as possible for the knowledge to process. Homework along the lines of the 1898 Era could involve students summarizing two articles from any source that exemplifies

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. P. 60-71.

modern “yellow journalism.” The class discussion about the articles could supply comments from both teacher and peers immediately.

Along with homework, Marzano emphasizes the necessity of practice for greater student achievement. He claims that the more practice the better. Practice fits the historical study of editorials perfectly due to editorials short length. A student at practice finding topic sentences can benefit from several independent little articles. After many editorials, a student will develop the skills to find greater themes in larger works. Marzano also recommends the practice of individual parts of the research process. An assignment could entail finding 20 different articles about one event during the Spanish-American War or someone involved in it. Students do not need to read the articles, they only need to practice using search engines and evaluating titles or abstracts.

The strategy of non linguistic representation¹⁰⁸ benefits many students according to the work of Marzano. This strategy uses techniques of a visual nature as opposed to written or spoken accounts. Marzano recommends that all non-linguistic tools should add to a student’s knowledge. Two examples of non-linguistic representation from the study of the Spanish-American War include the image of the monument for the U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor, and the use of coding when grouping summarizations. The Maine Memorial in Havana will give students a lasting image connected with the concept of how other cultures viewed that historical event. The original monument from the 1920s had a giant American eagle on top and the busts of President McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt. The inscription dedicated the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. P. 72-83.

monument to those Americans who gave their lives “for Cuba” (something that can cause class debate). Another image of the monument since the Castro regime shows that the eagle and presidents no longer exist. The inscription now dedicates the memorial to Americans who “were sacrificed by the imperialist voracity and their desire to gain control of the island of Cuba.”¹⁰⁹ The regime of Fidel Castro promotes the belief that America blew up the Maine to enter the imperialist war with Spain.

Another method of non-linguistic representation involves the method I used to color code my research. I used different color highlighters to code my research under the criteria of economic expansion, military expansion, the promotion of American principles, and European involvement in the Pacific. When I wrote all of the editorial summaries on a sheet of paper and color coded them, themes developed when viewed all together. For example, the color blue represented economic expansion and dominates the group of editorials the week following the Battle of Manila Bay. When students follow the same strategy they can notice a trend and then re-examine the editorials of a certain point. The same coding strategy can apply to many other types of research too.

Marzano’s fifth instructional strategy promotes cooperative learning¹¹⁰ as students work together on the same projects in groups. Marzano’s research recommends small, well structured groups of 3-4 students because too many can distract and actually cause less achievement. This strategy could assign students to research large amounts of data and share their findings with each other. In the example of my research, students could each pick from a criteria of economic,

¹⁰⁹ Monument to the Victims of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor

¹¹⁰ Marzano, 2001. P. 84-91.

military, or American principles. Each student focuses directly on this criterion and later shares their info with the group as they receive new information from the others. Marzano also promotes the structure of diverse groups to advance the learning of all those involved on a social level.

The sixth and seventh instructional strategies of Marzano relate to setting objectives and providing feedback¹¹¹, and the strategy of reinforcing effort and providing recognition¹¹². To Marzano, setting objectives involves providing goals to narrow student's focus. The teacher should not include too many specifics so that students can personalize their work. Examples of this strategy entail giving students a list of people from the 1898 Era, but allowing them to choose the person and topic. The same applies to lists of websites and supplemental books on the subject. Instead of the titling the assignment about the Spanish-American War, teachers can use the term Spanish-American War Era to allow students to study events other than war and conquest. The goal of the assignment should find repetition throughout the unit.

Feedback, Reinforcing effort, and providing recognition also play an important role in the instructional strategies of Marzano. He tells that feedback based on a corrective nature produces the best results. Students should know what they did correctly and what they did incorrectly. A teacher could point out how a student uses an internet search engine correctly, with hints about how to refine their searches to obtain better information. Another strategy he promotes involves asking students to provide their own feedback. A teacher could ask students how their summarization project looks and get a response about what works and what does not. Reinforcing

¹¹¹ Ibid. P. 92-102.

¹¹² Ibid. P. 49-59.

effort and providing recognition help students not only achieve the goal of learning new knowledge but adds support for growing skills. Marzano places the desire on helping students appreciate the act of effort to create results, even if efforts fail. This strategy stems from the desire to promote good feelings as opposed to storing information.

Marzano's eighth strategy involves generating and testing hypothesis.¹¹³ This process requires that students have prior knowledge and a deeper understanding of the context of what they study. He presents two types of thinking: inductive and deductive. Inductive thinking needs the student to learn all the factors before a hypothesis can form. Deductive thinking would already know the major factor and form the hypothesis with this head start. An example of inductive thinking from the Spanish-American War Era unit would include students reading three articles and inducing a hypothesis based on similarities discovered between them. Deductive thinking would involve the same assignment but the teacher provides the criteria of looking for specific examples of American interests in China and the Pacific Ocean. While students generate and test hypothesis their teacher should have them explain their whole process in order to better understand how they arrived to their conclusions.

Marzano's ninth and final instructional strategy involves teacher queuing and questioning.¹¹⁴ Queuing involves bringing up background knowledge during class discussions. The teacher can ask what their students know about America during the late 1800s. Example answers should include prior territorial expansion, Indian Wars,

¹¹³ Ibid. P. 103-110.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. P.111-120.

and military growth. Marzano also emphasizes the use of deeper questioning to better prepare students for the greater assignment. Instead of asking for examples of *how* the U.S. looked down on the Cubans and Filipinos, a teacher could ask *why* Americans did so. In many cases the teacher can move the answers along to areas they desire their students to learn.

Marzano concludes his book with additional types of knowledge that can apply to his 9 strategies. Of these, vocabulary and details¹¹⁵ fit the social studies curriculum perfectly. Educational researchers constantly prove the necessity of vocabulary as the building blocks that all of our knowledge grows on. Vocabulary in the context of 1898 can take on its own meaning. One example entails that during this time the debate over the free coinage of silver led to the use of the word “silver” as a degrading term for a democrat. It appears in many editorials, but without the vocabulary lesson of the different definitions it would make little sense to a scholar over one hundred years later. Another example includes today’s students reading a description of the 1890s as “the gay nineties” without a redefinition of slang terms. Sayings from the past take on new meanings in the present.

Along with vocabulary, the use of details also provides an important type of knowledge that can assist in the social studies. Details include such important information like facts, order or timelines, and the environment of the event under study. Marzano points out that teachers should provide the details and vocabulary right before assigning the reading that includes them. Assignments should involve students experiencing words and details in context frequently for them to sink in. An

¹¹⁵ Ibid. P. 123-145.

assignment may require students to circle the word “jingo” and define it based on context and details from a reading. Or students could organize events in order to find out causation of the events they need to know and relate it up to their own time.

Marzano presents many excellent instructional strategies that can apply directly to the subject of the American Imperialism Era. Most of these strategies fit nicely in the context of examining articles or editorials, summarizing them, and presenting them as finished products. Other strategies advise teachers on how to maximize learning about questions our own research raises. Using these strategies will achieve greater understanding among students who engage in them and provide easier instruction for teachers to follow.

There are many other ways to teach about the Spanish-American War Era that directly relate to the questions about American intentions raised by the research of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*. Students will want clearer examples of how imperialism did not just fall into America’s lap. The research shows that patriotism and support for the oppressed dwindled when faced with the prospect to expanded the empire into the markets of China. Before the Philippines even entered the American Sphere the editorial board made plans for it. The war still raged when the concept of “noble imperialism” developed. Many students will look to find out how that plan worked out and discover some dark events that history suppressed for many years. This suppression creates an interest in finding the truth that engages students in the past and research of it.

One way to teach the multiple viewpoints of the Spanish-American war depends on the use of textbooks. Not as a source of basic facts, but as primary sources of what certain societies and times found necessary information to teach their children. Practically every school has textbooks they rely on to guide the curriculum they teach. These books have followed a pattern since the days of the Spanish-American war with slight deviation as time moves on. Historian and author James Loewen questioned how correct textbooks report American history. He found that many American textbooks either miss out on most of the events or just report the wrong information. Today, years after Loewen's publications, textbooks present an easy target for criticism. However, they still provide an excellent learning resource. Loewen argues that students should find information that challenges what comes from their textbook. Students could also learn from the use of two textbooks in order to compare how and why certain authors would change their story or viewpoint.¹¹⁶ These strategies apply to both American and Foreign textbooks.

In the 2006 book, History in the Making, Kyle Ward examined subjects from American History through the historiography of American textbooks. He shows the evolution of how a subject changed into its modern interpretation. The book dedicates a chapter to the historical interpretation of The Philippine-American war from textbooks published in America from as early as 1903 up to 1996. When studying this book, students will see how the story expands and changes as time passes and other current events affect the interpretation.

¹¹⁶ Loewen, James W. *Lies my teacher told me: everything your American history textbook got wrong*. New York: New Press: 1995. 359-360.

Ward's earlier textbooks from 1903 to 1927 all pointed out a decided military victory for the Americans against Spain and descriptions of the help that America provided to better civilize the Filipinos. The 1903 textbook, printed during the ongoing insurgence in the Philippines, pointed out a quick victory for America with most Filipino insurgents surrendering. A strange interpretation considering the fact that the insurgency still existed. The textbook also claimed that the U.S. commissioned the creation of schools and local governments that even allowed Filipinos "a large share of self-government"¹¹⁷ The United States allowed Filipinos to vote for their lower house of congress. The 1916 textbook printed less information about the war and only repeated the same story that the war ended quickly and the U.S. established local government. By 1927, American textbooks still kept to the same facts but added more to the idea of creating a better society. By then, America took pride in bringing roads, railroads, better farming techniques, healthful lifestyle, and schools to the Philippines.

In 1937 J. E. Perpiñan observed over 200 American textbooks to see how they presented information on the Philippines and how this information developed attitudes about America in students. Perpiñan favored and supported the continuation of teaching the humanitarian purpose for acquiring the Philippines over the economic gain for America. His research does hint at the brutal violence committed by the Americans, but he claimed that blame should fall on the Filipinos and that the Americans "Just learned what the Filipinos taught them."¹¹⁸ According to Perpiñan

¹¹⁷ Ward, Kyle Roy. *History in the making: an absorbing look at how American history has changed in the telling over the last 200 years*. New York: New Press, 2006. P.247.

¹¹⁸ Perpiñan, J. E. "The Philippine Islands in American School Textbooks." *The Journal of Experimental Education* 2, no. 4 (1934): p.373.

the savagery of the war stemmed from the savage nature of the uncivilized Filipinos themselves. He agreed with textbooks that claimed that “For the next two years the struggle was waged by the Filipinos with great cruelty, treachery, and ferocity, and our troops soon learned to retaliate in kind.”¹¹⁹ Like the premise of Imperialism, the act of genocide also fell in American’s laps. Many can argue against this concept based on the brutality of America’s former Indian Wars.

American textbook passages from the 1950s and 60s echo the ideals of the post World War II and Cold War years. After the fighting in the Pacific Theater of WWII, textbooks began covering the guerilla warfare that cost several lives on both sides. In reflection of the Cold War ideology of American greatness in world affairs, the textbooks again pointed out that America civilized the Philippines. By 1950, one textbook even went so far as to point out that “the Filipinos were better off than they had ever been before.”¹²⁰ In 1961, textbooks started to accept that the Filipinos probably did not want America’s help. One claims that Filipinos would rather run their own country, even if it failed. It says that the Filipinos “admitted a government of their own probably would not be as efficient as American rule, but they preferred an inefficient government of their own to foreign control.”¹²¹ By 1961, American textbooks admitted that the United States imposed their way in the Philippines, but at the same time agreed about the superior ways of American society

¹¹⁹ Perpiñan, J. E. "The Philippine Islands in American School Textbooks." *The Journal of Experimental Education* 2, no. 4 (1934): p. 373.

¹²⁰ Ward, Kyle Roy. *History in the making: an absorbing look at how American history has changed in the telling over the last 200 years*. New York: New Press, 2006. P.250.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* P.251.

In the 1996 textbook passage the Philippine war receives a little space among all of the other history. It still repeated many similar themes with a little more information about the violence. In this passage the authors acknowledge that the war had a disturbingly violent side and that both combatants fought brutally. Readers learn about the anti-imperialists that grew after publication of the atrocities. But the second half of the passage reverts to the same story of how America helped develop the country and prepare it for self-government and a role in the modern world.

James Loewen proposed the idea of teachers using two textbooks in order for students to evaluate the information that they include or not include. This falls under the teaching strategies concerning identifying similarities and differences presented by Robert Marzano. In just the historiography of American textbooks students can learn about how societies write their history by evaluating what facts or myths seemed most important at certain times. In the case of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War, students can learn that American textbooks slowly evolved to add more to the story the further away from the experience we get. Later generations can criticize the past easier than anyone could while living it. More sides of the story develop as time passes. Comparing American textbooks provides an excellent learning experience, yet students could also learn from foreign textbooks too.

Students could benefit from learning what Filipino textbooks say about American imperialism during the Spanish-American War, and especially the Philippine-American War. They will find that the subject has many contradictions when observed from the Filipino viewpoint. In the book History Lessons (2004),

Dana Lindaman and Kyle Ward examined how American history appeared in foreign textbooks. Their section on the textbooks of the Philippines sheds light on a different perspective. They find that these textbooks printed in the Philippines during the 1990s focused on American betrayal, brutality, and imperialism.

Filipino textbook coverage began with a summary of the betrayal of the Filipino's desire for independence by the United States. The Filipinos believed that America would grant them their independence like they did for Cuba, but were denied their liberty. They also claimed that the Maine exploded due to a bomb planted by American spies, and that the battle of Manila was a scam organized between Spain and America to disallow the Filipinos any role in their own future. The text concluded that Filipino's who desired America to "champion their freedom, instead were betrayed and reluctantly fell into the hands of American imperialists."¹²²

When regarding the Philippine-American War, The Filipino textbooks differed from American textbooks and claimed that the Filipino resistance for liberty, and the shooting war lasted longer than Teddy Roosevelt had determined in 1902. One textbook says "they lost the war but continued the good fight with their wits and their hearts set on liberty"¹²³ The period of war against America at the turn of the century began feelings of anti-American imperialism that showed up in textbooks during the 1990s. When students discover this information they will develop more questions about how America projects itself to the rest of the world and how these projections are received.

¹²² Lindaman, Dana, and Kyle Roy Ward. *History lessons: how textbooks from around the world portray U.S. history*. New York: New Press, 2004. P.114.

¹²³ *Ibid.* P.126.

Like during the coverage of the Spanish-American War, Filipino textbooks cover the Philippine-American War as an act of “American Treachery.” To the Filipinos this betrayal occurred when Americans would not allow Filipino soldiers to enter and celebrate the capture of Manila. Soon the revolutionaries found themselves removed from negotiations and the building of their own government. This textbook also tells that the Americans started the war by firing an unprovoked shot, and that despite starting the fighting American’s call it the Filipino Insurrection.¹²⁴

Even the passages presented by Lindaman and Ward about Filipino victories tell the events through the narrative of American weakness and defeat. Four paragraphs in a row begin with “The war was not a record of continuous American victories...”, “American prestige suffered a serious blow...”, “In the year 1900, the Americans suffered several defeats at the hands of the Filipino Guerrillas.”, and “The worst military disaster of the U.S. Military forces was...”¹²⁵ The focus on American defeat rather than Filipino victory shows that Filipinos view America as an world bullying super power. Even though the textbook admits unanimous military victory to the Americans, it continually points out Filipino resilience.

Another Filipino textbook pointed out the “desperation” and “extreme barbarism” of the U.S. after a Filipino victory on the Island of Samar. After the battle that the previous textbook labeled as the “worst [American] military disaster”¹²⁶ Teddy Roosevelt gave the order to pacify Samar. The American General “Jake” Smith ordered his men to take no prisoners and kill any boy aged 10 years or older.

¹²⁴ Ibid. P. 123-124.

¹²⁵ Ibid. P.124.

¹²⁶ Ibid. P.124.

Villages were burned and those who lived there were killed or removed into camps. Filipino textbooks both mention the carnage that evolved from this war. This passage concludes that the brutality of Americans “touched the conscience of the American people”¹²⁷ and General Smith retired through court martial.

The Filipino textbooks allow American students to see how their country’s history has a different meaning in other nations. None of the Filipino textbooks presented ever mentioned the cultural advances that America taught them, a significant theme in all of American textbooks. They present wholly opposite views on the explosion of the Maine and who started the Philippine-American War. Americans also learn in school about Theodore Roosevelt’s love of all things military yet the absence of a war during his presidency. The Filipinos teach that he ordered the pacification of Samar and see him as definitely fighting a war. When reading other textbooks, students will discover that other wars fall into the “forgotten” camp, and may begin to search for more lost events of the past.

Today, textbooks remain controversial on many levels. Although in many cases they leave out interesting and shameful information, most schools still use them. One reason for this dependence involves the American reliance on standardized testing. As long as teachers need to focus on the result of a test, textbooks will remain crucial to the classroom and curriculum. They explain the broad timeline of basic history and cover most of the important names. They are the fundamental skeleton for any curriculum. This format of teaching history has existed for at least three generations, causing newer viewpoints to create large social and political divides.

¹²⁷ Ibid. P.126.

This leads to textbooks that include only inoffensive and highly patriotic passages about people, places, and events.

For teachers, the missing or sometimes correct information not found in textbooks turns into supplemental information or even knowledge we should unfortunately avoid in some cases. If a teacher wants a student to know that the U.S. helped advance society in the Philippines for a test, then information about concentration camps and genocide directly contradict that. The teacher sacrifices sharing true information to achieve better scores or produce better patriots. Unfortunately for that student the rest of the world doesn't see American History in such humane and glorious ways. For the future to provide a global understanding of one another teachers should just teach what happened and the acceptance of other views will reinforce the information needed.

When students see the whole picture of what happened before and after the Philippine-American War they will become engaged to learn their history. James Loewen supports this theory in all he provides to the educational community. In Teaching What Really Happened, he provides the guidelines that students should study history to learn about causation, historiography, the role of power, and living with less ethnocentrism. Causation supplies the reasoning for how our society arrived to its current position. Historiography will let students understand how current events can cause historical interpretation to change over time. Studying historiography will also lead to questions about how student's own era can affect the study of history. As far as the role of power plays in knowing our history, Loewen claims "students who do *not* know their own history or how to think critically about historical assertions

will be ignorant and helpless before someone who does claim to know it”¹²⁸ Instead of presenting history as actions of heroes to model, he suggests presenting heroic action. Students should learn how certain events can make non-heroic people act courageously. As far as learning every angle and every dark secret, Loewen suggests “students need to do accurate history, coupled with historiography, to sort out which ways their role models are worth following.”¹²⁹ Other perspectives on our history help eliminate ethnocentrism by bringing attention to others. Loewen wants to remove ethnocentrism because it causes “American exceptionalism” to dominate textbooks and school teachings. As time moves into the 21st century, Loewen may see more of his ideas come to flourish as we look into modern ways of “how” we learn.

Today, in the beginnings of the 21st century, technology has advanced to a point where significant changes to society and even adolescence appear. This will alter the course of education from the path it followed for many generations. Computer and Smartphone technology now allows infinite more information to enter classrooms than has ever entered it before. Students can easily locate or discover the errors and deletions from textbooks. The internet will soon supply more web pages, videos, and photos about 1898 than any bookshelf in America. But teachers not only have to worry about what information their students read, they need to also realize the greater sociological change at hand

¹²⁸ Loewen, James W. *Teaching what really happened: how to avoid the tyranny of textbooks and get students excited about doing history*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 2010. P.12.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* P.13.

Growing concepts of self esteem, personal worth, and interactions between parents, teachers, and friends develop during adolescence. Although these changes and stages happen to everyone during this time, some factors differ with newer generations. Adolescents in the early 21st century must also face a new challenge concerning the transition to use of technology. Marc Prensky proposed the idea of “Digital Natives” and “Digital immigrants” to explain the generation gap concerning the awareness of technology. His position states that children born after 1980 live in a world of “digital awareness” where technology exists everywhere and provides information and social exchange. This contradicts the world of adults that view technology as just another tool to make life easier. Adolescents see technology as extensions of themselves. Its here, and not going anywhere.¹³⁰

This new concept of adolescent unity with technology can provide great insight into how teachers can better reach their students. The new advances in technology now provide more educational options outside of school concerning hobbies and interests. Some students may excel at organizing a playlist on a portable music device but have no concept of organizing a timeline. According to Prensky, modern students develop trouble engaging with the limited resources in a classroom. The outside world that accepts their technology and fast pace provides more entertainment and education. Prensky claims that students in the 1960’s “didn’t

¹³⁰ Hundley, H. L., & Shyles, L. (2010). US teenagers’ perceptions and awareness of digital Technology: A focus group approach. *New Media & Society*, 12(3), 417-433.

Prensky, M. (2001). Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1. *On the Horizon*, 9 (5), 1 – 6.

Prensky, Marc, marcprensky@gmail.com. "Our Brains Extended." *Educational Leadership* 70, no. 6 (March 2013): 22-27.

expect to be engaged by everything they did.” Media has since expanded culturally as well as individually. The former students led lives “less rich in creative opportunities for students outside of school. Many if not most of them never even knew what real engagement feels like.” Today, kids can find something they are good at, and that skill probably forms outside of school. Prensky argues that education of modern children must work extra hard to engage them.”¹³¹ Even in 2013, many schools block the internet from classrooms because of its distracting qualities.

Research about how adolescents, teachers, and parents view the role of technology supports the generation gap concept that Prensky discussed. While parents and teachers use the phone as a tool for contact, Adolescents view it as their connection to the world. A world that in some cases may prove easier for them to maneuver in. Smart phones and the social media downloaded onto them represent how adolescents view themselves and communicate with the outside world. Yet, this technology hardly finds a place in education.

There are many examples of research projects involving technology that prove effective in reaching modern students. One such project involves a game called “Statecraft X” where students act as governors of small towns and deal with the many problems of governance. The main focus of the study involved students learning “to be” a mayor rather than learning “about” the position. This is important for Social Studies and active citizenship. This article shows that students who used the game for learning did better on an essay test than a control group that learned in traditional ways. This outcome stems from the reflective nature of trial and error in the game

¹³¹ Prensky, Marc. "Engage Me or Enrage Me." *EDUCAUSE Review* 40, no. 5 (2005): 60.

setting. This reflective nature then transfers over to the medium of written papers. The added use of teacher facilitation with students between the real world and the world of the game also helped in learning. When events arise in the game, the teacher will ask or answer any proper questions, thus rounding out the information necessary to learn. Game play occurred outside of school on portable Apple iPhones loaned to the students. Although very costly at this time, this research explores homework that will use familiar household items as Smartphone technology increases.¹³²

The technology and class time used in the “Statecraft X” research prevents it from use in most schools. But the research does show how students learn more while creating and actively engaging with the content on products that they have an interest in or familiarity with. Using a method as familiar and interesting as a Smartphone app makes homework different and more engaging. Although the events of 1898 have not made it into the realm of a Smartphone app yet, there are other important learning objectives for that time period that could cross over into student’s everyday use of technology.

One social factor involved with Smartphones concerns text messaging. More students use a phone for text messaging than for playing any game. In several social interactions many adolescents would rather text someone than talk face to face. This method allows them to gain control over interaction. Because of this acceptance of technology’s role in daily life teachers can benefit from using text messaging in their

¹³² Yam San Chee1, yamsan.chee@nie.edu.sg, Swati1, swati.mehrotra@nie.edu.sg Mehrotra, and qiang.liu@nie.edu.sg Qiang Liu1. "Effective Citizenship Education through Mobile Game Based Learning: The Statecraft X Curriculum." Proceedings of the European Conference on Games Based Learning (January 2012): 117-124.

class work. Text messaging involves communicating with as few words as possible. This can relate to Marzano's instructional strategy of summarizing which also depends on the skill of reducing the amount of words and information presented. Students could act as historical characters texting about the war, or summarize an old editorial they found. They could receive a text message from Teddy Roosevelt asking if they agree with controlling the Philippines. Old lessons involving the creation of dialogue can be revamped as digital text messaging with the same results. Friends could bring studying into the digital realm by texting each other content questions. Even in a sarcastic adolescent manner, social studies can appear after school and help raise achievement.

Internet websites present another important technology in the lives of students and teachers. Many scholars have professed the greatness of websites in supplementing the education that students receive. These sources help teachers more than textbooks because of the multiple intelligences angle they present.¹³³ Every method of learning can appear or will one day soon appear on a website. Pictures, diaries, videos, music, editorials, critical articles, and government documents represent just the tip of the iceberg of what the internet will one day archive. Unfortunately the curse of technology concerns the fact that it becomes outdated rather quickly. Michelle Walker wrote an article analyzing the many website on the internet in 1998 that reference the Spanish-American War. Although she divides the paper into categories of multiple intelligences, a majority of the websites she reviews do not exist anymore. She leaves us with the grand concept of the educational

¹³³ Walker, Michelle D. "Multiple Intelligences and the World Wide Web: A New Approach to Teaching about the War." *OAH Magazine of History* 12, no. 3 (1998): 44-47.

possibilities that the web can produce, but only a memory of what once was great remains.

Another great example of the educational possibilities presented from web pages entails students comfort with rapid information. One researcher found that students would use a class online folder more often than any book or textbook in the classroom. Just the familiarity of using a computer makes the research interesting. She claims that “Teachers found that students were more likely to read or skim the articles, pulling out relevant facts and then clicking on links within the articles.”¹³⁴ Some technologies actually help students learn when they previously would have never had much of a chance in schools from the past. Marc Prensky stated that “Technology makes those things accessible to students who might have been left behind before. Blogs give shy students a voice in a class discussion or allow a student who is not even physically in the classroom to participate.”¹³⁵ Although student use of technology provides teachers with new angles toward teaching, many argue that the basic pedagogy must stay the same. Students still need many basic educational tools that people learned for hundreds of years.

My research for this paper involved both the use of the internet and physical research in the library. The use of a computer for academic research now represents the educational standard. A modern search for digital copies of newspapers will produce many results. The digital copies on the Library of Congress website amazed me with their clarity and method of searching. The search engine will locate key

¹³⁴ Nelson, Loui Lord, Elizabeth J. Arthur, William R. Jensen, and George Van Horn. "Trading Textbooks for Technology: New Opportunities for Learning." *The Phi Delta Kappan* 92, no. 7 (2011): p.49.

¹³⁵ Prensky, Marc. "Is the Digital Native a Myth? No." *Learning & Leading with Technology* 39, no. 3 (November 2011): 6-7.

words and find any registered pages with those words. However, all of my research on the editorials of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* took place in the Rundel Library in Rochester, NY. No online copy of these papers exists yet. Despite the lack of computer search for key words, my research provided a better opportunity to enter the world of 1898. A computer search only finds the location of the words searched for. The old way provides the experience of taking in the entire context surrounding the subject. For every editorial page I looked at, I also caught the headlines, fashion advice, and other elements of society in 1898. In this case the focused digital search leaves out much of the supplemental information that James Loewen and Robert Marzano value to educational achievement

As teachers, we need to focus on still teaching the foundations of research. Modern students will soon think that technology will take care of everything and will never develop the basics of conducting research. When educational researcher Jill Jenson wondered why tech savvy students still produced horrible research she concluded that “Students have trouble producing good research because they have not been given the foundation necessary for doing so in a world where research of the available literature, traditionally conducted hands-on in an actual library, is now conducted almost exclusively by looking at a computer monitor.”¹³⁶ Many students cannot tell where information comes from or if the source itself presents valid information. Students need to learn the research skills that academics “now rely on to guide [their] own electronically based searches.”¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Jenson, Jill D. "It's the Information Age, so Where's the Information? Why Our Students Can't Find It and What We Can Do to Help." *College Teaching* 52, no. 3 (2004): 108.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 108.

As we examine the historiography of the Spanish-American War we view how our society perceives itself and its role in the world. The focus on American principles should not hide the truth. We can understand that Americans in 1898 meant well to the people and culture of the Philippines, but handled the situation very poorly as global neighbors. Schools obviously do not want students to graduate hating America for past crimes. Yet, they deserve to know the whole story so they can develop into well educated and enlightened global citizens. With the advent of greater technology, the other side of the story now buzzes in a student's pocket.

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