WAR & DISSENT:
The U.S. in the Philippines, 1898-1915

Officers' Club Exhibition Hall
50 Moraga Avenue
Presidio of San Francisco
Golden Gate National Parks

October 22, 2008 to February 22, 2009

The Presidio Trust

INDEX

ii Introduction

1 President William McKinley

2 Sculptors Robert Ingersoll Aitken and Douglas Tilden

3-4 Cuba's Two Revolutions and the Situation in January 1897

5-6 Race and Political Reaction in the 1890s

7-10 **Sgt. Hiram L. Harlow's Diary** - *excerpts*

11 Racial Categories in the Spanish Colonial Philippines

12 Freemasonry and the Filipino Independence Movement

13-32 Chronology of the Wars in the Philippines

34-36 President Theodore Roosevelt

37-38 Funston's and Aguinaldo's Later Careers

39-48 **The Lopez Letters** – *excerpts*

50-58 Mark Twain's ***To the Person Sitting in Darkness*** - *excerpts*

60-63 Edwin Burritt Smith's ***Republic or Empire*** - *excerpts*

64-66 Dissent in the African-American Press

68 Democratic Party Platform, 1900 - *excerpts*

70-75 Sen. Beveridge's ***In Support of An American Empire*** *excerpts*

76 President McKinley on His Renomination

78-79 Hawaiian Annexation: A Tangled Tale

INTRODUCTION

The Philippine War was a **difficult and contested war** and this exhibition reflects the nature of that struggle. Perhaps its difficulty is why most Americans are completely unfamiliar with it. It is important to acknowledge the **good and valiant service** of most American soldiers, white and black, who served in this confusing guerrilla war without any training in counter-insurgency and who knew very little about the peoples and cultures of the Philippines. Most of them were minimally-trained Volunteers, not seasoned Regular Army troops. The generals who led them were trained with the memory of the all-out, conventional and brutal Civil War and the Indian Wars in the West in mind.

This exhibition tells a complex story with undeniably tragic aspects. There were, as always, American soldiers who acted honorably, even as some questioned the wisdom of their leaders. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, for example, the head of the Army, sought to make sure that his officers and men conducted the war in the Philippines in a manner that would not “impair the good name of American arms.” This was no easy task.

Randolph Delehanty, Ph.D.

Historian / The Presidio Trust
exhibition curator and handbook writer and editor

President William McKinley (1843-1901)

A genial man, William McKinley was born in Niles, Ohio in 1843, the son of an iron manufacturer. McKinley graduated from the Poland, Ohio academy and attended Allegheny College in 1860. He joined the Ohio Volunteer Infantry in 1861 and fought bravely in the Civil War. He was mustered out in 1865. He then studied law in Albany, New York and was admitted to the bar in 1867. He returned to Canton, Ohio where he became prosecuting attorney for Stark County.

In 1877 he was elected as a Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives where he served until 1882. After loosing a contested election in 1884, he was again elected to the House and served from 1885 to 1891. He authored the pro-business McKinley Tariff of 1890 that raised rates on imported goods to historic highs and which was partly responsible for the off-year Democratic landslide in 1890. McKinley was elected governor of Ohio in 1891 and was reelected in 1893. He supported taxing corporations, safety legislation for railroad workers and restrictions on anti-union practices.

McKinley was encouraged to run for president by a group of Midwest-ern businessmen centered in Cleveland led by Senator Marcus Alonzo Hanna, a wealthy industrialist and the Republican boss of Ohio. Hanna was one of the earliest modern political campaign managers and raised $3.5 million from business to fund a novel advertising campaign. McKinley conducted a “front porch campaign” whereby politicians, supporters and the press came to Canton. McKinley’s opponent, Democrat William Jennings Bryan, ran on the unlimited coinage of silver (in addition to gold) to inflate the money supply. McKinley ran on “sound money” (gold), high tariffs and the promise of full employment. McKinley managed to appeal to all classes outside the Democratic South including rural, urban and ethnic voters. The 1896 election marked a realignment of American politics and a long era of Republican dominance that lasted until the Great Depression of the 1930s. McKinley won reelection against Bryan in 1900. He was assassinated by an anarchist in 1901 and succeeded by his vice president, Theodore Roosevelt.

Sculptor Robert Ingersoll Aitken (1878 – 1949)

Aitken was born in San Francisco and studied at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, University of California in the former Hopkins mansion atop Nob Hill. One of his teachers there was Douglas Tilden. Aitken was an instructor at the Hopkins Institute from 1901 to 1904. He then continued his studies in Paris. He returned to New York where he was an instructor at the Art Students League. His best known works in San Francisco include the angels with a lyre and a trumpet on the Spreckels band shell in Golden Gate Park and the "Dewey Monument" in Union Square. *Sunset Magazine* described him in 1902 as "an enthusiastic artist, young, emotional, and untiring in his devotion to his calling." In 1915 he sculpted the "Fountain of Earth" for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. He executed several military sculptures at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Aitken's best known work is "Equal Justice Under Law" on the west pediment of the United States Supreme Court in Washington.

Sculptor Douglas Tilden (1860 – 1935)

Tilden was born in Chico, California, the second of five children. At the age of three he contracted scarlet fever and lost his hearing. In 1866 he enrolled at the California School for the Deaf and Blind graduating in 1879. He then studied at the San Francisco School of Design and the University of California, Berkeley. He became a teacher at the School for the Deaf and discovered sculpture at age 23. He was awarded a scholarship to study sculpture in New York and Paris where he studied under Paul Chopin, who was also deaf. His "Baseball Player" was exhibited in the Salon at Paris (now in Golden Gate Park). His "Football Players" won a medal at the Paris Exposition in 1893 (now at the University of California, Berkeley). He returned to San Francisco and was a professor of sculpture at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art from 1894 to 1900. Among Tilden's major works are the "Mechanics' (or Donahue) Monument" of 1894 at Market and Battery, the "Admission Day Monument" of 1897 at Market and Mason and the statue of "Junipero Serra" of 1906 in Golden Gate Park. Divorced by his wife and disappointed in his work he became a recluse. He was found dead in his studio in 1935.

CUBA'S TWO REVOLUTIONS AND THE SITUATION IN JANUARY 1897

Map and History of Cuba:
Including a Clear and Graphic Account of the War of 1895-1897.
Lieut. Ebenezer Hannaford, February, 1897

War of 1868-1878

"The year 1868 inaugurated a determined effort for Cuban independence, under the military leadership of Máximo Gómez, a retired officer and native West Indian. The war dragged its weary length for ten years, its operations being limited to the eastern end of the island. It was finally terminated by the Treaty of El Zanjon, between Gómez and Captain-general Martinez Campos, providing for important concessions in the direction of Cuban autonomy, and the early abolishment of slavery.

The Cuban Junta

The Cuban exiles at Key West and other Florida points, and also New York City, with those in the non-Spanish West Indies, Mexico, Honduras and Venezuela, numbered many thousands, including numerous veterans of the ten years' war; and these lived in perpetual ferment over some project or other for the liberation of Cuba…. The obvious desirability of a union of effort led to the formation of a supreme Revolutionary Junta, with New York City for headquarters, and for its master spirit that indomitable and tireless organizer, José Marti. Before the end of 1894 the Junta had the moral and material support of nearly one hundred and fifty revolutionary clubs, all actively at work in raising a war fund and purchasing arms and ammunition. [A small group of revolutionaries landed in eastern Cuba in February 1895 and began guerrilla operations against the Spanish Army.] The Cubans in the United States, as well as the thousands of other exiles in the lands and islands neighboring Cuba, belong to the Autonomist [or independence party] almost to a man, and so, by racial instinct, does the negro population.

Campaign of 1896: The Torch and Grass-grown Fields
Less blood and more fire gives the second year's campaign in an epigram. The Cuban leaders in December 1895 had announced that their next move would be to stop [sugar and tobacco] production and commerce, and thus deprive the Spanish crown of war revenues and supplies.

The Situation in January 1897
The year 1897 dawned upon a situation which for Spain was intensely strained, financially, and scarcely less so from the military and diplomatic standpoints, with gloom and mourning throughout the patriot ranks for the death of [independence leader Antonio] Maceo, and on the part of the Revolutionary Committee in the United States a painful poverty of funds and war material. Meanwhile, in one of the fairest lands on earth the misery, the suffering, goes on without mitigation.”

RACE AND POLITICAL REACTION IN THE 1890s

The background to the Republican ascendancy under William McKinley and the Spanish-American and Philippine wars in 1898-1915 was the Civil War of 1861-65 and the failed political Reconstruction of the former Confederate states in the 1860s and 1870s. Following the Civil War, with pressure from Unionist Republicans in Congress and with Federal troops in the South, new state constitutions were written in the Southern states. Civil and voting rights were extended to black men (no women had the vote at that time). African-American Republicans were elected to state legislatures and a few governorships in the South. Among the important Reconstruction-era achievements was the creation of public schools in places that had never had them. In 1875 Congress passed a Civil Rights Act that mandated equal access to public transportation, restaurants, hotels and juries, but it was never enforced.

In 1876, in *U.S. v. Reese*, the Supreme Court ruled that the Fifteenth Amendment did not confer voting rights, it merely forbad some specific restrictions. In the election of November 1876, Democrat Samuel J. Tilden won a majority of the popular vote over his Republican opponent Rutherford B. Hayes. But Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina and Oregon all sent in two sets of returns and that threw the election into the House of Representatives. The House appointed a 15-member commission to decide which returns to accept. By a one-vote Republican majority, Hayes was declared president. As part of a “Great Swap” with white Southern Democrats, the Republicans promised to pull all Federal troops out of the South. The last troops left on April 24, 1877.

Louisiana typified what then happened in the “redeemed” South. Using both law and terror under the KKK-like Knights of the White Camellia, blacks were stricken from the voting rolls. Disenfranchise-ment peaked in the late 1890s. In 1896 there were still 130,000 black voters in Louisiana, 44 percent of the registered electorate. Using “reforms” such as the secret ballot, and new registration procedures including poll taxes and literacy and “understanding” tests, the numbers of “colored voters” fell 90 percent by the end of 1897 plummeting to 12,902. A virtually all-white constitutional convention then met in 1898 and rewrote the 1868 constitution removing its equal rights protections. The “Bourbon” Democrats expelled blacks from

the political process and paved the way for legal racial segregation in all aspects of public and private life. Though the North had won the war, the South won the peace. Segregation lasted until Democratic President Lyndon Johnson led Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

SGT. HIRAM L. HARLOW DIARY, 1898-1899:
The Record of a Soldier who Trained at the Presidio and Fought in the Philippine War
Gift of Allan Harlow / Presidio Trust Library

Sgt. Harlow in Battle at Malolos, April 23-24, 1899

Curator's Note:

Sgt. Harlow's attitudes and language reflect the place he came from, rural Iowa, and the time he lived in, the age of "scientific racism", the then-accepted belief that races formed a hierarchy with whites on top and non-whites below them. In his day, there were "scientific" (we would say pseudo-scientific) efforts to prove racial hierarchies. The period from the 1890s to about 1910 was marked by the passage of racial segregation laws in many American cities and states, and not just in the South. This was also the heyday of lynchings which averaged 111 deaths per year in the 1890s. In 1898-99, when Sgt. Harlow was writing his diary, the word "nigger" was used by whites in everyday speech to denote Africans, African Americans and other non-white peoples around the globe. Harlow used the word to refer to Filipinos. To us the 'n' word is offensive and for that reason I have replaced it with "[Filipino]" throughout the diary. This sense of racial superiority helps explain why the United States occupied the Philippines after expelling Spain in 1898 and why it fought the Philippine independence movement for sixteen years.

April 23, 1899

"We ate a small breakfast, rolled out blankets and tents and started for the right of the firing line. The fighting had got hot during this time. We went about a mile east and north in columns of fours and then deployed in line of skirmishers. The heat was intense. Many fell out exhausted and overcome by the great heat. As we came onto the line, we heard the brave Colonel

[Capt. John M.] Stotsenberg [6th Calvary] and Lieut. Sissons of the First Neb[raska] had just fallen. We had a few moments rest there. Then came the order to advance to a line of fence which we did on the double time under a heavy fire from the enemy concealed in the timber a short distance in front. When we reached the fence, I was almost fagged out and we were all very glad to fall down behind the ant hills, rice ridges or any old thing that would protect us from the bullets. The strange part about it was that no one was shot, either in our company or the one on our right or left. From our position behind the ridges, we fired a few volleys into the timber and then charged quite a bit before we had got to the timber. The bullets had almost stopped coming our way and we reached the woods. We found a large deep ditch and piles of Remington and Mauser cartridges, empty and loaded. But the [Filipinos] had vamoosed. The fighting on our left was much harder.

We pushed on through the woods and finally came to a road where we halted. There was a row of houses along the road. It was the outskirts of Ininga. By one of the houses stood a water buffalo hitched to a kind of a sled loaded with some bags of rice. As he came out into the road two [F]ilipinos carrying a sack of rice came out of the house. They evidently had not expected us quite so soon and stayed behind to bring some chow chow with them. One was one of Aguinaldo's famous Red Legs or at least wore that uniform. When they saw us they "vamoosed pronto." The boys cut loose at them and dropped one. One was hit just as he went into the woods but got away. … The boys went out and got the wounded man, carried him up and dressed his wound. He had bled considerable and died the next morning. He said he had been a soldier for eight years. We lay down and rested and slept in this road. There was still some firing on our left. The artillery was still in action and was up to dark. Our rations came up about five o'clock and we had a few hardtack some canned meat and a little coffee. Then we moved over to the right of the road and took up our positions for the night.

One platoon of our company slept in a ditch. The other platoon was sent out for guard, some in the rear and some on the right. I took three men and went out to the right about two fifty or three hundred yards, close to the timber. Presently Corp. Lou Sheets came out to divide the night with me. That was the worst night I every put in since I have been in the Army. The Insurgents' sharpshooters kept up an incessant fire all night long. We had very little protection. What little sleeping I did that night was done lying in a shallow furrow. We were quite a distance from the main body, considering the circumstances. The bullets struck all around, but fortunately, none of us were hit.

April 24, 1899

In the morning, we were relieved shortly after daylight and went to where the company was expecting to get something to eat. We had only eaten a few bites when the order came to fall in, which we did not having time to pick out our blankets, tents and bayonets which had been brought up during the night. We marched up into the City and halted in a big church yard. Firing was going on in front. Some of our sharp-shooters were up in the church tower firing away at the enemy across the river in their trenches. Our troops soon began to cross the river. Our turn came after a while. We crossed on a narrow bamboo bridge which the natives had not had an opportunity to destroy. The bridge had blood sprinkled all over it where the enemy had carried their dead and wounded across the evening before.

By the time we got over, it was getting along towards noon, so we ate some hardtack and canned beef that we had in our haversacks. Then we started up the road, the artillery having forded the river at this same place and gone on ahead with the Dak[ota], Neb[raska] and Kan[sas Volunteers]. We had gone only a short distance when the bullets came tearing through the bamboos, making us dodge in the most approved style. We kept on and soon some Hospital men passed us carrying wounded. We soon came to

the edge of the timber. The bullets were flying thick. We formed a line of skirmishes on the extreme right of the line. Here was a small entrenchment built by the [Filipinos]. The Dakotas had killed 38 [Filipinos] in this trench. They had stayed 'til it was too late to get away. Well, we were halted here, and about forty or fifty of us bolted into this trench right among the dead and mangled [Filipinos] and thought it the finest place we were ever in. Lord, how the bullets did sing around us and tear up the embankment. But we only stayed about two minutes when the order came to go forward and swing a little to the right directly in front of a woods where the enemy were firing from. We had to go on the double time over an open rice field through a hail of bullets for over a thousand yards before we were halted and ordered to fire lying behind rice ridges. We opened up on the right and soon had the enemy going again. Several of the boys were overcome by heat in this rush. Here is where our third Battalion "got" eighty [Filipinos]. They were counted by the cavalry."

RACIAL CATEGORIES USED IN THE SPANISH COLONIAL PHILIPPINES

Peninsulares – Spaniards born in Spain

Insulares – Spaniards born in the Philippines

Filipino – Originally, a Spaniard born in the Philippines, to distinguish them from Spaniards born elsewhere in the Spanish Empire such as Peruvians. This category expanded over time.

Indio – What the Spanish called the Malay peoples, the native peoples of the archipelago.

Chino – Chinese. Trade links with China brought many Chinese merchants to the Philippines. They settled and married into the local populations.

Mestizo – At first, people of mixed *indio* and Chinese ancestry, later of mixed Spanish, *indio* and/or Chinese ancestry.

Moros – Spanish for Moors, used to denote the Islamic peoples in the unassimilated southern islands.

In 1896, José Rizal, of mixed Chinese, Sangley, Spanish and Japanese ancestry, refused the label of *mestizo* and called himself a *Filipino*.

FREEMASONRY AND THE FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Political parties were outlawed in the Spanish colonial Philippines. The Roman Catholic Church was the established church and religious orders such as the Augustinians and Franciscans owned extensive plantations, acted as tax collectors, and controlled what few schools there were including the colleges in Manila. Within the Catholic Church there was tension between the missionary clergy from Spain and local, Filipino priests. State and Church did not always agree in the colonial Philippines -- except in forbidding political change and non-Catholic missionary activity.

Many of the early Filipino independence leaders became Freemasons, members of a secret fraternal association that espoused *liberty, equality and fraternity* and that opposed Spanish rule and the power of the Catholic friars. The first Masonic lodge was organized at Cavité City outside Manila in 1856. Masonic lodges were places where like-minded men seeking change met and bonded invisible to both State and Church. Key nationalist leaders including Dr. José Rizal, Andrés Bonifacio, Emilio Aguinaldo, Apolinario Mabini and Antonio Luna were all Freemasons.

The Katipunan (the Highest and Most Esteemed Assembly of the Sons of the People), founded on July 7, 1892 by Andrés Bonifacio, modeled itself on Masonic secrecy and blood oath rituals and was the first organization dedicated to Filipino independence through armed revolution.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS IN THE PHILIPPINES

1565
Spain sends an expedition from Acapulco, Viceroyalty of Mexico, to establish a colony across the Pacific. It names the more than 7,107 islands across 500,000 square miles in the archipelago after Philip II of Spain who reigned from 1556 to 1598. Spain's only Asian colony was subsidized by Mexican silver which was exchanged in Manila for Chinese porcelain and silk. The Acapulco-Manila galleon trade operated for 250 years ending in 1815. Catholic religious orders converted many Filipinos to Roman Catholicism and became major plantation owners and tax collectors. The elite spoke Spanish while over 170 native languages were spoken in the archipelago including Tagalog on Luzon Island. The Philippines became a plantation economy producing sugar, coffee, tobacco, copra (coconut) and Manila hemp for rope. Trade was mostly in the hands of Chinese and Chinese-mestizo merchants.

1380
Islam reached the Sulu Archipelago in the far southern islands *before* the Spanish colonized the north. The "Moro" islands (Spanish for Moors) were never fully incorporated into the Spanish Catholic colony. Today there is an active Islamist separatist movement in Jolo, Basilan and Mindanao.

1880-1888
Spain appoints reforming governors in the Philippines.

1887
March
The publication in Berlin of *Noli Mi Tangere* (Touch Me Not), a novel by Dr. José Rizal, an ophthalmologist (eye doctor), polymath, artist and *ilustrado* or member of the elite, awakens Filipino national consciousness. Rizal was of mixed Chinese, Sangley, Spanish and Japanese ancestry. He refused to be labeled a mestizo and called himself a Filipino. Multilingual Rizal wrote in Spanish.

1888-1891
Reactionary Spanish Governor-General Valeriano Weyler reverses reforms in the Philippines.

1888
April
Dr. José Rizal passes through San Francisco on his way to New York and is quarantined for seven days.

1890
Alfred T. Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1600-1783* advocates that the U.S. build steam-powered battleships, excavate a canal across Central America, and establish a naval base in the Philippines.

1892
July 3
La Liga Filipina, a political movement that seeks reforms in the Spanish administration of the Philippines by peaceful means, is launched by José Rizal. His banishment three days later for possessing handbills opposing the Catholic religious orders results in the demise of the *Liga* a year later.

THE WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE IN CUBA AND THE PHILIPPINES

July 7
Andrés Bonifacio, a Manila-born clerk in a British trading company and Freemason, and others form the Katipunan (the Highest and Most Esteemed Association of the Sons of the People), a secret fraternal association dedicated to Filipino independence through armed revolution. They conduct their meetings in Tagalog, not Spanish.

1895
January 1
Emilio Aguinaldo, born in 1869 the son of a Chinese-mestizo plantation owner, is inducted into Freemasonry. A Tagalog, he joins the Katipunan as a lieutenant and rises quickly in its ranks.

1896
February 16
Spanish Gen. Valeriano Weyler begins his "reconcentration" policy in Cuba building guarded encampments to which farmers are forced to relocate in order to deny support to Cuban revolutionaries. Many die in the unsanitary

camps. Although President McKinley condemns “reconcentration”, the U.S. Army later adopts a similar policy in the Philippines in 1901.

August 26
The “Grito de Pugadlawin” by Katipuneros in the Manila suburb of Balintawak launches the War of Philippine Independence.

August 30
Andrés Bonifacio and the Katipunan unsuccessfully attack the Spanish garrison at San Juan del Monte.

September 12
Thirteen Katipunan-led revolutionaries who attempted to take over the Cavité Arsenal are executed by the Spanish.

December 30
The Spanish publically execute Dr. José Rizal in Manila. The 35-year-old Rizal refused to be labeled a *mestizo* and called himself a Filipino.

1897
March 22
Emilio Aguinaldo is elected president of the new Republic of the Philippines during a tumultuous convention. Andrés Bonifacio of the Katipunan becomes minister of the interior. Personal and class rivalries create factions and disunity in the independence movement.

May 10
Andrés Bonifacio is executed for treason by Aguinaldo supporters.

November 1
Philippine Constitution approved creating the Biak-na-Bato Republic.

1897
November 18
A stalemate results in a truce between the Spanish Army and Philippine Republic forces.

December14-15
Spain seeks to end the revolution. The pact of Biak-na-Bato promises 1.7 million pesos to the revolutionaries, gives them amnesty, and allows Aguinaldo and 39 revolutionaries exile in British Hong Kong. Aguinaldo urges Filipino combatants to disarm.

1898
February 8
In a letter to a Madrid editor intercepted by a New York newspaper, Spain's ambassador to the U.S. writes that *"McKinley is weak and catering to the rabble, and, besides, a low politician who desires to leave a door open [to Spain] and to stand well with the jingoes of his party."*

February 15
The battleship *U.S.S. Maine* explodes in Havana Harbor. *"Remember the Maine! The hell with Spain!"* becomes a battle cry in the U.S. The U.S. Navy recovers the wreck and sinks it precluding forensic studies.

February
Clashes erupt between Filipinos and Spanish authorities.

March 28
A U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry finds that the *U.S.S. Maine* was destroyed by a mine. (In 1976, Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, U.S.N. concludes that spontaneous combustion in the coal bunkers adjacent to the magazines probably caused the explosion.)

March 29
Populists and Silver Republicans unite with Democrats urging recognition of the Cuban revolutionaries. The U.S. issues an ultimatum to Spain to quit Cuba. Spain refuses.

1898
March 30
Spain stops its brutal policy of "reconcentration" in Cuba.

April
Filipino revolutionaries resume fighting when the Spain fails to abide by the

Pact of Biak-na-Bato. Aguinaldo negotiates the purchase of rifles with U.S. Consul Rounseville Wildman in British Hong Kong.

April 4
Spain seeks to avoid war with the U.S. and announces that Pope Leo XIII will mediate in Cuba. The U.S. denies that McKinley had requested papal mediation.

April 11
In his annual message to Congress, McKinley declares that the forcible annexation of Cuba ***"by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression."*** These words will come back to haunt him when he buys the Philippines from Spain and forcibly occupies them.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR BEGINS

April 19
Congress by a vote of 311 to 6 in the House, and 42 to 35 in the Senate, adopts a joint resolution for war with Spain. President McKinley signs it the next day and calls for 125,000 volunteers for 1 year of active duty.

May 1
Admiral George Dewey leads the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron from Hong Kong to Manila Bay. The entire Spanish squadron is sunk in six hours. Dewey's victory ignites patriotic fervor in the U.S. and Spain.

1898
May 4
A resolution is introduced in the House of Representatives, with the support of President McKinley, calling for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Democrats are opposed.

May 5
Japan informs the U.S. that it will accept U.S. annexation of Hawaii.

May 11
Filipino exiles in Hong Kong congratulate Admiral Dewey and call for an independent Philippines Republic under U.S. protection.

May 14
Press reports appear in London of a desire for a British-U.S. alliance in the name of “race patriotism.”

May 18
President McKinley orders Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt to expel Spanish forces from the Philippines and to occupy the islands.

May 19
Emilio Aguinaldo returns from Hong Kong aboard the *U.S.S. McCulloch*. Dewey receives him on his flagship but does not recognize the Philippine Republic. Aguinaldo believes the U.S. will grant the Philippines its independence. Dewey cables the navy secretary that *“Aguinaldo…may render assistance that will be valuable.”*

May 24
Emilio Aguinaldo establishes a dictatorial government replacing the revolutionary government.

May 25
The first U.S. volunteer troops leave San Francisco for the Philippines.

Late May
Admiral Dewey is ordered by Navy Secretary John D. Long to distance himself from President Aguinaldo.

1898
May 30
Union and Confederate veterans join in Memorial Day observances. War with Spain brings the North and South together.

June-October
After initially opposing annexation, some U.S. business and government leaders move toward a policy of annexing the Philippines.

Early June
Philippine Republic Army takes control of northern Luzon Island and the revolution spreads to other parts of the archipelago.

June 11
McKinley supporters reactivate debate in Congress on Hawaiian annexation arguing that "we must have Hawaii to help us get our share of China."

June 12
Philippine Declaration of Independence is signed at Kawit, Cavité at Aguinaldo's home placing the new nation "under the protection of the Powerful and Humanitarian Nation, the United States of America" and the Philippine national flag is unfurled for the first time.

A German naval squadron arrives at Manila Bay. There are also Japanese, British and French warships observing the situation as well as the U.S. Navy.

June 14
President McKinley decides not to return the Philippines to Spain but is unsure whether to hold onto only a naval base at Manila, all of Luzon Island or the entire Philippines.

June 15
Hundreds assemble at Faneuil Hall in Boston to oppose the annexation of the Philippines and launch the Anti-Imperialist movement.

1898
June 20
Spanish forces on Guam, unaware of the state of war between the U.S. and Spain, surrender to the U.S. Navy. Guam becomes a place to which the U.S. exiles Filipino independence advocates just as Spain had done.

July 1
U.S. and Cuban revolutionary troops take the town of El Caney and San Juan Heights with heavy casualties.

July 3
The Spanish fleet attempts to leave Santiago Bay, Cuba but is attacked by a U.S. squadron of 153 warships. The Spanish lose all their ships with 350 dead and 160 wounded.

July 6
The Senate votes to annex Hawaii by a bare majority: 42 to 21 with 6 not voting. McKinley signs Hawaii annexation the next day.

July 25
President Aguinaldo writes to Gen. Anderson, *"I consider it my duty to advise you of the undesirability of distributing more [U.S.] troops in territory won by Filipino arms from Spain."*

Gen. Wesley Merritt, commander of U.S. Expeditionary Forces, arrives and begins shunting aside the Philippine Republic Army. The U.S. has 13,000 Volunteer and 2,000 Regular troops in the archepelago.

July 30
McKinley's cabinet agrees to keep only Manila as a naval base.

August 12
A peace protocol ends hostilities between Spain and the U.S.

August 13
Some 10 to 15,000 Spanish troops are pushed back into the capital and surrounded by Philippine Republic forces. By secret prior arrangement, U.S. forces pass through the Filipino lines and engage the Spanish who offer only token resistance before surrendering to the U.S., *not* the Filipinos. The U.S. closes the gates of Manila to the Philippine Army.

August 14
Gen. Wesley Merritt establishes a military government in the Philippines. President Aguinaldo protests.

September 15
The Congress of the First Philippine Republic (the Malolos Congress) drafts the first republican constitution in Asia. It guarantees basic civil

rights, separates church and state, and creates an Assembly of Representatives. The president is indirectly elected by the Assembly.

Fall
Teodoro and Doroteo Pnascula expel wealthy families from Botolan, Zambales and redistribute assets to revolutionary soldiers. But the war for independence is a political revolution led by the landed elite and never becomes a social revolution with the aim of redistributing land to farmers.

October 1
Spanish and U.S. commissioners convene in Paris to negotiate a peace treaty. Neither the Cubans nor the Philippine Republic is represented at the negotiations.

October 25
President William McKinley instructs the U.S. peace delegation in Paris to demand the entire Philippines from Spain.

November 20
The New England Anti-Imperialist League organizes in Boston. Leagues are founded in seven major American cities including New York, Chicago and Washington to oppose the annexation of Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines.

November 29
The Philippine congress approves a Constitution. It limits voting to the elite, the *ilustrados.* The congress votes to accept “autonomy” under the U.S. rather than independence.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR ENDS

December 10
In the Treaty of Paris, Spain frees Cuba, cedes Porto Rico and Guam to the U.S., and sells the Philippines to the U.S. for $20 million.

December 21
President McKinley issues his *Proclamation of Benevolent Assimilation* instructing the U.S. Army to assert American sovereignty in the Philippines.

1899

January
Spanish forces withdraw from the southern Philippines and “Moro” leader Datu Piang takes power in the Islamic region.

January 16
Admiral Dewey repositions his warships to overawe the Philippine Republic Army outside Manila.

January 17
U.S. claims uninhabited Wake Island for an undersea cable link to the Philippines.

January 21
The constitution of the Philippine Republic is promulgated at Malolos. The Assembly elects Emilio Aguinaldo president of the Philippine Republic.

February
Rudyard Kipling publishes the pro-imperialist “The White Man’s Burden: The United States in the Philippine Islands” in *McClure’s* magazine.

THE PHILIPPINE WAR BEGINS

February 4-5
Pvt. William W. Grayson of the 1st Nebraska Volunteers fires the first shots and kills three Filipino soldiers crossing a bridge outside Manila triggering fighting between U.S. troops and Filipino independence forces. 3,000 Filipinos and 60 U.S. soldiers are killed in the next several days. President McKinley wrongly claims that *“the insurgents have attacked Manila.”*

February 6
The day after fighting began in Manila, the U.S. Senate ratifies the Treaty of Paris by a bare majority of 52 to 27 and annexes the Philippines. Democrat William Jennings Bryan reverses himself and urges passage of the treaty as a political ploy to burden the Republicans with what he (mistakenly) thinks will be an unpopular policy in the presidential election of 1900.

February 8
Admiral Dewey demands that the Philippine Republic Army surrender. U.S. troops achieve victories over the poorly-armed Filipinos. Aguinaldo evacuates Malolos and moves the capital further north to San Isidoro.

April 9-10
Battle of Santa Cruz, Gen. Henry W. Lawton captures the Filipino stronghold and advances into Laguna Province on Luzon Island.

April 11
Battle of Pagsanjan, U.S. sharpshooters skirmish with Filipinos and drive them out.

April 12
Battle of Paete, Gen. Lawton takes Paete after a stiff fight.

April 23
Gen. Gregorio del Pilar repulses Maj. J. Franklin Bell. Col. John M. Stotsenburg is killed.

May 19
U.S. troops occupy Jolo in the Islamic southern Philippines.

June 2
Spanish forces at Baler surrender to U.S. forces.

June 5
Gen. Antonio Luna, one of the ablest Filipino generals, is assassinated by Aguinaldo's bodyguards. Filipino units begin to suffer major losses.

June 13
Battle of Zapote Bridge, Gen. Lawton routs the Filipinos in the second largest battle of the war.

July
The first of 6,000 U.S. troops in segregated African-American units ("Buffalo Soldiers") arrive. There are violent altercations between white and black U.S. soldiers.

August 20
Jamalul Kiram II, the Islamic Sultan of Sulu in the south, signs a treaty with Brig. Gen. John Bates. The U.S. does this to quiet the south while its troops fight in Luzon to the north.

Autumn
The U.S. has 60,000 troops in the Philippines. Volunteers are steadily replaced by Regular Army troops.

October 16-17
More than a hundred delegates from 29 states organize the American Anti-Imperialist League in Chicago.

October 27
President McKinley signs the Bates Treaty with the Sultan of Sulu.

November 11
Battle of San Jacinto, Gen. Wheaton drives the Filipinos out of San Jacinto, Luzon Island.

THE WAR SHIFTS FROM CONVENTIONAL TO GUERRILLA WAR

November 13
Faced with overwhelming U.S. military superiority, Aguinaldo disbands the Philippine Republic Army, creates guerrilla forces, and retreats to the mountains of Luzon. Independence forces execute municipal officials who collaborate with the U.S. The war becomes more vicious.

November 17
African-American U.S. soldier Corp. David Fagen defects to the Filipino independence forces. Eleven other black soldiers eventually join the Filipino guerrillas.

December 2
Battle of Tirad Pass, 60 Filipinos under Brig. Gen. Gregorio del Pilar hold off 500 U.S. soldiers for five hours before all the Filipinos are killed. Their

rear guard stand allows Aguinaldo to escape to Palanan in northeastern Luzon.

December 19
Battle of San Mateo, Gen. Licerio Geronimo routes a U.S. brigade and Gen. Henry Ware Lawton is killed.

1900
February
There were over 1,000 engagements between U.S. and Filipino forces in the first year of conflict.

April 15
Filipino troops force the U.S. to evacuate Catubig on Samar.

May
Maj. Gen. Arthur MacArthur replaces Gen. Elwell S. Otis. MacArthur seizes food supplies, stops the practice of releasing prisoners, and exiles Filipino nationalists to Guam.

June 4
Battle of Makahambus, Filipinos route a U.S. regiment and inflict heavy casualties.

June 16
U.S. troops are deployed from the Philippines to suppress the "Boxers" in Peking.

June 19 to 21
Republican convention renominates McKinley with war hero Theodore Roosevelt for vice president. The platform states, *"Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection [in the Philippines] and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples."* In July, the Democrats at their convention oppose imperialism declaring it the most important issue in the upcoming presidential election. But economic questions turn out to be the most important issue in the election.

August 14-16
Battle of Peking, 20,000 Japanese, Russian, British and Indian, U.S., French and German troops break the “Boxer” siege of the Foreign Legation Quarter. Foreign troops kill Chinese and loot Peking, but not U.S. soldiers.

September 13
Battle of Pulang Lupa, Filipino guerrillas under Col. Maximo Abad ambush 54 U.S. soldiers.

September 17
Battle of Mabitac, Filipino forces rout U.S. troops in Laguna Province.

November 6
Republican President William McKinley, running on an economic prosperity platform (“the full dinner pail”), wins a second term against anti-imperialist Democrat William Jennings Bryan.

December 20
Gen. Arthur MacArthur declares martial law in the Philippines in response to guerrilla attacks.

December 23
The pro-U.S. *Partido Federal* is formed by wealthy, conservative Filipinos fearful of social revolution and supportive of U.S. rule. They consolidate Filipino opposition to Aguinaldo.

1901
February
Mark Twain publishes “To the Person Sitting in Darkness”, his satire on U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, in the *North American Review.*

March
Lonoy Massacre, U.S. troops launch a surprise attack on Bohol natives and kill 400 of them.

March 23
Faking capture, Col. Frederick Funston enters Aguinaldo’s camp with 80

anti-Tagalog Macabebe mercenaries disguised as revolutionaries and captures President Aguinaldo.

April 1
Emilio Aguinaldo swears the oath of allegiance and accepts U.S. rule in the Philippines. Within a month, hostilities decline by two thirds.

May
Gen. J. Franklin Bell reports that about 600,000 of the population of Luzon Island have been killed in the war or died of starvation or cholera.

May 23
President McKinley breaks ground for the Dewey Monument in San Francisco's Union Square.

May 27
In *Downes v. Bidwell* the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the Constitution does not apply to annexed territories and that U.S. citizenship must be conferred specifically by Congress. Congress does not make the Filipinos citizens.

July 4
Republican William Howard Taft is appointed the first civilian Governor-General of the Philippines. Taft goes to Rome in 1902 and negotiates with Pope Leo XIII to purchase the plantations of the Catholic religious orders but there is no general redistribution of land. (Taft later succeeds Theodore Roosevelt and is president from 1909 to 1913.)

August
The U.S.-officered Philippine Constabulary is established, a national police force, to assist in the guerrilla war. The U.S. also organizes anti-Tagalog Macabebe Scouts under U.S. officers.

500 American teachers arrive in Manila to teach English in new, secular schools.

September 6

President McKinley is shot by an anarchist in Buffalo. He dies eight days later and Vice President Theodore Roosevelt, an ardent imperialist, becomes president.

September 28
Gen. Vicente Lukhan ambushes U.S. soldiers on Samar Island. Brig. Gen. Jacob H. Smith issues an order to make Samar a “howling wilderness” and to kill all males over ten. The order causes outrage in the U.S. It is not literally carried out by American soldiers in the field.

Autumn
In Luzon, Gen. J. Franklin Bell launches a scorched earth campaign and forces 300,000 farmers to move to guarded “reconcentrated” encampments. U.S. soldiers burn villages and crops. Many Filipinos are subjected to the “water cure”, a torture technique, to force them to surrender weapons. U.S. soldiers write letters home recounting orders to kill Filipinos who surrender. Both sides commit atrocities. Rinderpest kills many of the water buffalos needed to cultivate the rice paddies. Cholera and starvation kill many Filipinos.

November 4
The U.S. Philippine Commission makes advocating independence an imprisonable offense.

1902
January 31 to June 28
Senate Committee on the Philippines chaired by imperialist Republican Henry Cabot Lodge conducts hearings on the war. Democrats invite witnesses who describe the “water cure” and other Army atrocities while Republican Sen. Albert Beveridge defends U.S. expansion overseas.

March 15
Fighting begins between U.S. forces and Islamic “Moros” in the southern Philippine Islands.

April 13
Filipino Gen. Miguel Malvar and 3,000 Filipino troops surrender as the guerrilla war in Luzon Island winds down.

April 29
U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act renewed and extended to Filipinos.

May 2
Battle of Bayan in southern Philippines results in the deaths of hundreds of Maranao natives.

July
Congress passes the Philippine Government Act making the islands an unorganized territory with an elected two chamber legislature.

U.S. DECLARES VICTORY BUT RESISTANACE CONTINUES

1902
July 4
President Theodore Roosevelt declares victory in the Philippines but a low-level guerrilla war continues until 1915. The U.S. press loses interest in the Philippines.

1903
February
Cuba grants a perpetual lease for a U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay.

April 27
Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles' report of 1902 on Army atrocities and torture in the Philippines is released. Gen. Miles issues orders to the Army in the Philippines to annul any orders "which inspire or encourage any act of cruelty." Miles rebukes Gen. J. Franklin Bell for his policy of reconcentration calling it "a direct violation of the law." President Roosevelt is enraged. Gen. Miles retires in August.

April-May
400 Maranao natives are killed in the Battles of Bacolod and Taraka.

May 14
President Theodore Roosevelt dedicates the Dewey Monument in San Francisco's Union Square.

July 4
President Roosevelt sends the first message over the trans-Pacific cable from San Francisco to Manila.

October
U.S. troops battle Islamic "Moro" forces in the Sulu Archipelago.

November 3
103 Filipino students on U.S. government scholarships arrive in California.

November 18
Recently detached from Colombia through U.S. intervention, the Republic of Panama grants the U.S. perpetual control over the Panama Canal Zone for the excavation of the inter-oceanic canal that opens in 1914.

1904
March 2
President Roosevelt abrogates the Bates Treaty and claims sovereignty over the Islamic Sulu Archipelago.

March
"Moro" leader Datu Ali fights U.S. troops in Cotabato.

April 27
Chinese [and Filipino] Exclusion Act made indefinite preventing Filipino immigration to the U.S.

April 30
1,200 tribal Filipinos are put on display at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, a world's fair held in Saint Louis.

Thanksgiving Day, November 25
The McKinley Monument dedicated at the Golden Gate Park Panhandle.

1905
October 22
Datu Ali of Cotabato is killed by U.S.-led forces along with hundreds of his followers.

1906
March 6 – 8
600 Islamic “Moros”, including women and children, fortify themselves on Mindanao. U.S. troops kill all but one. Mark Twain denounces the massacre.

August 12, 1906
The California Volunteers Monument dedicated at Market and Van Ness in San Francisco (now at Dolores and Market).

1907
U.S. creates the Philippine Assembly and Resident Commissioners are elected to represent the Philippines in Washington but without a vote in Congress.

1909
December
Gen. John J. “Black Jack” Pershing becomes governor of Moro Province.

1911
December
Hostilities break out in Jolo and Lanao as U.S. authorities order the “Moros” to surrender their weapons.

1913
June 11-15
Several hundred “Moros” and 14 U.S. soldiers are killed in the Battle of Bud Bagsak in Jolo, the last major battle of the Philippine War.

1914
May 19
Datu Alamada of Lanao and Cotobato surrenders.

THE WAR ENDS IN THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

1915
March 22
The Sultan of Sulu abdicates ending “Moro” resistance to U.S. Army in the southern Philippines.

The U.S. spent about $400 million on the war, twenty times what it paid Spain for the archipelago. Military pensions later added about $1 billion to the ultimate cost of the war.

Gallery 4

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1858 – 1909)

Charismatic, energetic and popular with both the press and the public, Theodore Roosevelt was a man of many dimensions and is held in high regard by most students of the presidency. T.R. was born in Manhattan into a wealthy family with roots in Dutch New York. His father was in the plate-glass importing business and was a philanthropist and supporter of Lincoln and the new Republican Party. Theodore considered his father "the best man I ever knew." Sickly and asthmatic as a youth, his father encouraged him to exercise. He graduated from Harvard in 1876 *magna cum laude* and entered Columbia Law School. He left law school to run for the New York Assembly where he served from 1881 writing more bills than any other legislator. After the sudden death of his mother and first wife in 1884, Roosevelt moved to the Dakota Territory to be a rancher and live a strenuous life. He remarried in 1886 and returned to New York in 1887.

Republican President Benjamin Harrison appointed him to the U.S. Civil Service Commission in 1888 where he worked for the enforcement of the new civil service laws. In 1895 he became president of the New York City Police Commission and reformed that corrupt department in two whirlwind years appointing policemen by merit rather than political connections. President McKinley appointed naval buff T.R. to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1897 and he ordered Admiral Dewey to be prepared to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. He resigned the next year to raise a company of volunteers (the "Rough Riders") to fight in Cuba in the Spanish-American War becoming a darling of the press. He was elected Governor of New York in 1898 as a war hero and sought to root out corruption. New York Republican boss Thomas Collier Platt forced T.R. on McKinley as his running mate in 1900 to get him out of New York.

When President McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, Roosevelt became president at age 42, the youngest person to assume the office. He continued McKinley's policies in the Philippines and prematurely declared victory in the archipelago on July 4, 1902. At home he emerged as the foe of the great monopolies ("Trusts") issuing 44 lawsuits against major corporations earning the nickname the "trust-buster". He won election in his own right in 1904. He sponsored legislation that regulated the

rapacious railroads. He led Congress to pass the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 to protect consumers.

Roosevelt was the first president to foster conservation and the efficient use of natural resources. He urged Congress to create the U.S. Forest Service to manage government lands. He set aside more national parks and nature preserves than all his predecessors combined. T.R. used the Antiquities Act of 1906 to preserve the prehistoric ruins of the Southwest, Devils Tower in Wyoming and Muir Woods in Marin, among other places.

Roosevelt's foreign policy was one of vigorous assertion on the world stage. He is remembered for saying "Speak softly and carry a big stick." T.R.'s views on imperialism and America's role in the world were linked to his belief in the superiority of the white "race" over non-white peoples. "The most ultimately righteous of all wars," he wrote, "is a war with savages." The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 in effect made the Caribbean an "American lake" and preempted any European intervention in the region. Roosevelt engineered the secession of Panama from the Republic of Columbia and the securing of a "perpetual" lease on the Canal Zone for the construction of an inter-oceanic canal. The Army Corps of Engineers began construction in 1904 and the canal opened in 1914. T.R. used the Army Medical Corps to eliminate yellow fever in Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama and the Philippines. Typically, Roosevelt went to Panama and had himself photographed at the controls of a steam shovel. It was the first time a sitting president traveled outside the country. Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for helping to negotiate the end of the Russo-Japanese War. He ended his administration by sending the U.S. Navy on a tour around the world to demonstrate American power.

Roosevelt was succeeded in the presidency by his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft (who had been Governor-General in the Philippines). Taft managed to alienate both conservative and progressive Republicans. When Taft won renomination at the Republican convention in 1912, T.R. and his followers walked out and created the Progressive Party. The spilt in Republican ranks resulted in the election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt drew so many progressives out of the Republican Party that the party became much more conservative in the following years.

A voracious reader, Roosevelt wrote 18 books on natural history, history, politics, the outdoor life as well as his autobiography. Roosevelt died in 1919 at the age of sixty-one at his home at Oyster Bay, Long Island. Both his birthplace in Manhattan and his home at Oyster Bay are National Park Service sites.

FREDERICK FUNSTON'S LATER CAREER

Gen. Funston became a hero in the American press though others, notably Mark Twain, mocked his underhanded methods. In 1902, Funston made a tour of the United States to muster support for the Philippine War. When asked for his reaction to the courts-martial of Brig. Gen. Jacob H. Smith and Maj. Littleton Waller for atrocities committed in the Philippines, he replied,

"I personally strung up thirty-five Filipinos without trial, so what was all the fuss over Waller's 'dispatching' a few 'treacherous savages'? If there had been more Smiths and Wallers, the war would have been over long ago. Impromptu domestic hanging might also hasten the end of the war. For starters, all Americans who have recently petitioned Congress to sue for peace in the Philippines should be dragged out of their homes and lynched."

President Theodore Roosevelt ordered the impolitic general not to make any more pronouncements and put a note of censure in his record.

Brig. Gen. Funston was the senior officer in San Francisco when the Earthquake struck in 1906. He sent Presidio troops into the city to preserve order and to dynamite a firebreak along Van Ness Avenue. This action preserved the western neighborhoods from the fire. Later he suppressed a miners' strike in Nevada and participated in the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1914-16. He rose to the rank of Major General. His subordinates included Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, Capt. Douglas MacArthur, Lt. George S. Patton, Jr., and Lt. Dwight D. Eisenhower. He died of a heart attack at age 51 in San Antonio, Texas in 1917 and is buried at the San Francisco National Cemetery in the Presidio.

EMILIO AGUINALDO'S LATER CAREER

After swearing allegiance to the U.S. in1901, Emilio Aguinaldo retired from public life. Contrary to American expectations, revolutionary guerrillas and Islamic tribes continued fighting in Luzon, Samar, and in the Islamic islands. Aguinaldo dedicated himself to organizing the veterans of the revolution and sought pensions and land for them. In 1919, he made his home in Cavité into a shrine to the revolution. He ran for president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935, but lost to Manuel L. Quezon. He made radio broadcasts in support of the Japanese when they occupied the Philippines in 1941 and urged U.S. and Philippines forces to surrender. He was arrested as a collaborator when the U.S. retook the Philippines but was amnestied by President Manuel Roxas. He attended the celebration of Philippine independence granted by the U.S. on July 4, 1946. In 1950, he was appointed a member of the honorific Council of State and served one term. He died of a heart attack in 1964 at the age of 94 and is buried at the Aguinaldo Shrine in Cavité.

THE STORY OF THE LOPEZ FAMILY:
A Page from the History of the War in the Philippines.
Boston: James H. West Company, 1904.

Continued from the text panel:

[From Sixto to Mariano Lopez in Manila]
January 1, 1902

I am prepared to sacrifice my property and my life for the good of my country or for the benefit of our family, but the sacrifice which you suggest I will never, never consent to make. The American authorities may inflict punishment on our family that may break my heart or my life, but they will never be able to break my principle as long as God Almighty remains on the side of what is right.

But let me make my own position clear. I am entirely in favor of a cessation of all armed resistance to American authority. I have always believed, with you, that the war was not necessarily to our people's interests, and I am of the same opinion still. I am therefore willing to do whatever lies in my power to bring about peace. But I utterly despise the policy which inflicts punishment upon neutral non-combatants in order to secure the surrender of those in arms. Neither morality nor the rules of war sanction such a [scorched earth] policy. To my mind it is an unutterably mean and cruel method of securing victory. It is unworthy of an American soldier and a blot upon the escutcheon of the nation that went to war to put an end to the [reconcentration camp] methods of [Spanish] General Weyler [in revolutionary Cuba]. And although under other circumstances I should counsel surrender by [Filipino Gen.] Malvar and his forces, I cannot urge him to surrender in response to such methods of warfare.

Better a thousand times for us all to suffer, knowing that the more we are made to suffer the sooner will come our final relief. Injustice and wrong will no more bring victory to America than to [Spanish] General Weyler. We should remember that there is One who is more powerful than money and guns, and that One is on our side. We may have to suffer, for we cannot

claim that we are immaculate, but the great balance of right is on our side, and that ought to satisfy us and give us the assurance of ultimate triumph.

Ever your affectionate brother, Sixto

[From Mariano to Sixto Lopez in exile in Hong Kong]
Manila, January 8, 1902
Dear Sixto,

I have received your letter through Maria, who came yesterday, very weak, owing to seasickness during the voyage [back to Manila from Hong Kong]. In answering it I will only say that, considering the atmosphere in which you live, alone, and called to be almost a martyr for your country, it seems to me excellent and not to be improved. But as for me and millions of our compatriots in the surroundings in which we live, considering the circumstances and our respective families, for whom we must have very special regard, we cannot follow you on the patriotic road which you have laid out. But we do not on that account consider ourselves any less patriotic than you are; for if history holds up to you examples of heroism, even to the point of sacrificing one's life for one's country, it gives us, on the other hand, examples of even great nations who have yielded to the superior force of the enemy, preferring to submit to the conqueror rather than continue the struggle at the price of total extermination. I admire and respect your views and convictions; but try not to compromise any more of us who are here if you do not wish to force your brothers to follow in your path [of exile]. Take care in writing to us, now that you know how closely watched we are.

Mariano

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez in exile in Hong Kong]
Manila, January 8, 1902
Dear Brother,

Since the 31st of last month our brothers have been prisoners in the Bay on board one of the United States transports, and in three days they will be taken to Olongapo. Yesterday we went to visit them.

Andrea says that the Americans are now doing everything that the Spaniards did during the [revolutionary] war [in 1896], and I am very much astonished, for always formerly when we told them about things done by the Spaniards they were very indignant, calling the Spaniards barbarous and inhuman and using the strongest language possible. And what makes me despair all the more is that they do not allow us to speak of the injustices which are being committed in these provinces. No newspaper dares to complain, and the only one which explains things is El Renacimiento*, but even it does not dare to speak openly, under pain of law. We are glad you are not coming [back to Manila] now. Good-bye. Remembrances from everybody.*

Affectionately,
Ninay

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez in exile in Hong Kong]
Manila, January 21, 1902
Dear Brother,

I am much astonished at what you say in your letter of the 17th, which I received this morning, that you have had no news from us, for both Mariano and I wrote you often, telling you all that has occurred to our family.

For about a week, since the surrender of the Taals, the reconcentrados [farmers forced into encampments guarded by U.S. soldiers] in our town [of Batangas] have been allowed to go out of the village to work and to harvest the rice in the lowlands, which, as you remember, is cut at this season; the

crushing of the sugar has also begun in Himala and Caybunga, where there is a good deal of cane.

We are not at all displeased, least of all mother, by Clemencia's departure [for Washington to seek an audience with President Theodore Roosevelt]. On the contrary, the idea that she can accomplish there what we cannot here consoles us much; therefore do not be disturbed about it.

Your most affectionate,
Ninay

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez in exile in Hong Kong]
Manila, January 30, 1902
Dear Brother,

We have finally found a friend by which to send you this letter. From the last news from Balayan I know that the town continues tranquil, as always; nevertheless, [U.S. soldiers] are continuing to arrest our [plantation] superintendents to force them to produce the imaginary guns which they say are being kept back. As is natural, the poor things deny everything, for, indeed, they do not know what guns are spoken of, and for this reason they (the Americans) are torturing them, giving them thousands of blows, whipping and beating them, so that finally one of them died -- the Americans and [anti-Tagalog] Macabebes [mercenaries] beat him so much. He was called Isabelo, and was the superintendent at Calan. It has amazed me that they should have taken such measures, considering that they are so civilized a nation and boast all over the world wherever they go of their humane acts. The prisoners [Lorenzo, Cipriano and Manuel] continue in good health, as well as the rest of us here.

Good-bye,
Ninay

[From Maria to Sixto Lopez in exile in Hong Kong]
Manila, January 30, 1902
Dear Brother,

We have received only one letter from you since I arrived here, dated the 17th; and we are much puzzled at not receiving another telling us whether you have yet received all our letters. Mariano continues working for [the release of] our bothers, but he accomplishes nothing, for they tell him that everything depends on General [J. Franklin] Bell. I am sorry for all this on mother's account, for you cannot imagine how it makes me despair to see her weep. I fear everything for her, for she spends whole days weeping, thinking of our brothers, and that, as you know, may do her much harm at her age. Regards to everybody, and remember you are loved and not forgotten by,

your sister,
Maria

[From Maria to Clemencia Lopez on her way to Washington]
Manila, February 6, 1902
Dear Clemen,

Forgive me that I have not written to you until now, but you know how hard it is for me to write; all the more because I have no good news to tell you, for our brothers are still prisoners. Four days ago we sent our brothers canned food and some other things which they needed, such as beds to sleep in, thanks to an [American] soldier who promised to take them. We do not send them money, for they are not allowed to have any. What they had with them when they were arrested was taken from them. Now more than ever we are glad that you went to America, for we have seen that indeed there is no justice here. God grant that you obtain it there, for you are our only hope. What evil days, Clemen, we have passed and are passing through now; and how much we think of you. Give our regards to Mr. [Fiske] Warren and his wife, and kisses to the children; and receive a warm embrace from your sister,

Maria

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez on her way to Washington]
Manila, February 14, 1902
Dearest Clemen,

I am very sorry to tell you that our brothers are still prisoners, and deported to the little island of Malagi [Talim]. Not even in the time of the Spaniards were the people of Batangas so badly treated as they are now; and indeed it sounds strange to me to hear such horrible news, for even women are deported simply for being wives or daughters of insurgents. Before these sad events happened, I always believed the American officers to be very just and reasonable, but now I am convinced that there is a snake in every bush, as the proverb says. They are reasonable when it suits them; but when it is otherwise, even if you shriek and cry to heaven, they pay no attention, merely saying by way of consolation that when peace is established in our province everything will be arranged and we shall be content with their government. Oh, what outrage! If all the Americans are like those we have here, who heartlessly punish the innocent and make many families suffer, preserve me from them and from America, with all its wealth and education and desire to be our protector in civilization. Remember that you are loved and not forgotten by your sister,

Ninay

[From Juliana to Fiske Warren of the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston]
Manila, February 15, 1902
Distinguished and Dear Friend,

First of all I hope that you will forgive me for not writing to you with greater frequency, as is my wish; but the situation in which my poor brothers find themselves prevents me from doing anything for good friends like yourself, since I give all my attention to their affairs, discussing methods and presenting reasons so that justice may soon be done to them, if indeed there is such a thing. As to affairs in Batangas, I will only allow myself to say that they remind me of the Spanish domination in the year '96, the memory of which fills me with horror. Good-bye for a time. Give my

regards to your dear family, to whom I wish all sorts of happiness, and dispose of the services of your friend, who does not forget you.

Juliana Lopez

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez in America]
Manila, February 25, 1902
Dearest Clemen,

At the moment that I am writing you we are more afflicted, if such a thing is possible, than we have been since the arrest of our three brothers, for we have learned that they took Lorenzo and Cipriano to Batangas to try them by court-martial. Believe me, Clemen, with all these things which are happening to us, if I had not been brought up in religion and believed in it from childhood I should become a heretic from all the sorrow that has come to us. I am sure that it is the wicked who are protected here in the Philippines. And it is to them that the [American] authorities give credit, for they believe them to be friendly to the Government; but these gentlemen do not know that this is only a cover so that these wicked men may revenge themselves on their enemies, and gain money by making false denunciations. The [American] authorities do not understand that in this way they will gain nothing but hatred, instead of being regarded and trusted as the representatives of a liberating nation, as I believed them to be. It was our confidence in them that ruined us. Let me tell you that we – at least, I, for my part – will sacrifice my share of the estate for you and the others who are there [in America urging the cause of Filipino independence].

Your sister,
Ninay

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez]
Manila, March 23, 1902
Dearest Clemen,

One of the things that is troubling Maria and me is the existence of cholera, for since the day before yesterday, according to the newspapers, several have died of this disease, which is attacking chiefly the Chinese and the [Filipino] soldiers. We ought not to have allowed ourselves to be caught here in Manila, where we are shut up without being able to leave the city.

Your sister who loves you,
Ninay

On April 13, 1902 Filipino Gen. Miguel Malvar and 3,000 Filipino troops surrendered to U.S. forces in Batangas Province. A month later, Gen. J. Franklin Bell released Lorenzo, Cipriano and Manuel Lopez.

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez]
Balayan, May 11, 1902
Dearest Clemen,

As you will see by the telegram I enclose, it was only yesterday that our brothers were liberated, and this morning we sent the launch to meet them in Taal, where they have arrived on their way here.

Good-bye, with a warm embrace from
Ninay

[From Mariano to Clemencia Lopez]
Manila, May 22, 1902
Dear Clemencia,

Our house and storehouses in Balayan have been occupied by the [U.S.] troops, and in Abra de Ilog (Mindoro) our house on the ranch was burned, and some of our best cattle shot, as a result of a combat there. This, in spite of the fact that our superintendent, with all our people, submitted to the American Government, and that it was one of our herdsmen who gave warning of the presence of the [Filipino] insurrectionary force at that place to the commanding [American] officer in Abra de Ilog.

Your affectionate brother,
Mariano Lopez

[From Manuel to Clemencia Lopez]
Manila, June 14, 1902
My dear Sister,

I have not yet been able to send you any money, as we are only beginning to sell cattle. On account of my imprisonment I have lost all my customers and commercial connections, but I believe, if the steamers can make frequent trips again without being delayed by the [cholera] quarantine, I can start my business once more. As for the cholera, it has made great ravages in our province, especially in the capital. I am told that in Balayan the death-rate went as high as fifteen or twenty per day during the last two weeks. But now that the rain has come it is disappearing here in Manila, as well as in the provinces.

You know that you have a brother who loves you,
Manuel

[From Maria Castelo to Sixto and Clemencia Lopez in the U.S.]
Balayan, August 27, 1902
My beloved Children,

Although it is true that up to the present I have not written to you, still not a moment has passed that I have not thought of you who are far away from me, in a foreign land, and to whom I have no money to send to enable you to live in reasonable comfort and to continue to the end that work [for Filipino independence] which you have voluntarily taken up. I am rejoiced by all that you do which contributes toward the welfare of our country, and, as a mother, I feel proud to have children who sacrifice themselves for their native land. May God bless you, as your mother, who loves you so much, blesses you.

Maria Castelo de Lopez

Gallery 5

MARK TWAIN (Samuel Langhorne Clemens 1835-1910)
Excerpts from **"To The Person Sitting in Darkness"**
North American Review, February, 1901.

Shall we? That is, shall we go on conferring our Civilization upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give those poor things a rest? Shall we bang right ahead in our old-time, loud, pious way, and commit the new century to the game; or shall we sober up and sit down and think it over first? Would it not be prudent to get our Civilization-tools together, and see how much stock is left on hand in the way of Glass Beads and Theology, and Maxim Guns and Hymn Books, and Trade-Gin and Torches of Progress and Enlightenment (patent adjustable ones, good to fire villages with, upon occasion), and balance the books, and arrive at the profit and loss, so that we may intelligently decide whether to continue the business or sell out the property and start a new Civilization Scheme on the proceeds?

Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked – but not enough, in my judgment, to make any considerable risk advisable. The People that Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce – too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as is now left is really of but an indifferent quality, and not dark enough for the game. The most of those People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty, and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played. But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years, and must suffer by it, in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth, that the People who Sit in Darkness have noticed it – they have noticed it, and have begun to show alarm. They have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization. More – they have begun to examine them. This is not well. The Blessings of Civilization are all right, and a good commercial property; there could not be a better, in a dim light.

In the right kind of light, and at a proper distance, with the goods a little out of focus, they furnish this desirable exhibit to the Gentlemen who Sit in Darkness:

LOVE	LAW AND ORDER,
JUSTICE,	LIBERTY,
GENTLENESS,	EQUALITY,
CHRISTIANITY,	HONORABLE DEALING,
PROTECTION TO THE WEAK,	MERCY,
TEMPERANCE,	EDUCATION,

-- and so on.

There. Is it good? Sir, it is pie. It will bring into camp any idiot that sits in darkness anywhere. But not if we adulterate it. It is proper to be emphatic upon that point. This brand is strictly for Export – apparently. *Apparently.* Privately and confidentially, it is nothing of the kind. Privately and confidentially, it is merely an outside cover, gay and pretty and attractive, displaying the special patterns of our Civilization which we reserve for Home Consumption, while *inside* the bale is the Actual Thing that the Customer Sitting in Darkness buys with his blood and tears and land and liberty. That Actual Thing is, indeed, Civilization, but it is only for export. Is there a difference between the two brands? In some of the details, yes.

We all know the business is being ruined. The reason is not far to seek. It is because our McKinley, and Mr. [Joseph] Chamberlain [the British Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1895 to 1903], and the [German] Kaiser, and the [Russian] Czar and the French have been exporting the Actual Thing *with the outside cover left off.* This is bad for the Game. It shows that these new players of it are not sufficiently acquainted with it.

And by and by comes America, and our Master of the Game plays it badly – plays it as Mr. Chamberlain was playing it in South Africa [in the Second

Boer War of 1899-1902]. It was a mistake to do that; also, it was one which was quite unlooked for in a Master who was playing so well in Cuba. In Cuba, he was playing the usual and regular *American* game, and it was winning, for there is no way to beat it. The Master, contemplating Cuba, said: "Here is an oppressed and friendless little nation which is willing to fight to be free; we go partners, and put up the strength of seventy million sympathizers and the resources of the United States: play!" Nothing but Europe combined could call that hand: and Europe cannot combine on anything. There, in Cuba, he was following our great traditions in a way which made us very proud of him, and proud of the deep dissatisfaction which his play was provoking in Continental Europe. Moved by a high inspiration, he threw out those stirring words which proclaimed that forcible annexation would be "criminal aggression;" [in McKinley's message to Congress of April 11, 1898] and in that utterance fired another "shot heard round the world." The memory of that fine saying will be outlived by the remembrance of no act of his but one – that he forgot it within the twelvemonth, and its honorable gospel along with it.

For, presently, came the Philippine temptation. It was strong; it was too strong, and he made that bad mistake: he played the European game, the [British] game. It was a pity; it was a great pity, that error; that one grievous error, that irrevocable error. For it was the very place and time to play the American game again. And at no cost. Rich winnings to be gathered in, too; rich and permanent; indestructible; a fortune transmissible forever to the children of the flag. Not land, not money, not dominion – no, something worth many times more than that dross: our share, the spectacle of a nation of long harassed and persecuted slaves set free through our influence; our posterity's share, the golden memory of that fair deed. The game was in our hands. If it had been played according to the American rules, Dewey would have sailed away from Manila as soon as he had destroyed the Spanish fleet – after putting up a sign on shore guaranteeing foreign property and life against damage by the Filipinos, and warning the Powers that interference with the emancipated patriots would be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States. The Powers cannot combine, in even a bad cause, and the sign would not have been molested.

Dewey could have gone about his affairs elsewhere, and left the competent Filipino army to starve out the little Spanish garrison and send it home, and

the Filipino citizens to set up the form of government they might prefer, and deal with the friars and their doubtful acquisitions according to Filipino ideas of fairness and justice – ideas which have since been tested and found to be of as high an order as any that prevail in Europe or America.

But we played the Chamberlain [British] game, and lost the chance to add another Cuba and another honorable deed to our good record.

The more we examine the mistake, the more clearly we perceive that it is going to be bad for the Business. The Person Sitting in Darkness is almost sure to say: "There is something curious about this – curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land."

The truth is, the Person Sitting in Darkness *is* saying things like that; and for the sake of the Business we must persuade him to look at the Philippine matter in another and healthier way. We must arrange his opinions for him…. Let us say to him:

"Our case is simple. On the 1st of May, Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet. This left the Archipelago in the hands of its proper and rightful owners, the Filipino nation. The army numbered 30,000 men, and they were competent to wipe out or starve out the little Spanish garrison; then the people could set up a government of their own devising. Our traditions required that Dewey should now set up his warning sign, and go away. But the Master of the Game happened to think of another plan – the European plan. He acted upon it. This was, to send out an army – ostensibly to help the native patriots put the finishing touch upon their long and plucky struggle for independence, but really to take their land away from them and keep it. That is, in the interest of Progress and Civilization. The plan developed, stage by stage, and quite satisfactorily. We entered into a military alliance with the trusting Filipinos, and they hemmed in Manila on the land side, and by their valuable help the place, with its garrison of 8,000 or 10,000 Spaniards, was captured – a thing which we could not have accomplished unaided at that time. We got their help by – by ingenuity. We knew they were fighting for their independence, and that they had been at it for two

years. We knew they supposed that we were also fighting in their worthy cause – just as we helped the Cubans fight for Cuban independence – and we allowed them to go on thinking so. *Until Manila was ours and we could get along without them.* Then we showed our hand. Of course, they were surprised – that was natural; surprised and disappointed; disappointed and grieved. To them it looked un-American; uncharacteristic; foreign to our established traditions. And this was natural, too; for we were only playing the American Game in public – in private it was the European. It was neatly done, very neatly, and it bewildered them. They could not understand it; for we had been so friendly – so affectionate, even – with those simple-minded patriots! We, our own selves, had brought back out of exile their leader, their hero, their hope, their Washington – Aguinaldo; brought him in a warship, in high honor, under the sacred shelter and hospitality of the flag; brought him back and restored him to their people, and got their moving and eloquent gratitude for it. Yes, we had been so friendly to them, and had heartened them up in so many ways! We had lent them guns and ammunition; advised with them; exchanged pleasant courtesies with them; placed our sick and wounded in their kindly care; entrusted our Spanish prisoners to their humane and honest hands; fought shoulder to shoulder with them against "the common enemy" (our own phrase); praised their courage, praised their gallantry, praised their mercifulness, praised their fine and honorable conduct; borrowed their trenches, borrowed their strong positions which they had previously captured from the Spaniard; petted them, lied to them – officially proclaiming that our land and naval forces came to give them their freedom and displace the bad Spanish Government – fooled them, used them until we needed them no longer; then derided the sucked orange and threw it away. We kept the positions which we had beguiled them of; by and by, we moved a force forward and overlapped patriot ground – a clever thought, for we needed trouble, and this would produce it. A Filipino soldier, crossing the ground, where no one had the right to forbid him, was shot by our sentry. The badgered patriots resented this with arms, without waiting to know whether Aguinaldo, who was absent, would approve or not. Aguinaldo did not approve; but that availed nothing. What we wanted, in the interest of Progress and Civilization, was the Archipelago, unencumbered by patriots struggling for independence; and War was what we needed. We clinched the opportunity.

At this point in our frank statement of fact to the Person Sitting in Darkness, we should throw in a little trade-taffy about the Blessings of Civilization – for a change, and for the refreshment of his spirit – then go on with our tale:

“We and the patriots having captured Manila, Spain’s ownership of the Archipelago and her sovereignty over it were at an end – obliterated – annihilated – not a rag or shred of either remaining behind. It was then that we conceived the divinely humorous idea of *buying* both of these specters from Spain! (It is quite safe to confess to the Person Sitting in Darkness, since neither he nor any other sane person will believe it.) In buying these ghosts for twenty millions, we also contracted to take care of the friars and their accumulations. I think we also agreed to propagate leprosy and smallpox, but as to this there is doubt. But it is not important; persons afflicted with the friars do not mind other diseases.

“With our Treaty [of Paris] ratified, Manila subdued, and our Ghosts secured, we had no further use for Aguinaldo and the owners of the Archipelago. We forced a war, and we have been hunting America’s guest and ally through the woods and the swamps ever since.”

At this point in the tale, it will be well to boast a little of our war-work and our heroisms in the field, so as to make our performance look as fine as England’s in South Africa [in the Boer War]; but I believe it will not be best to emphasize this too much. We must be cautious. Of course, we must read the war-telegrams to the Person, in order to keep up our frankness; but we can throw an air of humorousness over them, and that will modify their grim eloquence a little, and their rather indiscreet exhibitions of gory exultation. Before reading to him the following display heads of the [newspaper] dispatches of November 18, 1900, it will be well to practice on them in private first, so as to get the right tang of lightness and gaiety into them:

“ADMINISTRATION WEARY OF PROTRACTED HOSTILITIES!”

“REAL WAR AHEAD FOR FILIPINO REBELS!”
“WILL SHOW NO MERCY!”

[We] have no national interest in the matter, further than to get ourselves admired by the Great Family of Nations, in which august company our Master of the Game has bought a place for us in the back row.

Of course, we must not venture to ignore our General MacArthur's reports – oh, why do they keep on printing these embarrassing things? – we must drop them trippingly from the tongue and take the chances:

> During the last ten months our losses have been 268 killed and 750 wounded; Filipino loss, *three thousand two hundred and twenty-seven killed,* and 694 wounded.

We must stand ready to grab the Person Sitting in Darkness, for he will swoon away at this confession, saying "Good God, those 'niggers' spare their wounded, and the Americans massacre theirs!"

We must bring him to, and coax him and coddle him, and assure him that the ways of Providence are best, and that it would not become us to find fault with them; and then, to show him that we are only imitators, not originators, we must read the following passage from the letter of an American soldier-lad in the Philippines to his mother, published in *Public Opinion,* of Decorah, Iowa, describing the finish of a victorious battle:

"WE NEVER LEFT ONE ALIVE. IF ONE WAS WOUNDED, WE WOULD RUN OUR BAYONETS THROUGH HIM."

Having now laid all the historical facts before the Person Sitting in Darkness, we should bring him to again, and explain them to him. We should say to him:

"They look doubtful, but in reality they are not. There have been lies; yes, but they were told in a good cause. We have been treacherous; but that was only in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True, we have crushed and deceived a confiding people; we have turned against the weak and the friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back and slapped the face of a guest; we have bought a Shadow from an enemy that hadn't it to sell; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his

liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this. The Head of every State and Sovereignty in Christendom and ninety per cent. of every legislative body in Christendom, including our Congress and our fifty State Legislatures, are members not only of the church, but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust. This world-girdling accumulation of trained morals, high principles, and justice, cannot do an unright thing, an unfair thing, an ungenerous thing, an unclean thing. It knows what it is about. Give yourself no uneasiness; it is all right."

Now then, that will convince the Person. You will see. It will restore the Business. Also, it will elect the Master of the Game to the vacant place in the Trinity of our national gods; and there on their high thrones the Three will sit, age after age, in the people's sight, each bearing the Emblem of his service: Washington, the Sword of the Liberator; Lincoln, the Slave's Broken Chains; the Master [McKinley] the Chains Repaired.

It will give the Business a splendid new start. You will see.

Everything is prosperous, now; everything is just as we should wish it. We have got the Archipelago, and we shall never give it up. … We cannot conceal from ourselves that, privately, we are a little troubled about our [Army] uniform. It is one of our prides; it is acquainted with honor; it is familiar with great deeds and noble; we love it, we revere it; and so this errand it is on makes us uneasy. And our flag – another pride of ours, our chiefest! We have worshipped it so; and when we have seen it in far lands – glimpsing it unexpectedly in that strange sky, waving its welcome and benediction to us – we have caught our breath, and uncovered our heads, and couldn't speak, for a moment, for the thought of what it was to us and the great ideals it stood for. Indeed, we *must* do something about these things; we must not have the flag out there, and the uniform. They are not needed there; we can manage in some other way. England manages, as regards the uniform, and so can we. We have to send soldiers – we can't get out of that – but we can disguise them. It is the way England does in South Africa. Even Mr. Chamberlain himself takes pride in England's honorable uniform, and makes the army down there wear an ugly and

odious and appropriate disguise, of yellow stuff such as quarantine flags are made of, and which are hoisted to warn the healthy away from unclean disease and repulsive death. This cloth is called khaki. We could adopt it. It is light, comfortable, grotesque, and deceives the enemy, for he cannot conceive of a soldier being concealed in it.

And as for a flag for the Philippine Province, it is easily managed. We can have a special one – our States do it: we can have just our usual flag, with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and cross-bones.

And we do not need that Civil Commission out there. Having no powers, it has to invent them, and that kind of work cannot be effectively done by just anybody; an expert is required. Mr. Croker [the corrupt political boss of Tammany Hall in New York] can be spared. We do not want the United States represented there, but only the Game.

By help of these suggested amendments, Progress and Civilization in that country can have a boom, and it will take in the Persons who are Sitting in Darkness, and we can resume Business at the old stand.

Gallery 8

EDWIN BURRITT SMITH (1854-1906)

Republic or Empire with Glimpses of "Criminal Aggression"

Excerpts from an address delivered at the Philadelphia conference of the Anti-Imperialist League, February 23, 1900. Smith was a Chicago lawyer.

Full text at www.archive.org/stream/republicorempire00smit

The cause of Aguinaldo has not changed. If he deserved success in 1898, he deserves it now. If he was a leader with whom our forces might properly cooperate then, he is not now the chieftain of "robber bands." Admiral Dewey and Generals Anderson and Merritt were his comrades in honorable warfare or his accomplices in brigandage.

The fate of Aguinaldo and his cause is but an incident of an awful tragedy. The deliberate murder by American hands of the best hope of native government in the Philippines, the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos in the name though not by the authority of the American people, is horrible enough. It is, however, but an incident of the betrayal on American soil of the principle of self government by the McKinley administration.

…Mr. McKinley says that the "Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were intrusted to our hands by the Providence of God." … The treaty with Spain [of 1899] did not fall upon us like manna from above. It cannot be accepted as the basis of discussion. On its face appears the sinister purpose to do in the Philippines what we solemnly promised not to do in Cuba. If the forcible annexation of Cuba would be [as President McKinley said] "criminal aggression," pray what is the forcible annexation of the Philippines? … Why by a single stroke make one free and the other a subject province? There is no answer that is honorable to American statesmanship.

The assumed success of Mr. McKinley's war of "criminal aggression," the destruction by his hand of native government in the Philippines, brings us face to face with a proposed task which we cannot perform and retain the self government in which we have so long rejoiced. To enter upon it involves a vital change in our institutions. To succeed in it we must surrender the noble achievements of our past, forsake the advanced ideals

of our national life, and abandon the ground which Washington pre-empted and Lincoln made ours. … We, who inherit the teachings and achievements of Washington and Lincoln, are asked to seal with our approval the betrayal of their principles. We are expected to tolerate and even applaud the acquisition of territory by the President and Congress to be by them ruled without constitutional warrant or restraint. We are to permit mere creatures of the Constitution to exercise powers, acquired and held under it, to do things without its purpose and beyond its control. Constitutional powers and agencies are to be used to promote ends that are without and beyond the Constitution. The seeds of dual government at Washington are already sown. The President and the Congress are to be no longer mere servants of a free people. It is proposed that they shall henceforth wield both constitutional and extra-constitutional powers. With one hand, they are to continue (for the time being) to exercise delegated and defined authority; with the other, they are to execute self-assumed and arbitrary powers. This is what the proposal to rule the Spanish islands outside the Constitution means. Upon the brink of the precipice we stand. ….

In a word, they propose to have a republic at home and an empire abroad. This calls for dual government at Washington, half representative and half despotic in character. …

The danger involved in these startling proposals is by no means imaginary. We are already face to face with an old question – one that we long supposed to be forever settled for Americans. Are the powers of government conferred by the people, or are they inherent in the king? It has been truly said that the essence of monarchy is not so much the presence of a king as the absence of the people from all the important transactions of government. Congress and the President are merely agents of the people. They act under the authority of the Constitution to carry out its expressed purposes. … To say that the President and Congress may use the forces and revenues of the United States to acquire territory which shall not be subject to the Constitution as the supreme law of the land, is to say that they may exercise powers acquired under the Constitution for extra-constitutional ends, that they may employ the public revenues, forces, and authority for other than public purposes. … If the Constitution is to remain the fundamental law of the land, it can never

under whatever pretense be admitted that officials holding [office] under it may act beyond the limits of its authority.

The people of the United States are sovereign. Their government is but an agent exercising delegated powers. Its several departments can exercise no powers which are not delegated. All powers not delegated are reserved by the people to themselves. A self-governing people cannot confer on its governmental agencies authority to rule over others. … A representative government can act only for those represented. It cannot also rule others without ceasing to be merely representative. … It is now seriously proposed that within the States it shall continue in the exercise of this authority; and, in addition, that it shall assume and exercise despotic power over the territories and such colonial dependencies as it may choose to acquire. It is to represent democracy in the States and stand for absolutism in its dependencies. With one hand it will administer for a "superior race" the blessings of free government; with the other it will bestow upon "lesser breeds without the law" such measures of good government as it deems them fit to enjoy. … The undisguised basis of this policy is inequality among men. Its purpose is to stay the hands of progress, to escape from the consequences of democracy. …

[I]t will not do to forget that the United States is to be the military base of the new despotism; that we, the people, are to furnish the enormous revenues and powerful forces needed to acquire and maintain colonial dependencies; and that, as it becomes more evident that arbitrary power is much less tedious in its operation than are the slow processes through which government by public opinion works out its results, the present ill-concealed impatience of constitutional restraints will grow until only the forms of representative government remain. Despotism and democracy cannot exist together. Reversion to despotism means the surrender of democracy.

….

Mr. McKinley has gone to great lengths in introducing at Washington the methods of absolutism. He promptly relegated to the rear the issue upon which he was chosen, violated the pledges of his party platform as respects our foreign policy, committed the country to a revolutionary course, deliberately created a state of war in the Philippines, debauched the civil service to promote the adventure, and demanded of all citizens a

suspension of judgment and unanimous support while he sees fit to continue the fighting, or until further notice from him. The powers which he exercises to-day in Cuba, in Porto Rico, and in the Philippines are those of a military despot.

A comparison of the Republican platform of 1896 with the entire action of the present administration will disclose how absolute are the powers which Mr. McKinley has assumed. The point here is that an imperial policy vastly increases the opportunity and even the necessity for the exercise of uncontrolled executive power. If we are to have “crown colonies” and “subjects,” we must likewise have a despotic executive.
….
The final question is whether the Constitution ought to provide for colonial dependencies. … Is it not rather late for us to discover that government derives its just powers from *some* of the governed? … Are we ready to surrender, or even impair in any particular, the bill of rights? Above and beyond all, shall we now by evasion, construction, or amendment, deliberately embody in our fundamental law the principle of inequality among men? If so, we are false to our heritage, unworthy of our birthright, and deserve to be ourselves enslaved. What we cannot do by way of amendment of our fundamental law we must not permit to be accomplished by evasion.
....

It is especially objected that our [anti-imperialist] opposition is vexatious and even treasonable. We decline this invitation and here give notice of our purpose to maintain free speech in America, even in the presence of an imperial executive who demands exemption from public criticism. We regard what has happened in the Philippines as wholesale murder and larceny; we have had no part in it; and we refuse to become accomplices after the fact.

AFRICAN AMERICAN DISSENT

From George P. Marks, III, ed., *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900).* (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

"People who try to cover the cloven hoof of empire with the petticoats of 'Expansion' are as careless of the dictionary as of the constitution. . . . What is proposed to do with [the Philippines] is no more like expansion than the present [McKinley] administration is like Lincoln's."

James H. W. Howard, editor of *Howard's American Magazine*, October 1900 / Marks, p. xiii.

"When Washington and his army repudiated the arrogance of England and fought for the freedom and independence of their country, they were called patriots and heroes – and they were. But when Aguinaldo and his people take up arms and fight for their homes, their countrymen, and their freedom, they are called rebels by the imperialistic press of this country."

True Reformer (Littletown, NC) quoted in *Recorder* (Indianapolis, IN), April 22, 1899 / Marks, p. 123.

Lynchings in the South

"It is high time for the U.S. to begin to look after the interests of its own people and leave the semi-civilized people of Cuba, Puerto Rico and other countries to attend to their own affairs. Something must be done to settle the trouble in the South. It is a very strange thing that this government cannot find time or means to stop some of the lynchings in that section of the country. The Negroes have always believed in this grand government of ours. We have always been the back-bone of the Republican party and it is to this source that we look for protection."

Illinois Record (Bloomington, IL), April 1, 1899 / Marks, p. 120.

The Call for African American Officers

Prior to the Spanish-American War, there were four black units in the Regular Army, the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry, all commanded by white officers. Black soldiers spent most of their time in the West fighting Indians and are known as Buffalo Soldiers. When President McKinley called for Volunteers from the states in 1898, only North Carolina, Virginia, Ohio, Kansas, Illinois and Massachusetts permitted black officers above the rank of lieutenant. The African American press continually called for black officers to command black regiments repeating the rallying cry coined by the Richmond, Virginia *Planet*: *"No Officers; No Fight!"*

Marks, pp. 33-35 rewritten by Randolph Delehanty

Empathy with the Filipino Fight for Independence

"There is absolutely no enthusiasm over this warfare among the people of the United States. And why should there be? The Filipinos are fighting for home, for lands, for country, for liberty. They may have mistaken the charitably and humane purposes of this government, and it may be that they would be far better off, even as free men, if they would lay down their arms and allow the United States to untangle the knot. At the same time, they do not think so, and they certainly have a right to their opinions, and the privilege of fighting for their belief. … [T]he true American does not feel like throwing his hat wildly in the air because a lot of poor ignorant creatures, battling for what they believe to be their rights and their liberties, are being put to the sword like so many rats in a corner."

Utah State Journal, no date, 1899 / Marks, pp. 121-122.

An Unnecessary and Unjust War

"[T]he number of Filipinos slaughtered should be taken into account. … The mere fact that American soldiers are enabled to deal such destruction into the ranks of the natives with such a comparatively small loss to themselves should suggest to the fair-minded an idea of the unjustness of

the struggle. … [T]he comparative ease with which the armies of one nation may annihilate the armies of another must certainly be regarded as an innovation in determining the justness of international quarrels. The Filipino war continues and the American laborer is footing the lion's share of the bills. This costly, unnecessary, and wholly illogical conflict – from the standpoint of our old-time national doctrines – could be ended in a fortnight by just treating Aguinaldo and his collaborators for independence as we would have had George III treat us something better than a hundred years ago. There never will be peace until peace is negotiated on humane, just, and equitable lines."

Washington *Colored American* quoted in Indianapolis *Recorder*, June 3, 1899 / Marks, p. 127.

Race and War

"[N]o negro possessing any race pride can enter heartily into the prosecution of the war against the Filipinos, and all enlightened negroes must necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the war is being waged solely for greed and gold and not in the interest of suffering humanity."

Salt Lake City *Broad Ax,* May 16, 1899 / Marks, p. 126.

Empire and Power *versus* Self-Government

"Isolated as we have been, it has proved an immense blessing. We have prospered exceedingly without having a large standing army to be sustained by the laboring people. Our flag was respected by all nations long before our Moses [President McKinley] declared war on the Philippine Islands. To be serious, of all the arrant humbugs ever invented by evil men, chiefest is the idea that we must deprive a brave, liberty-loving people [the Filipinos] of their freedom in order to become a world power … If we are to remain a republic, we must not war on a people who are struggling for self-government."

Dr. L. B. Weymouth of Maine in the Boston *Courant,* January 6, 1900 / Marks, p. 162.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900

"We condemn and renounce the Philippines policy of the present [Republican] administration. It has involved the republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.

[T]he burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish war, involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign. … We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation, and a constant menace to their liberties. … [T]he very existence of our constitutional republic is at stake…."

Harper's History of the War in the Philippines, 1900.

As it turned out, the chief issue in the 1900 presidential election was domestic prosperity, not the Philippine War, and McKinley won with his "Full Dinner Pail" campaign.

SENATOR ALBERT BEVERIDGE (1862-1927)
"In Support of an American Empire"
Republican Senator from Indiana, 1899-1911

Congressional Record, 56 Cong., I Sess., pp. 704-712. January 9, 1900.

The times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, "territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

But to hold it will be no mistake. Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England, Germany, or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East. … [T]he Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic. . . .

But if they did not command China, India, the Orient, the whole Pacific for purposes of offense, defense, and trade, the Philippines are so valuable in themselves that we should hold them. I have cruised more than 2,000 miles through the archipelago, every moment a surprise at its loveliness and

wealth. I have ridden hundreds of miles on the islands, every foot of the way a revelation of vegetable and mineral riches. . . .

…Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the Orient, and geography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval, or military base. Today, we have one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the Eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe, and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved. Shall we abandon it?

That man little knows the common people of the republic, little understands the instincts of our race who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; they will avail us nothing but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our duty in the end.

The military situation, past, present, and prospective, is no reason for abandonment. Our campaign has been as perfect as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immensity of our acquisition; and, second, by insufficient force; and, third, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, General Otis had only 3,722 officers and men whom he had a legal right to order into battle. The terms of enlistment of the rest of his troops had expired, and they fought voluntarily and not on legal military compulsion. It was one of the noblest examples of patriotic devotion to duty in the history of the world.

Those who complain do so in ignorance of the real situation. We attempted a great task with insufficient means; we became impatient that it was not finished before it could fairly be commenced; and I pray we may not add that other element of disaster, pausing in the work before it is thoroughly and forever done. That is the gravest mistake we could possibly make, and that is the only danger before us. Our Indian wars would have been shortened, the lives of soldiers and settlers saved, and the Indians

themselves benefited had we made continuous and decisive war; and any other kind of war is criminal because ineffective. We acted toward the Indians as though we feared them, loved them, hated them -- a mingling of foolish sentiment, inaccurate thought, and paralytic purpose. . . .

This war is like all other wars. It needs to be finished before it is stopped. … A lasting peace can be secured only by overwhelming forces in ceaseless action until universal and absolutely final defeat is inflicted on the enemy. To halt before every armed force, every guerrilla band opposing us is dispersed or exterminated will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrection.

Even then we should not treat. To treat at all is to admit that we are wrong. And any quiet so secured will be delusive and fleeting. And a false peace will betray us; a sham truce will curse us. It is not to serve the purposes of the hour, it is not to salve a present situation that peace should be established. It is for the tranquility of the archipelago forever. It is for an orderly government for the Filipinos for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled, not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American republic over the Pacific and throughout the East till the end of time.

… [W]e are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals. We are dealing with Orientals who are Malays. We are dealing with Malays instructed in Spanish methods. They mistake kindness for weakness, forbearance for fear. It could not be otherwise unless you could erase hundreds of years of savagery, other hundreds of years of Orientalism, and still other hundreds of years of Spanish character and custom. . . .

Reluctantly and only from a sense of duty am I forced to say that American opposition to the war has been the chief factor in prolonging it. Had Aguinaldo not understood that in America, even in the American Congress, even here in the Senate, he and his cause were supported; had he not known that it was proclaimed on the stump and in the press of a faction in the United States that every shot his misguided followers fired into the breasts of American soldiers was like the volleys fired by Washington's men against the soldiers of King George, his insurrection would have dissolved before it entirely crystallized.

But … it would be better to abandon this combined garden and Gibraltar of the Pacific, and count our blood and treasure already spent a profitable loss than to apply any academic arrangement of self-government to these children. They are not capable of self-government. How could they be? They are not of a self-governing race. They are Orientals, Malays, instructed by Spaniards in the latter's worst estate.

They know nothing of practical government except as they have witnessed the weak, corrupt, cruel, and capricious rule of Spain. What magic will anyone employ to dissolve in their minds and characters those impressions of governors and governed which three centuries of misrule has created? What alchemy will change the Oriental quality of their blood and set the self-governing currents of the American pouring through their Malay veins? How shall they, in the twinkling of an eye, be exalted to the heights of self-governing peoples which required a thousand years for us to reach, Anglo-Saxon though we are? Let men beware how they employ the term "self-government." It is a sacred term. It is the watchword at the door of the inner temple of liberty, for liberty does not always mean self-government. …. [W]e must never forget that in dealing with the Filipinos we deal with children. ….

Better pure military occupation for years than government by any other quality of administration. Better abandon this priceless possession, admit ourselves incompetent to do our part in the world-redeeming work of our imperial race; better now haul down the flag of arduous deeds for civilization and run up the flag of reaction and decay than to apply academic notions of self-government to these children or attempt their government by any but the most perfect administrators our country can produce. I assert that such administrators can be found. . . .

The Declaration of Independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the Declaration would be wrong, just as the Articles of Confederation, drafted by the very same men who signed the Declaration, was found to be wrong. The Declaration has no application to the present situation. It was written by self-governing men for self-governing men. It was written by men who, for a century and a half, had been experimenting in self-government on this continent, and whose ancestors for hundreds of years before had been gradually developing toward that high and holy estate. ….

There is in the ocean no constitutional argument against the march of the flag, for the oceans, too, are ours. With more extended coastlines than any nation of history; with a commerce vaster than any other people ever dreamed of, and that commerce as yet only in its beginnings; with naval traditions equaling those of England or of Greece, and the work of our Navy only just begun; with the air of the ocean in our nostrils and the blood of a sailor ancestry in our veins; with the shores of all the continents calling us, the Great Republic before I die will be the acknowledged lord of the world's high seas. And over them the republic will hold dominion, by virtue of the strength God has given it, for the peace of the world and the betterment of man. ….

[T]his question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master [Jesus] is upon us: "Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things." ….

Do you remind me of the precious blood that must be shed, the lives that must be given, the broken hearts of loved ones for their slain? And this is indeed a heavier price than all combined. And, yet, as a nation, every historic duty we have done, every achievement we have accomplished has been by the sacrifice of our noblest sons. Every holy memory that glorifies the flag is of those heroes who have died that its onward march might not be stayed. It is the nation's dearest lives yielded for the flag that makes it dear to us; it is the nation's most precious blood poured out for it that

makes it precious to us. That flag is woven of heroism and grief, of the bravery of men and women's tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and of glory. It is these which make our flag a holy thing.

And that time will never come. We will renew our youth at the fountain of new and glorious deeds. We will exalt our reverence for the flag by carrying it to a noble future as well as by remembering its ineffable past. Its immortality will not pass, because everywhere and always we will acknowledge and discharge the solemn responsibilities our sacred flag, in its deepest meaning, puts upon us. And so . . . with reverent hearts, where dwells the fear of God, the American people move forward to the future of their hope and the doing of His work. … How dare we delay when our soldiers' blood is flowing?

MCKINLEY'S CAMPAIGN PROMISE ON THE PHILIPPINES
Canton, Ohio, July 12, 1900

"The Philippines are ours, and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago. There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights, no abandonment of our duty. There must be no scuttle [and run] policy. We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our arms and by the treaty of peace, by international law, by the nation's sense of honor, and, more than all, by the rights, interests, and conditions of the Philippine people themselves. No outside interference blocks the way to peace and a stable government. The obstructionists [anti-imperialists] are here, not elsewhere."

Harper's History of the War in the Philippines, 1900.

Gallery 8

HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION: A TANGLED TALE

The Hawaiian Islands form an archipelago of nineteen islands and atolls and numerous smaller islets and were first settled by Polynesians from the Marquesas between 300 and 500 A.D. British explorer Capt. James Cook visited in 1778. Ships rounding Cape Horn headed for California swung north and west to Hawaii following ocean currents and trade winds, and then back north and east to San Francisco. The islands became the Pacific Ocean crossroads for explorers, traders, whalers and Protestant missionaries. Hawaii was a kingdom under Native Hawaiian rulers from 1810 to 1893. King Kamehameha III unsuccessfully sought recognition of Hawaii as an independent nation in 1843. In 1867, the U.S. consul in Honolulu proposed the “quiet absorption” of the islands. An 1875 treaty allowed Hawaiian sugar tax-free entry to the U.S. making the islands an economic dependency of the U.S and a small group of American planters rich. Since Hawaiians refused to labor in the cane fields -- and their numbers had dropped drastically with the introduction of “European” diseases -- planters imported agricultural workers from China, the Azores, Japan and Korea creating a multiethnic workforce.

In 1887, the American planters forced King Kalakauna to accept a new constitution that handed power to big, non-Hawaiian landowners. In the same year, the U.S. Navy established a coaling station at sheltered Pearl Harbor at Honolulu. The sugar barons and merchants formed a secret Annexation Club in 1892. When Queen Liliuokalani attempted to regain power for Native Hawaiians in 1893, the planters, backed by the U.S. consul in Honolulu and U.S. Marines, staged a coup and declared the islands a protectorate of the U.S. They sent a delegation to Washington to arrange annexation but Democratic President Grover Cleveland refused to back the plotters just as he refused to intervene in Spanish Cuba. The planters then formed the Republic of Hawaii under President Sanford Dole. Annexation only came after Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor in 1898. Suddenly Hawaii was a strategic stepping stone to the Philippines.

Republican President William McKinley engineered the passage of a treaty of annexation in the Senate by a bare majority. As a U.S. territory, Asians were now excluded from Hawaii under the Chinese Exclusion Act and sugar planters turned to Porto Rico, and after 1906, to the Philippines for laborers. By 2000, about 14 percent of Hawaii's people were of Filipino descent. Hawaii became a self-governing territory in 1900 and achieved statehood in 1959. The power of the planters was not broken until the economic decline of sugar in the 1960s. All islanders are U.S. citizens. The 2000 census counted 116,961 Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in California.