

READING FOCUS

1. Why did Beveridge favor expansion?
2. What methods did he use to gain support for his ideas?
3. According to Beveridge, why did "Imperialism" appeal to many Americans?

It is a noble land that God has given us—a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land set like a guard between the two oceans of the globe. It is a mighty people that God has planted on this soil. It is a people descended from the most masterful blood of history and constantly strengthened by the strong working folk of all the earth. It is a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their heaven-directed purposes.

It is a glorious history our God has given His chosen people. Its keynote was struck by the Liberty Bell, and is heroic with faith in our mission and our future. It is a history of leaders who expanded the boundaries of the republic into unexplored lands and savage wildernesses. It is a history of soldiers who carried the flag across blazing deserts and through hostile mountains. It is a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century. It is a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past, and of martyrs who died to save us from them.

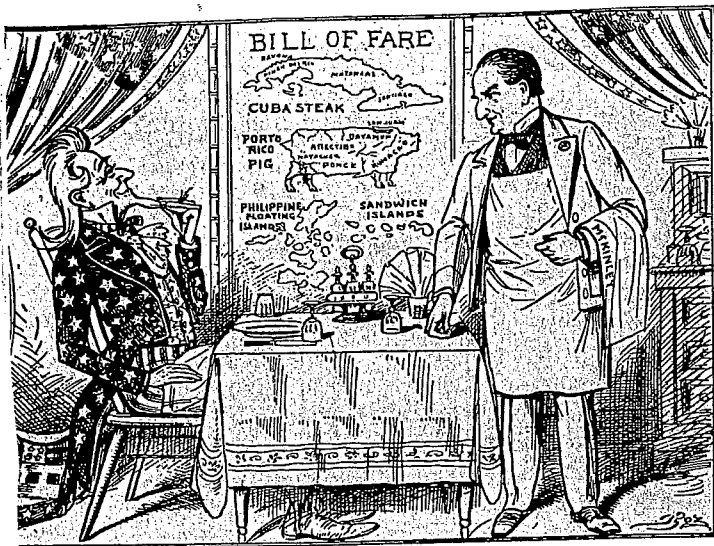
Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their restless march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions extend their blessed reign until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all human-kind?

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellow humans? Has the Almighty Father given us gifts and marked us with His favor, only to rot in our own selfishness? This happens to people and nations who are cowardly and self-absorbed—China, India, and Egypt.

Adapted from Modern Eloquence, Vol. 10, by Albert J. Beveridge, edited by Ashley H. Thorndike.

182 In Defense of Imperialism

The success of the United States in the Spanish-American War led some Americans to dream of a colonial empire. Leading the enthusiasm for overseas possessions was Albert J. Beveridge, a young lawyer from Indiana. In the following speech, delivered in 1898 during his campaign for the Senate, he made a strong appeal for action. After his election, he continued to favor and encourage a policy of expansionism.



Uncle Sam takes a look at the menu.

Shall we be as the man who had one piece of gold and hid it, or as he who had ten pieces of gold and used them until they grew to riches? And shall we gather the reward for carrying out our high duty as the sovereign power of earth? Shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, new markets for what our factories make, new markets for what our merchants sell? Shall we take advantage of new sources of supply for what we do not raise or make, so that what are luxuries today will be necessities tomorrow? Shall our commerce be encouraged until American trade is the imperial trade of the entire globe?

The opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer: The rule of liberty, that all just government takes its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. I answer: We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. I answer: How do you assume that our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this republic to the savage, bloody rule of plundering from which we have rescued them?

Shall we turn these people back to the bloody hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them to their fate, with the wolves of conquest all about them—with Ger-

many, Russia, France, even Japan, hungering for them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy? It would be like giving a razor to a baby and telling it to shave itself.

They ask us how we will govern these new possessions. I answer: Out of local conditions and necessity. If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America. If those nations can supervise protectorates, so can America. Why is it more difficult to govern Hawaii than New Mexico or California? Both had a foreign population. Both were more distant from the seat of government when they came under our control than Hawaii is today.

Will you say by your vote that American ability to govern has decayed, that a century's experience in self-rule has failed? Will you show by your vote that you do not believe in American vigor and power and practical sense? Or will you say that we are of the ruling race of the world—that ours is the blood of government, the heart of authority, the brain and genius of administration? Will you remember that we do only what our fathers did—we simply pitch the tents of liberty farther westward, farther southward. We only continue the march of the flag.

There are so many real things to be done—canals to be dug, railways to be laid, forests to be felled, cities to be built, fields to be tilled, priceless markets to be won, ships to be launched, peoples to be saved, civilization to be proclaimed, and the flag of liberty flung to the eager air of every sea.

We cannot escape our world duties. We must carry out the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has placed our flag. It is up to us to save that soil for liberty and civilization. For liberty and civilization and God's promise fulfilled, the flag must from now on be the symbol to all humankind.

READING REVIEW

1. What were Beveridge's arguments in favor of expansion?
2. (a) How did Beveridge support his case by appealing to his listeners' pride? (b) To their feelings of competition? (c) To their sense of duty?
3. Do you think these methods of persuasion would be effective today? Why or why not?

183 A Criticism of Imperialism

Not all Americans favored the United States' new policy of overseas expansion. Many well-known Americans spoke out against expansionism. After the Spanish-American War, Carl Schurz, a liberal reformer, became a leading opponent of American expansion. Schurz, who had originally come to the United States from Germany, had been a lawyer, an abolitionist, a Senator from Missouri, and Secretary of Interior in President Hayes' cabinet.

Schurz was especially opposed to the American annexation of the Philippines. The following are selections from a speech he gave on the subject in 1899.

READING FOCUS

1. How did America's earlier territorial gains differ from those of the 1890's?
2. Why did Schurz object to the process of "Americanization"?

According to the solemn proclamation of our government, the Spanish-American War was undertaken only for the liberation of Cuba, as a war of humanity and not of conquest. But our easy victories put conquest within our reach. When our troops took over foreign territory, a loud demand arose that, pledge or no pledge, the conquests should be kept, including even the Philippines on the other side of the globe.

Why not? was the cry. Has not the career of the Republic almost from its very beginning been one of territorial expansion? Has it not acquired Louisiana, Florida, Texas, the vast areas that came to us through the Mexican War, and Alaska? Has it not digested them well? Were not those acquisitions much larger than those now thought of? If the Republic could digest the old, why not the new? What is the difference?

Look with a clear eye, and you will soon discover differences that should warn you to look out. There are five of great importance.

1. All the former acquisitions were on

this continent and, except for Alaska, on our borders.

2. They were located not in the tropical but in the temperate zone, where democratic institutions do well, and where our people could move in great numbers.

3. They were very thinly settled—in fact, without any population that would have been in the way of new settlements.

4. They could be organized as territories in the usual manner. It was expected that they would presently come into the Union as self-governing states with populations much like our own.

5. They did not require an increase in our army and navy, either to subject them to our rule or to protect them from foreign attack.

Compare now our old acquisitions on all these important points with the ones now under discussion.

They are not continental, not bordering our present land, but are overseas—the Philippines are many thousand miles distant from our coast. They are all located in the tropics, where people of the Northern races, such as Anglo-Saxons, have never moved in large numbers. They are more or less densely populated, parts of them as densely as Massachusetts. Their populations consist almost exclusively of races to whom the tropical climate is well suited—Spanish mixed with Negroes in the West Indies, and Malays, Tagals, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, Negritos, and various more or less barbarous tribes in the Philippines.

The question is asked whether we may hope to adapt those countries and populations to our system of government. At this, those who favor annexation answer cheerily that when they belong to us, we shall soon "Americanize" them. This seems to mean that Americans in sufficiently large numbers will move there to change the character of the people until they are more like us.

This is a false belief. If we go honestly about it, we may indeed accomplish several helpful things in those countries. But one thing we cannot do. We cannot strip the tropical climate of those qualities which have kept people of the Northern races, to which we belong, from moving and settling there in large numbers. It is true that you will find in towns of tropical regions a few persons of Anglo-Saxon or of other Northern origin—merchants, railroad builders, speculators, professional

Adapted from Frederick Bancroft, ed., Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz, Vol. 6.



A political cartoon about American imperialism

people, and mechanics. But their number is small, and most of them expect to go home as soon as they make some money.

The scheme of Americanizing our "new possessions" in that way is therefore absolutely hopeless. The forces of nature are against it. Whatever we may do for their improvement, the people of the Spanish islands will outnumber us. The vast majority are completely alien to us, not only in origin and language, but in habits, traditions, ways of thinking, principles, ambitions—in short, in most things that are of the greatest importance in human and political cooperation.

What, then, shall we do with such peoples? Shall we organize those countries as territories with a view to their eventual admission as states? If they become states on an equal footing with the other states, they not only will govern themselves, but will take part in governing the whole Republic. They will share in governing us, by sending Senators and Representatives into our Congress to help make our laws, and by voting for President and Vice-President. The prospect of such consequences is so alarming that you may well pause before taking the step.

But this may be avoided, it is said, by governing the new possessions as mere dependencies, or subject provinces. This would be a most serious departure from the rule that governed our former acquisitions. It is useless to

speak of the District of Columbia and Alaska as proof that we have done such things before and can do them again. Every honest person will at once admit the great difference between those cases and the permanent establishment of arbitrary government over large territories with millions of inhabitants. The question is not only whether we can do such things, but whether having the public good at heart, we *should* do them.

If we adopt such a system then we shall, for the first time since the abolition of slavery, again have two kinds of Americans. There will be Americans of the first class, who enjoy the privilege of taking part in the government in accordance with our Constitutional principles. And there will be Americans of the second class, who are to be ruled by the Americans of the first class.

This will be a difference no better—rather somewhat worse—than that which existed 125 years ago between English people of the first class and English people of the second class. The first were represented by King George and the British Parliament. The second group consisted of the American colonists. This difference led to the American Declaration of Independence—a document which, I regret to say, seems to have lost much of its charms among some of our citizens. Its basic principle was that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We are now told that we have never fully lived up to that principle. Therefore, we may now throw it aside altogether. But I say to you that, if we are true believers in democratic government, we should move in that direction and not away from it. If you tell me that we cannot govern the people of those new possessions in accordance with that principle, then I answer that this is a reason we should not attempt to govern them at all.

If we do, we shall change the government of the people, for the people, and by the people into a government of one part of the people, the strong, over another part, the weak. Abandoning such a basic principle may at first seem to involve only distant lands, but it can hardly fail to affect democratic government at home. And I warn the American people that a democracy cannot deny its faith in a vital principle—it cannot long play the role of king over subject populations without creating in itself ways of thinking and habits of action most dangerous to its own vitality.

READING REVIEW

1. According to the Schurz, how did earlier American territorial gains differ from those of the 1890's?
2. Why did he oppose the American annexation of the Philippines?
3. How did Schurz regard the effort to "Americanize" foreign peoples?
4. (a) Do you think Schurz was more concerned about the effects of expansion on people in the territories or their effects on Americans? (b) Cite evidence from the reading to support your conclusion.

185 From The Hawaiian Viewpoint

By the late 1800's Americans owned most of the sugar plantations in Hawaii and had obtained a treaty that allowed Hawaiian sugar to enter the United States duty free. However, the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 threatened the Hawaiian sugar planters by allowing all foreign sugar to enter the United States duty free and by giving a two-cent per pound subsidy to American sugar producers. Shortly afterward the planters asked that Hawaii be annexed by the United States, believing this was the only way to save their sugar industry.

Queen Liliuokalani, who was supported by the Hawaiian people, opposed annexation. And in 1893, because of her efforts against them, the planters and other Americans in Hawaii revolted against her rule and set up their own government. In this selection, the queen told what happened in Hawaii before the annexation.

READING FOCUS

1. Why did the Hawaiians allow Americans to take over their government?
2. What actions of the United States did Queen Liliuokalani criticize?

It has been said that the Hawaiian people under the rule of the chiefs were harshly ruled. Under the monarchy, it was held, their condition greatly improved, but the native government in any form finally became intolerable to the better informed part of the community. I shall not examine such statements in detail. But I do feel called upon to make a few remarks from my own—that is to say, the native Hawaiian—viewpoint.

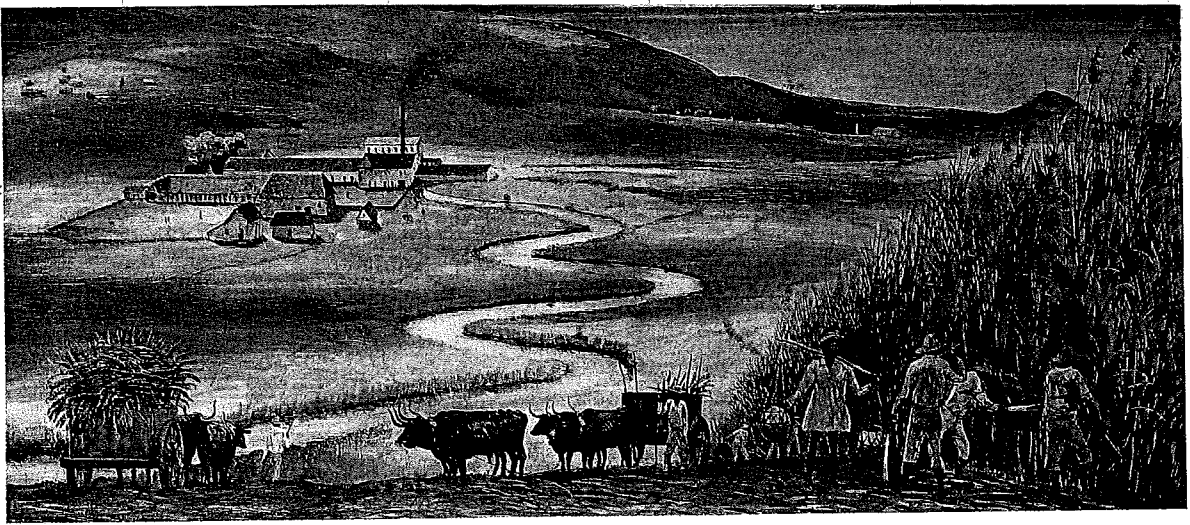
I shall not claim that in the days of Captain Cook our people were civilized. I shall not claim anything more for their progress in civilization and Christian morality than missionary writers have. Perhaps I may safely claim even less, admitting the criticism of some intelligent visitors who were not missionaries. In other words, the habits and prejudices of New England Puritanism were not well adapted to a tropical people, and could not be thoroughly absorbed by them.

But they have accepted Christianity in substance. I know of no people who have developed a tenderer Christian conscience, or who have shown themselves more ready to obey its commands. And where else in the world's history have savage people, pagan for ages, with fixed customs and beliefs, made equal progress in civilization and Christianity in the same amount of time?

Does it say nothing for us that we have always recognized our Christian teachers as worthy of authority in our councils? That while four fifths of the population of our islands were killed by diseases introduced by foreigners, the ruling class held on to Christian morality, and gave its strong support and service to the work of saving and civilizing the masses? Has not this class loyally held on to the brotherly alliance made with the better group of foreign settlers, giving freely of its authority and its substance, its sons and daughters, to cement and prosper it?

Why should it be thought strange that education and knowledge of the world have made us able to see that as a race we have some special mental and physical requirements not shared by other races? That certain habits and ways of living are better for our health and happiness than others? And that a separate nationality and a particular form of govern-

Adapted from Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen by Liliuokalani.



Americans owned the first large sugar plantations in Hawaii.

ment, as well as special laws, are, at least for the present, best for us? These things were ours until the pitiless and tireless "annexation policy" was effectively backed by the naval power of the United States.

Before this we had allowed foreigners to give us a constitution and control the offices of government. Not without protest, indeed, for this grabbing of power caused us much humiliation and distress. But we did not resist it by force. It had not entered our hearts to believe that these friends and allies from the United States would ever go so far as to overthrow our form of government, grab our nation by the throat, and turn it over to a foreign power.

Perhaps there is a kind of right, known as the "Right of Conquest," under which robbers may take whatever they are strong enough to grab from others. I will not pretend to decide how far civilization and Christian teachings have outlawed this right.

If we have been friendly to those who sought our ruin, it was because they were Americans, like those whom we believed to be our dearest friends and allies. If we did not resist their final outrage by force, it was because we could not do so without striking at the military might of the United States. The conspirators, having actually gained possession of the government, refused to give up their conquest. So it happens that the people of the islands have no voice in determining their future, but are in a condition like that of the American Indians.

It is not for me to consider this matter from the American point of view. The current ques-

tion of annexation, however, involves a departure from the established policy of that country and a dangerous change in its foreign relations. I am able to say, with absolute authority, that the native people of Hawaii are entirely loyal to their own chiefs, and are deeply attached to their own customs and government. They either do not understand, or bitterly oppose, the scheme of annexation.

Perhaps I may say here a final word about the Americans who favor this annexation of Hawaii. I observe that it is pretty much a party matter, favored chiefly by Republican leaders and politicians. But is it really a matter of party interest? Is the American Republic to decline and become a colonizer and a land-grabber? And is this prospect acceptable to a people who depend upon self-government for their liberties? There is little question but that the United States could become a successful rival of the European nations in the race for conquest and could create a great military and naval power if such is its ambition. But is such an ambition praiseworthy? Is such a departure from established principles patriotic or wise?

READING REVIEW

1. According to Queen Liliuokalani, why did the Hawaiians let the Americans take control of their government?
2. For what actions did Queen Liliuokalani criticize the Americans?
3. (a) What special interests did some Americans have in the Hawaiian islands? (b) How did this affect the United States policy with regard to establishing a new government for Hawaii?