

Source Information	Imperialist or Anti-Imperialist	What argument(s) did this person make in favor or against imperialism?	Provide a strong quote from the document related to this argument.
Document A			
Document B			
Document C			
Document D			

Source Information	Imperialist or Anti-Imperialist	What argument(s) did this person make in favor or against imperialism?	Provide a strong quote from the document related to this argument.
Document E			
Document F			
Document G			
Document H			

Document A

Mayo W. Hazeltine

The New York Sun

“What Shall Be Done about the Philippines?”

1897



There is now reason to believe that a large majority of our citizens are thoroughly convinced, first, that, by our victory at Cavite [**a city in the Philippines**], and the subsequent [**later**] capture of Manila [**city in the Philippines**], we assumed a moral obligation [**duty**] toward the natives of Luzon [**major island in the Philippines**]; secondly, that the obligation can be best discharged [**carried out**] by the occupation of all the Philippines, and, thirdly, that no grievous [**harmful**] financial burden will be imposed upon our people by the discharge [**carrying out**] of that obligation, seeing that the natural resources of the Philippines are incalculably [**unimaginably**] great, and that our occupation of them will give us a potential voice in the future regulation of China's trade, wherein we are profoundly [**greatly**] interested. From the viewpoint of these prevalent convictions [**important beliefs**], let us glance at the several ways in which it has been suggested by the various advisers of the President that the Philippine problem shall be solved. Shall we restore the whole of the Philippines to Spain, retaining only for ourselves a station for coaling and repair, as, for example, the city and harbor of Manila? This we cannot do without forfeiting our self-respect and the respect of the world, for the natives of Luzon, the most populous and civilized island in the group, have notoriously suffered more at the hands of Spain than have the Cubans, and we are ourselves responsible for the latest uprising on their part.

....Nor is it only by their natural resources, capable, as they are, of almost limitless development, nor by the capacious [**large**] market for our manufacturers which they would, eventually, offer, that the Philippines would be of immense utility [**use**] to the United States. Such is their strategic relation to China that our possession of them would give us an influence at Peking second only to that of Russia and Great Britain, an influence that we could use to thwart [**defeat**] such of the European power as contemplate a thorough-going partition [**division**] of the Middle Kingdom [**China**], and to co-operate effectively with those that are resolved [**determined**] to uphold what is left of China's territorial integrity and to keep at all events an open door to that most populous and resourceful section of the Celestial Empire [**China**].... It is, in a word, freedom of access for American manufacturers to the best part of China which would be powerfully furthered by our retention of the Philippines.

Document B

Jane Addams

“Democracy or Militarism”

Liberty Tracts: Central Anti-Imperialist League of Chicago

1899



There is a growing conviction [**belief**] among workingmen of all countries that, whatever may be accomplished by a war, however high the supposed moral aim of such a war, there is one inevitable result – an increased standing army, the soldiers of which are non-producers and must be fed by the workers. The Russian peasants support an army 1,000,000, the German peasants sow [**plant**] and reap [**harvest**] for 500,000 more. The men in these armies spend their muscular force drilling, their mental force in thoughts of warfare. The mere hours of idleness conduce mental and moral deterioration [**decline**].

The appeal to the fighting instinct does not end in mere warfare, but arouses [**creates**] these brutal instincts latent [**hidden**] in every human being. The countries with the large standing armies are likewise the countries with national hospitals for the treatment of diseases which should never exist, of large asylums for the care of children which should never have been born. These institutions, as well as the barracks [**camps for soldiers**], again increase the taxation, which rests, in the last analysis, upon producers, and, at the same time, withdraws so much of their product from the beneficent [**generous**] development of their national life. No one urges peaceful association with more fervor than the workingman. Organization is his only hope, but it must be kept distinct [separate] from militarism [**aggression**], which can never be made a democratic instrument.

Psychologists intimate [**suggest**] that action is determined by the selection of the subject upon which the attention is habitually [usually] fixed. The newspapers, the theatrical posts, the street conversations for weeks had to do with war and bloodshed. The little children on the street played at war, day after day, killing Spaniards. The humane instinct, which keeps in abeyance [suspension] the tendency to cruelty, the growing belief that the life of each human being – however hopeless or degraded, is still sacred – gives way, and the barbaric instinct asserts itself.

It is doubtless only during a time of war that the men and women of Chicago could tolerate whipping for children in our city prison, and it is only during such a time that the introduction in the legislature of a bill for the re-establishment of the whipping post could be possible. National events determine our ideas, as much as our ideals determine national events.

Document C

William Jennings Bryan
1900



A war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous **[immoral]**. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty.

It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce **[trade]** has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. We do not own Japan or China, but we trade with their people. We have not absorbed the republics of Central and South America, but we trade with them. It has not been necessary to have any political connection with Canada or the nations of Europe in order to trade with them. Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary.

When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining **[keeping]** it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended but for the fact that the expense is borne **[assumed]** by all the people, while the profits are enjoyed by a few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the army contractors; it would be profitable to the ship owners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries would be fixed here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations it would bring expenditure **[cost]** without return and risk without reward.

In addition the evils which he and the farmer share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if oriental **[Asian]** subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital **[wealth]** leaves our shores to employ oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own Government....

Document D

Reverend Josiah Strong

Our Country

1885



[T]he two great needs of mankind, that all men may be lifted into the light of the highest Christian civilization, are, first, a pure, spiritual Christianity, and, second, civil liberty. Without, controversy, these are the forces which, in the past, have contributed most to the elevation of the human race, and they must continue to be, in the future, the most efficient ministers to its progress. It follows, then, that the Anglo-Saxon [**white people**], as the great representative of these two ideas, the depository [**contributors**] of these two great blessings, sustains peculiar [**strange**] relations to the world's future, is divinely commissioned [**a religious duty**] to be, in a peculiar sense, his brother's keeper....

It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the history of the world's future. Heretofore there has always been in the history of the world a comparatively unoccupied land westward, into which the crowded countries of the east have poured their surplus populations. But the widening waves of migration, which millenniums ago rolled east and west from the valley of the Euphrates, meet today on our Pacific coast. There are no more new worlds. The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken. The time is coming when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence [**survival**] will be felt here as it is now felt in Europe and Asia. Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history- the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled. Long before the thousand millions are here, the mighty centrifugal tendency [movement], inherent in this stock and strengthened in the United States, will assert itself. Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it... will spread itself over the earth. If it read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition will be "survival of the fittest"?

Document E

William McKinley

War Message to Congress

April 11, 1898



...[I]t becomes my duty to now address your body with regard to the grave crisis that has arisen in the relations of the United States to Spain by reason of the warfare that for more than three years has raged in the neighboring island of Cuba....

The forcible intervention of the United States as a neutral to stop the war, according to the large dictates **[orders]** of humanity and following many historical precedents **[patterns]** where neighboring states have interfered to check the hopeless sacrifices of life by internecine **[costly]** conflicts beyond their borders, is justifiable on rational grounds. It involves, however, hostile constraint **[control]** upon both the parties to the contest, as well to enforce a truce as to guide the eventual settlement....

The grounds for such intervention **[involvement]** may be briefly summarized as follows:

First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities **[cruelties]**, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there **[in Cuba]**, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate **[lessen]**. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate **[stop]** the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people and by the wanton **[cruel]** destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace and entails **[demands]** upon this Government an enormous expense.... [A]ll these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace and compel **[force]** us to keep on semi war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

Document F

Henry Cabot Lodge
Speech to the Senate
March 1895



It is time to recall what we have been tending to forget; that we have always had and that we have now a foreign policy which is of great importance to our national well-being. The foundation of that policy was Washington's doctrine of neutrality.... The corollary **[outcome]** of Washington's policy was the Monroe Doctrine, the work of John Quincy Adams, a much greater man than the President whose name it bears. Washington declared that it was not the business of the United States to meddle in the affairs of Europe, and John Quincy Adams added that Europe must not meddle in the Western hemisphere. ...[I]t is perhaps not out of place to say that the Monroe doctrine has no bearing on the extension of the United States, but simply holds that no European power shall establish itself in the Americas or interfere with American governments.

We desire no extension to the south, for neither the population nor the lands of Central or South America would be desirable additions to the United States. But from the Rio Grande to the Arctic Ocean there should be but one flag and one country. Neither race nor climate forbids [prevents] the extension, and every consideration of national growth and national welfare demands it. In the interest of our commerce [trade] and of our fullest development we should build the Nicaragua canal, and for the protection of that canal and for the sake of our commercial supremacy **[superiority in trade]** in the Pacific we should control the Hawaiian Islands and maintain our influence in Samoa. England has studded **[scattered]** the West Indies with strong places which are a standing menace to our Atlantic seaboard. We should have among those islands at least one strong naval station, and when the Nicaragua canal is built, the island of Cuba, still sparsely settled and of almost unbounded fertility, will become to us a necessity. Commerce follows the flag, and we should build up a navy strong enough to give protection to Americans in every quarter of the globe and sufficiently powerful to put our coasts beyond the possibility of successful attack.

Document G

I.D. Barnett

Open Letter to President McKinley by Colored People of Massachusetts

October 3, 1899

We have suffered, sir,—God knows how much we have suffered!—since your accession [**appointment**] to office, at the hands of a country professing [**claiming**] to be Christian, but which is not Christian, from the hate and violence of a people claiming to be civilized, but who are not civilized, and you have seen our sufferings [**suffering of blacks**], witnessed from your high place our awful wrongs and miseries, and yet you have at no time and on no occasion opened your lips on our behalf. Why? we ask. Is it because we are black and weak and despised? Are you silent because without any fault of our own we were enslaved and held for more than two centuries in cruel bondage by your forefathers? Is it because we bear the marks of those sad generations of Anglo-Saxon [white] brutality and wickedness, that you do not speak? Is it our fault that our involuntary servitude produced in us widespread ignorance poverty and degradation [**ruin**]? Are we to be damned and destroyed by the whites because we have only grown the seeds which they planted? Are we to be damned by bitter laws and destroyed by the mad violence of mobs because we are what white men made us? And is there no help in the federal arm for us, or even one word of audible pity, protest and remonstrance [**proof**] in your own breast, Mr. President, or in that of a single member of your Cabinet? Black indeed we are, sir, but we are also men and American citizens....

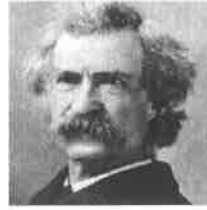
Mr. President, had that "chronic [**continuing**] condition of disturbance in Cuba so injurious [**harmful**] and menacing to our interest and tranquility [**peace**] as well as shocking to our sentiments [**ideas**] of humanity," which you wished to terminate and did terminate, a federal aspect, while that not less "chronic condition of disturbance" in the South, which is a thousand times more "injurious and menacing to our interests and tranquility," as well as far more "shocking to our sentiments of humanity," or ought to be, none whatever? Is it better to be Cuban revolutionists fighting for Cuban independence than American citizens striving to do their simple duty at home? Or is it better only in case those American citizens doing their simple duty at home happen to be negroes residing in the Southern States?

Document H

Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain)

"Comments on the Moro Massacre"

March 12, 1906



A tribe of Moros [**Filipinos**], dark-skinned savages, had fortified themselves in the bowl of an extinct crater not many miles from Jolo [**in the Philippines**]; and as they were hostiles [**opponents**], and bitter against us because we have been trying for eight years to take their liberties away from them, their presence in that position was a menace. Our commander, Gen. Leonard Wood, ordered a reconnaissance [spying]. It was found that the Moros numbered six hundred, counting women and children; that their crater bowl was in the summit of a peak or mountain twenty-two hundred feet above sea level, and very difficult of access for Christian troops and artillery. Then General Wood ordered a surprise, and went along himself to see the order carried out. Our troops climbed the heights by devious and difficult trails, and even took some artillery with them. The kind of artillery is not specified, but in one place it was hoisted [**lifted**] up a sharp acclivity [**slope**] by tackle a distance of some three hundred feet. Arrived at the rim of the crater, the battle began. Our soldiers numbered five hundred and forty. They were assisted by auxiliaries [**volunteers**] consisting of a detachment of native constabulary [**legal officers**] in our pay—their numbers not given—and by a naval detachment, whose numbers are not stated. But apparently the contending parties [**competing groups**] were about equal as to number—six hundred men on our side, on the edge of the bowl; six hundred men, women and children in the bottom of the bowl. Depth of the bowl, 50 feet....

The next day, Sunday,—which was yesterday—the cable brought us additional news—still more splendid news—still more honor for the flag. The first display-head shouts this information at us in the stentorian [**powerful**] capitals: "women slain in moro slaughter."

"Slaughter" is a good word. Certainly there is not a better one in the Unabridged Dictionary for this occasion. The next display line says: "With Children They Mixed in Mob in Crater, and All Died Together."

They were mere naked savages, and yet there is a sort of pathos [**sadness**] about it when that word children falls under your eye, for it always brings before us our perfectest symbol of innocence and helplessness; and by help of its deathless eloquence color, creed and nationality vanish away and we see only that they are children—merely children. And if they are frightened and crying and in trouble, our pity goes out to them by natural impulse. We see a picture. We see the small forms. We see the terrified faces. We see the tears. We see the small hands clinging in supplication to the mother; but we do not see those children that we are speaking about. We see in their places the little creatures whom we know and love.