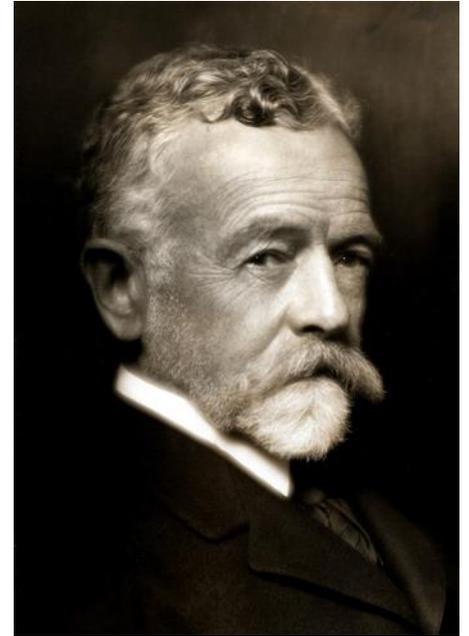


You are ...

An expansionist Republican Senator

You are a conservative Republican Senator from Massachusetts and a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt. As a Senator, you were a staunch supporter of the gold standard and were strongly opposed to William Jennings Bryan's support of "bimetallism", which would have increased the circulation of cash to the benefit of debt-ridden farmers. You are also in favor of immigration restriction and have cautioned against the mixing of "higher" and "lower" races. You were a strong supporter of U.S. intervention in Cuba in 1898, arguing that it was the moral duty of the United States to oppose Spanish colonial rule. You are one of the main voices arguing in favor of the annexation of the Philippines and believe the United States must have a strong navy and be more involved in foreign affairs. You call your foreign policy approach the "large policy" of expansion, and you wish to see the United States break with any tradition of nonintervention in foreign affairs and take its place among the Great Powers, such as Britain and Germany.



From the historical record:

Henry Cabot Lodge, excerpt from a speech before the Senate titled "The Retention of the Philippines", 1900.

If the arguments which have been offered against our taking the Philippines Islands because we have not the consent of the inhabitants be just, then our whole past record of expansion is a crime, and Thomas Jefferson, and John Quincy Adams, and James Monroe, and all the rest of our Presidents and statesmen who have added to our national domain are traitors to the cause of liberty and the Declaration of Independence. Does anyone really believe it? I think not. Then let us be honest and look at this whole question as it really is. I am not ashamed of that long record of American expansion. I am proud of it. I do not think that we violated in that record the principles of the Declaration of Independence. On the contrary, I think we spread them over regions where they were unknown. Guided by the principles of that record, I am proud of the Treaty of Paris [of 1898], which is but a continuance of our American policy. The taking of the Philippines does not violate the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but will spread them among a people who have never known liberty, and who in a few years will be as unwilling to leave the shelter of the American flag as those of any other territory we ever brought between its folds.

The next argument of the opponents of the Republican policy is that we are denying self-government to the Filipinos. Our reply is that to give independent self-government at once, as we understand it, to a people who have no just conception of it and no fitness for it, is to dower them with a curse instead of a blessing. To do this would be entirely to arrest their progress, instead of advancing them on the road to the liberty and free government which we wish them to achieve and enjoy.

You are ...

An English poet

You are an English poet, novelist, and journalist. You were born in India, to English parents, and so have a unique lens through which you have experienced and interpret the concept of empire. You remember your childhood in Bombay fondly, but have spent much of your life abroad. You worked for a time in the British-Indian press then traveled to Hong Kong, Japan, and Singapore, before reaching the United States. There you became friends with an American literary figure, Mark Twain, before returning to Britain a few years later. Your best-known works include tales inspired by your upbringing in British India, such as *The Jungle Book*, which has been praised for its storytelling, but criticized for its racialized portrayals of the Indian characters. Over time, you have begun to weave more political messages into your works, which some critics are beginning to see as propaganda for imperialism. Still others see your works from a different light, as a message of warning against imperialism. Your understandings of empire and your own identity are complex, yet many American imperialists have seized upon the ideas presented in your poetry as justification for imperial conquest as a civilizing mission. One American Senator went so far as to quote your poem on American-Philippine relations, "The White Man's Burden", in an address to President McKinley, adding "Those [Filipino] peoples are not suited to our institutions. They are not ready for liberty as we understand it." Similarly, soon-to-be vice president Theodore Roosevelt has commented that the poem is "rather poor poetry, but good sense from the expansion point of view."



From the historical record:

An excerpt from "The White Man's Burden" by Rudyard Kipling. The poem was first published in *McClure's* magazine, a popular American publication, 1899.

Take up the White Man's burden—

Send forth the best ye breed—

Go bind your sons to exile

To serve your captives' need;

To wait in heavy harness,

On fluttered folk and wild—

Your new-caught, sullen peoples,

Half-devil and half-child. [...]

[...] Take up the White Man's burden—

The savage wars of peace—

Fill full the mouth of Famine

And bid the sickness cease;

And when your goal is nearest

The end for others sought,

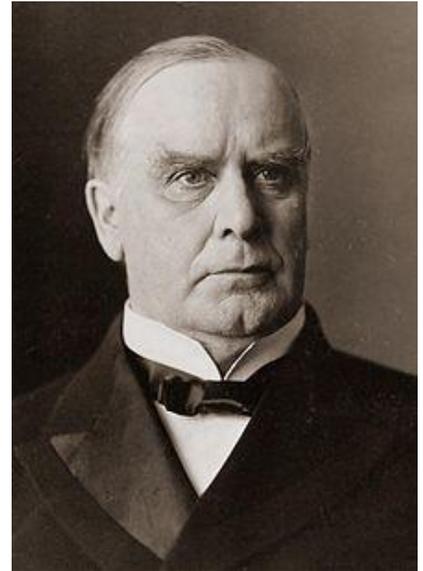
Watch Sloth and heathen Folly

Bring all your hope to nought.

You are ...

The President of the United States

You are the Republican president who led the nation to victory during the Spanish-American War. As a member of Congress in 1890, you raised protective tariffs to promote American industry, although this was a controversial move. You were elected to the presidency among a deep economic depression that had begun in 1893 with the promise to pull the nation back to economic prosperity. You were not eager for war with Spain, having experienced the American Civil War as a soldier, however you turned the matter of declaring war over to Congress in 1898 when negotiations with Spain to guarantee Cuban independence failed. Since the signing of the Treaty of Paris, your cabinet has been split on what the status of the new territories should be. Generally, you and your cabinet agree that Spain must leave Cuba and Puerto Rico to the United States, but there remains disagreement over the Philippines which you have yet to resolve. Your policies elsewhere have been decidedly expansionist; your administration is responsible for the annexation of Hawaii and you are currently seeking trade opportunities in East Asia, espousing an "Open Door Policy" in which all nations would have equal access to Chinese markets. You are also looking forward to the construction of a canal across Central America. On the issue of Hawaiian annexation, you remarked, "We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than California. It is manifest destiny."



From the historical record:

In an October 1898 interview, President McKinley weighs what to do with the Philippines, after the U.S. expelled Spanish colonial rule over the islands in the Spanish-American war.

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides – Democrats as well as Republicans – but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also.

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way – I don't know how it was, but it came:

- (1) That we could not give them back to Spain – that would be cowardly and dishonorable;
- (2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient – that would be bad business and discreditable;
- (3) That we could not leave them to themselves – they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was; and
- (4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men, for whom Christ also died.

And then I went to bed and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map-maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States (pointing to a large map on the wall of his office), and there they are and there they will stay while I am President!

You are ...

An anti-expansionist editorial writer

You are a liberal Republican with a storied past in American politics. Born and raised in Germany, you fought for democratic reforms in the revolutions of 1848-49 before emigrating to the United States. You were a strong advocate for the anti-slavery movement and served as a Union general in the Civil War. Later you would go on to serve in the U.S. Senate and as Secretary of the Interior under Rutherford B. Hayes. Your role during the Reconstruction Era was controversial, as you were not a supporter of African American civil rights and believed in ideas of European superiority. As Secretary of the Interior, you continued the practice of pushing Native Americans onto reservations, although later in life you would start to promote an assimilationist policy instead. Currently, you are an editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*. In your publications, you have argued vociferously for social and political reform and against American imperialism. You opposed the Spanish-American War and denounced the annexation of Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico as unconstitutional and a violation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence.



From the historical record:

Excerpt from "American Imperialism: An Address Opposing Annexation of the Philippines, January 4, 1899" by Carl Schurz.

It is objected that they are not capable of independent government. They may answer that this is their affair and that they are at least entitled to a trial. I frankly admit that if they are given that trial, their conduct in governing themselves will be far from perfect. Well, the conduct of no people is perfect, not even our own. They may try to revenge themselves upon their Tories in their Revolutionary War. But we, too, threw our Tories into hideous dungeons during our Revolutionary War and persecuted and drove them away after its close. They may have bloody civil broils. But we, too, have had our Civil War which cost hundreds of thousands of lives and devastated one-half of our land; and now we have in horrible abundance the killings by lynch law, and our battles at Virden. They may have troubles with their wild tribes. So had we, and we treated our wild tribes in a manner not to be proud of....

No, we cannot expect that the Porto Ricans, the Cubans, and the Filipinos will maintain orderly governments in Anglo-Saxon fashion. But they may succeed in establishing a tolerable order of things in their own fashion, as Mexico, after many decades of turbulent disorder, succeeded at last, under Porfirio Diaz, in having a strong and orderly government of her kind, not, indeed, such a government as we would tolerate in this Union, but a government answering Mexican character and interests, and respectable in its relations with the outside world.

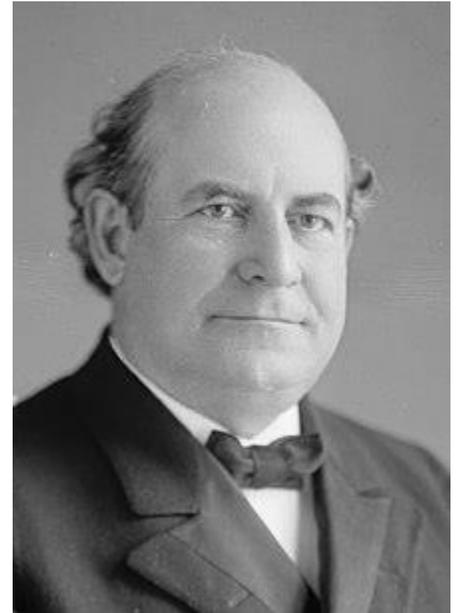
This will become all the more possible if, without annexing and ruling those people, we simply put them on their feet, and then give them the benefit of that humanitarian spirit which, as we claim, led us into the war for the liberation of Cuba....

Ask yourselves whether a policy like this will not raise the American people to a level of moral greatness never before attained! If this democracy, after all the intoxication of triumph in war, conscientiously remembers its professions and pledges, and soberly reflects on its duties to itself and others, and then deliberately resists the temptation of conquest, it will achieve the grandest triumph of the democratic idea that history knows of....

You are ...

An anti-expansionist Democrat

You were the Democratic Party nominee for President of the United States in 1896 and will run again in 1900. As a populist, you advocated for "free silver", which would have increased the money supply for the benefit of the working class and poor farmers. In opposition to the gold standard supported by conservative Democrats, you claimed "you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold". You are an outspoken critic of American imperialism, even though you supported the U.S. declaration of war against Spain in 1898 on humanitarian grounds. Although a near-pacifist, you volunteered for military service during the war and were selected colonel of a Nebraska militia unit, which did not see combat or deploy overseas. Your upcoming presidential campaign will focus on your opposition to the acquisition of the Philippines and to the economic policies of the McKinley administration, which you view as favoring the wealthy classes and as antithetical to Jeffersonian democracy.



From the historical record:

Excerpt from a speech by William Jennings Bryan, "The Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism," 1900.

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

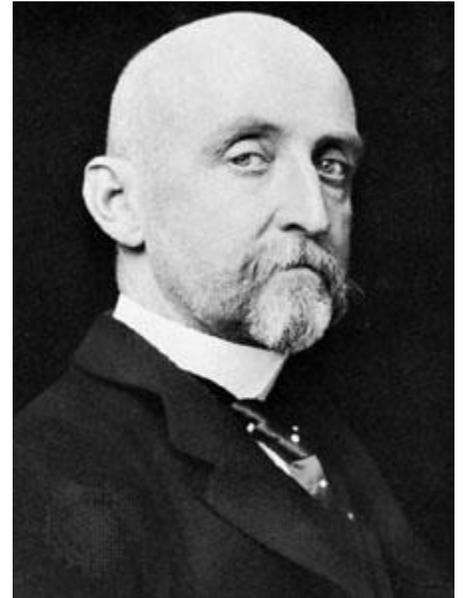
Imperialism would be profitable to the Army contractors; it would be profitable to the shipowners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries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

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes, and, under systems which place the tax upon consumption, pay much more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it. In addition to the evils which he and the former share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if Oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ Oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses, and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own government. It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

You are ...

A military historian

You were a U.S. Navy officer during the American Civil War, but due to your chronic seasickness, you have now dedicated yourself to writing military histories. Your writings reflect the belief that national security and commercial prosperity depend on a strong naval force; and that the United States needs overseas possessions, or at least control of critical bases, to be able to project its naval power into distant areas. Your writings about the importance of sea power have influenced the thinking of many world leaders, including Theodore Roosevelt and the German Kaiser, William II. Your views are influenced by the histories of other naval powers, including France and Britain, whose naval superiority you admire and wish the United States to emulate. The influence of your theories on supporters of the New Imperialism cannot be understated – the U.S., Germany and Japan would use the *Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890) as models for the modernization of their navies. Nonetheless, you remain lukewarm about American annexation of the Philippines.



From the historical record:

From “The United States Looking Outwards,” an article published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by Alfred Thayer Mahan, 1890.

To turn now from the particular lessons drawn from the history of the past to the general question of the influence of government upon the sea career of its people, it is seen that that influence can work in two distinct but closely related ways.

First, in peace: The government by its policy can favor the natural growth of a people's industries and its tendencies to seek adventure and gain by way of the sea; or it can try to develop such industries and such sea-going bent, when they do not naturally exist; or, on the other hand, the government may, by mistaken action check and fetter the progress which the people left to themselves would make. In any one of these ways the influence of the government will be felt, making or marring the sea power of the country in the matter of peaceful commerce; upon which alone, it cannot be too often insisted, a thoroughly strong navy can be based.

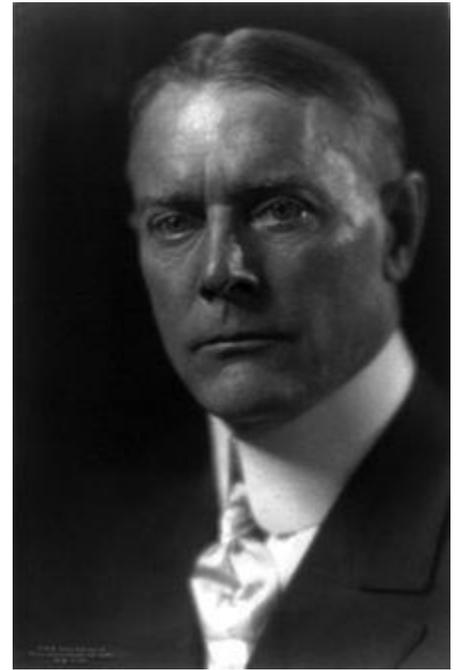
Secondly, for war: The influence of the government will be felt in its most legitimate manner in maintaining an armed navy, of a size commensurate with the growth of its shipping and the importance of the interests connected with it. More important even than the size of the navy is the question of its institutions, favoring a healthful spirit and activity, and providing for rapid development in time of war by an adequate reserve of men and of ships and by measures for drawing out that general reserve power which has before been pointed to, when considering the character and pursuits of the people.

Undoubtedly under this second head of warlike preparation must come the maintenance of suitable naval stations, in those distant parts of the world to which the armed shipping must follow the peaceful vessels of commerce. The protection of such stations must depend either upon direct military force, as do Gibraltar and Malta, or upon a surrounding friendly population, such as the American colonists once were to England, and, it may be presumed, the Australian colonists now are. Such friendly surroundings and backing, joined to a reasonable military provision, are the best of defenses, and when combined with decided preponderance at sea, make a scattered and extensive empire, like that of England, secure [...] History has sufficiently proved this.

You are ...

A progressive Senator

You are a young, ambitious Republican newly appointed to the U.S. Senate from Indiana. A gifted orator, you have been an outspoken advocate of American imperialism for years and campaigned for the construction of a new navy alongside Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. You also speak in favor of expanding the role of the federal government in areas such as child labor reform and support the progressivism of your associate Theodore Roosevelt. Besides your strong support for the annexation of the Philippines, you also have strong opinions on the status of other U.S. territories. You believe the territories of New Mexico and Arizona should be blocked from becoming states because there are too many Native Americans and Hispanics living in the region. You celebrate the idea of the “white man’s burden”, and have said of Manifest Destiny: “it is racial ... He [God] has marked the American people as His chosen nation.”



From the historical record:

Albert J. Beveridge, a soon-to-be Senator from Indiana, gave a speech called “The March of the Flag” in September of 1898, before President McKinley made the decision to keep the Philippines.

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 derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know what 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 pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them?

[...] The fact that all the territory our fathers bought and seized is contiguous is no argument [...] But the Opposition is right – there is a difference [...] today we are raising more than we can consume. Today we are making more than we can use. Today our industrial society is congested; there are more workers than there is work; there is more capital than there is investment. We do not need more money – we need more circulation, more employment. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor. And so, while we did not need the territory taken during the past century at the time it was acquired, we do need what we have taken in 1898, and we need it now.

[...] We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute 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 unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.

You are ...

The governor of New York

You are currently the Republican Governor of New York, but within the next year have ambitions to run alongside President William McKinley for the vice-presidency. You grew up a sickly child but got over it by embracing a rugged lifestyle. You loved the outdoors, had an early interest in hunting and taxidermy, and trained as a boxer. After the death of your wife, you briefly turning to cattle ranching in the Dakotas. The image of robust manliness you emanate bolstered your political career, and on the advice of your friend Henry Cabot Lodge, President McKinley appointed you Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1897. You resigned this post in order to form a volunteer cavalry regiment, colloquially known as the "Rough Riders", to fight in the Spanish-American War. Your regiment's charge up San Juan Hill was instrumental in defeating Spain. Years ago, as a scholar, you studied naval history and wrote a seminal historical text on the War of 1812. Your interest in naval history naturally drew your attention to Alfred Thayer Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, which would influence your views on naval strategy for the rest of your career. You are a cowboy, a brown belt in judo, an avid reader, and you skinny-dip in the Potomac in winter; you are not backing down from your pro-imperialist stance.



From the historical record:

Excerpt from an article by Theodore Roosevelt titled "Expansion and Peace", published in *The Independent*, 1899.

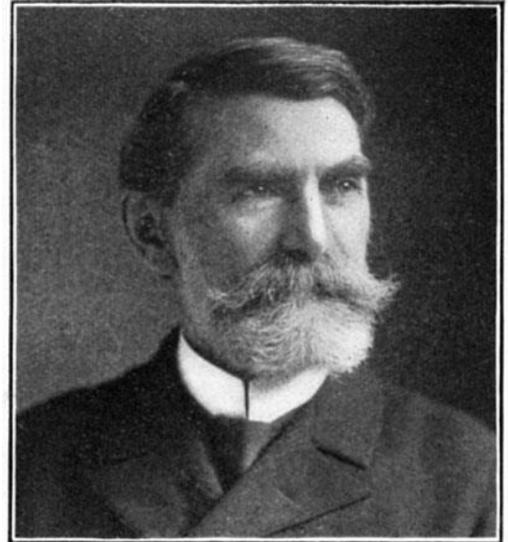
Again, peace may come only through war. There are men in our country who seemingly forget that at the outbreak of the Civil War the great cry raised by the opponents of the war was the cry for peace. [...] The men in our own country who, in the name of peace, have been encouraging Aguinaldo and his people to shoot down our soldiers in the Philippines might profit not a little if they would look back to the days of the bloody draft riots, which were deliberately incited in the name of peace and free speech, when the mob killed men and women in the streets and burned orphan children in the asylums as a protest against the war. Four years of bloody struggle with an armed foe, who was helped at every turn by the self-styled advocates of peace, were needed in order to restore the Union; but the result has been that the peace of this continent has been effectually assured. Had the short-sighted advocates of peace for the moment had their way, and secession become an actual fact, nothing could have prevented a repetition in North America of the devastating anarchic warfare that obtained for three quarters of a century in South America after the yoke of Spain was thrown off. We escaped generations of anarchy and bloodshed, because our fathers who upheld Lincoln and followed Grant were men in every sense of the term, with too much common sense to be misled by those who preached that war was always wrong, and with a fund of stern virtue deep in their souls which enabled them to do deeds from which men of over-soft natures would have shrunk appalled. [...]

The same will be true of the Philippines. If the men who have counseled national degradation, national dishonor, by urging us to leave the Philippines and put the Aguinaldan oligarchy in control of those islands, could have their way, we should merely turn them over to rapine and bloodshed until some stronger, manlier power stepped in to do the task we had shown ourselves fearful of performing. But, as it is, this country will keep the islands and will establish therein a stable and orderly government, so that one more fair spot of the world's surface shall have been snatched from the forces of darkness. Fundamentally the cause of expansion is the cause of peace.

You are ...

A Protestant clergyman

As a leader of the Social Gospel movement, you have been working toward social reform for years. Your writings and sermons warn fellow Protestants that they must not ignore the problems brought on by urbanization and industrialization. To bring about social justice and reform, you believe in the importance of missionary work so that people may be uplifted and brought to Christ, and you believe it is the mission of the superior Anglo-Saxon race (people of British ancestry) to do so. You believe that other races are lesser and must be civilized and call upon fellow Protestants to play the role of civilizers. You believe that Anglo-Saxons are the model of civil liberty and "pure spiritual Christianity" that the rest of the world must follow. You are a proponent of social Darwinism and you dislike Catholics, Mormons, socialists, immigrants, and drunkards. Although at first hesitant about the idea of non-whites being brought under the folds of the United States flag, you now fully support imperialism as a means to civilize the savage.



From the historical record:

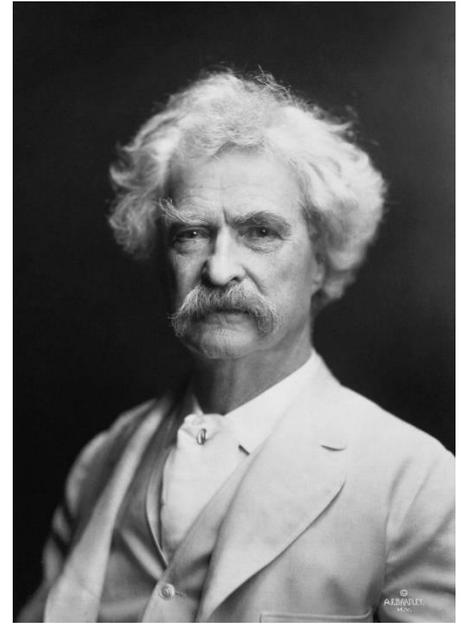
Reverend Josiah Strong, author of an influential book titled *Our Country: Its Possible Future and its Present Crisis* (1885), published the following essay (excerpted) in 1891 in an expanded edition of his book.

It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. Heretofore there has always been in the history of the world a comparatively unoccupied land westward, into which the crowded countries of the East have poured their surplus populations. But the widening waves of migration, which millenniums ago rolled east and west from the valley of the Euphrates, meet to-day on our Pacific coast. There are no more new worlds. The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken. The time is coming when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence will be felt here as it is now felt in Europe and Asia. Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history-the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled. Long before the thousand millions are here, the mighty centrifugal tendency, inherent in this stock and strengthened in the United States, will assert itself. Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it-the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization-having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the results of this competition of races will be the "survival of the fittest?" "Any people," says Dr. Bushnell, "that is physiologically advanced in culture, though it be only in a degree beyond another which is mingled with it on strictly equal terms, is sure to live down and finally live out its inferior. Nothing can save the inferior race but a ready and pliant assimilation. Whether the feebler and more abject races are going to be regenerated and raised up, is already, very much of a question. What if it should be God's plan to people the world with better and finer material?"

You are ...

An American novelist

You are an American humorist and writer, “the father of American literature”. A native of Missouri, your boyhood on the Mississippi River is a theme in many of your most noted works. You traveled extensively through the American West and the Mediterranean in your youth. Upon your return to the United States, you fell head over heels over your now-wife, Olivia. She introduced you to abolitionists, women’s rights activists, and socialists, many of whom became life-long friends. Before the Spanish-American War, you were an ardent imperialist, and spoke strongly in favor of U.S. interests in the Hawaiian Islands. You believed in the cause of Cuban liberation and said the war of 1898 was “the worthiest war ever fought”. However, now that the peace treaty is set to be ratified, you are reconsidering your position. It seems to you that the role of the U.S. has shifted from liberator to conqueror and you are now ready to speak against imperialism. You’ve heard of an organization called the American Anti-Imperialist League and its growing membership. You intend to join its ranks, especially if the Philippine annexation becomes a reality.



From the historical record:

This excerpt is from an editorial penned by Mark Twain, published in the *New York Herald*, October 1900.

I left these shores, at Vancouver, a red-hot imperialist. I wanted the American eagle to go screaming into the Pacific. It seemed tiresome and tame for it to content itself with the Rockies. Why not spread its wings over the Philippines, I asked myself? And I thought it would be a real good thing to do.

I said to myself, here are a people who have suffered for three centuries. We can make them as free as ourselves, give them a government and country of their own, put a miniature of the American constitution afloat in the Pacific, start a brand new republic to take its place among the free nations of the world. It seemed to me a great task to which we had addressed ourselves.

But I have thought some more, since then, and I have read carefully the treaty of Paris, and I have seen that we do not intend to free, but to subjugate the people of the Philippines. We have gone there to conquer, not to redeem. . .

It should, it seems to me, be our pleasure and duty to make those people free, and let them deal with their own domestic questions in their own way. And so I am an anti-imperialist. I am opposed to having the eagle put its talons on any other land.

You are ...

A leader of the Filipino independence movement

You are a Filipino revolutionary, politician and military leader. Your family was well-to-do and involved in politics, which led you to pursue the same path. In 1895, you joined a secret organization, the Katipunan, dedicated to overthrowing Spanish rule and securing the independence of the Philippines. When the Katipunan designed a flag to represent the revolutionary forces, you proclaimed to the Filipino people that "it stands for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". As a General in the Philippine Revolution of 1896, you led the Katipuneros to a string of victories against the Spanish. When the Republic of the Philippines was proclaimed in 1897, you were elected as its President. Spanish forces refused to recognize your new government and continued their offensive, and by December 1897 you were exiled in Hong Kong. When the Spanish-American War broke out, American Commodore George Dewey transported you back to the Philippines to resume command over a revolutionary force. Together, you besieged Manila and drove the Spanish out. Unbeknownst to you, as you were consolidating control over the Philippines, the U.S. and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris of 1898. If the treaty is ratified by the U.S. government and they install their territorial government on the islands, you see no choice but to turn against your former allies to secure the independence of your nation.



From the historical record:

Excerpt from "Aguinaldo's Case Against the United States". This article published in the *North American Review* in September of 1899 was written by an authorized personal representative for Emilio Aguinaldo.

We Filipinos have all along believed that if the American nation at large knew exactly, as we do, what is daily happening in the Philippine Islands, they would rise en masse, and demand that this barbaric war should stop. There are other methods of securing sovereignty – the true and lasting sovereignty that has its foundation in the hearts of the people... And, did America recognize this fact, she would cease to be the laughing stock of other civilized nations, as she became when she abandoned her traditions and set up a double standard of government – government by consent in America, government by force in the Philippine Islands...

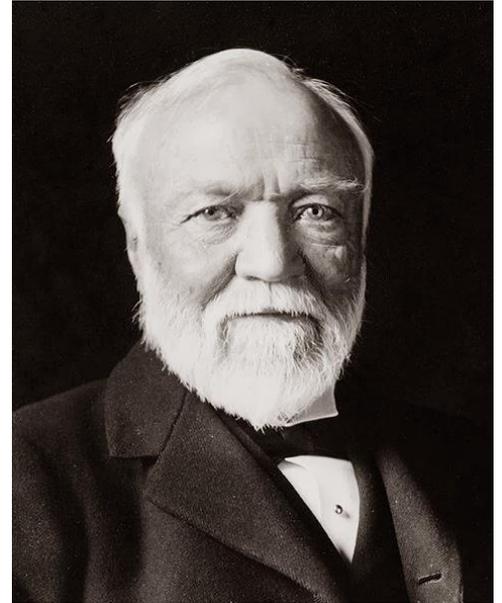
You have been deceived all along the line. You have been greatly deceived in the personality of my countrymen. You went to the Philippines under the impression that their inhabitants were ignorant savages, whom Spain had kept in subjection at the bayonet's point... We are simply Filipinos. You know us now in part: you will know us better, I hope, by and by... You repeat constantly the dictum that we cannot govern ourselves... With equal reason, you might have said the same thing some fifty or sixty years ago of Japan; and, little over a hundred years ago, it was extremely questionable, when you, also, were rebels against the English Government, if you could govern yourselves...

Now, the moral of all this obviously is: Give us the chance; treat us exactly as you demanded to be treated at the hands of England, when you rebelled against her autocratic methods. . . Now, here is an unique spectacle – the Filipinos fighting for liberty, the American people fighting them to give them liberty... You have been deceived from the beginning, and deception is the order of the day. You continue to deceive yourselves by the thought that once the military power is established in the Philippines, the rest is a matter for politicians. Verily you are falling into the pit you have dug for yourselves. Your officials and generals have broken their promises with our countrymen over and over again. Your atrocious cruelties are equaled only by those of Spain...

You are ...

An American industrialist

You are a Scottish immigrant who has built a steel empire in the United States. You are one of the wealthiest Americans in history and have consolidated control over the steel industry. U.S. steel production is currently higher than any other industrialized nation in the world, and you own most of that output. Your influence extends beyond economics – your “Gospel of Wealth” dictates that a wealthy industrialist should dedicate a significant portion of their assets to benevolent causes, such as the construction of libraries. During a trip to Britain in the 1880s, you stirred up controversy by purchasing several newspapers in support of abolishing the monarchy in favor of a republic, then published a book supporting your views. You are critical of the royal family and believe the American republican system of government is superior to the monarchical system. More recently, you have made your views against the acquisition of American colonies public. When you heard the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1898, you personally offered the Philippines \$20 million to purchase their own independence from the United States. Nothing came of that offer. Although you are a lifelong Republican, you are even considering backing Democrat William Jennings Bryan in the next presidential election against McKinley because of Bryan’s anti-imperialist stance. You are currently continuing your fight against imperialism as Vice-President of the American Anti-Imperialist League.



From the historical record:

Andrew Carnegie, a wealthy steel magnate and Vice-President of the American Anti-Imperialist League, wrote this essay (excerpted) in August of 1898.

To reduce it to the concrete, the question is: Shall we attempt to establish ourselves as a power in the far East and possess the Philippines for glory? The glory we already have, in Dewey's victory overcoming the power of Spain in a manner which adds one more to the many laurels of the American navy, which, from its infancy till now, has divided the laurels with Britain upon the sea. The Philippines have about seven and a half millions of people, composed of races bitterly hostile to one another, alien races, ignorant of our language and institutions. Americans cannot be grown there. The islands have been exploited for the benefit of Spain, against whom they have twice rebelled, like the Cubans. But even Spain has received little pecuniary benefit from them. The estimated revenue of the Philippines in 1894-95 was £2,715,980, the expenditure being £2,656,026, leaving a net result of about \$300,000. The United States could obtain even this trifling sum from the inhabitants only by oppressing them as Spain has done. But, if we take the Philippines, we shall be forced to govern them as generously as Britain governs her dependencies, which means that they will yield us nothing, and probably be a source of annual expense. Certainly, they will be a grievous drain upon revenue if we consider the enormous army and navy which we shall be forced to maintain upon their account.

You are ...

A labor union leader

You are a Jewish immigrant and the leader of the largest labor union in the United States, the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Over the years, the union has been growing in numbers and influence, undermining more radical labor organizations like the Knights of Labor, which you associate with Socialists. You first entered the world of labor organizing as a young cigar-maker. Your experiences as a craftsman led you to promote harmony among craft workers in the AFL. You also developed close ties in your work with Cuban cigar workers, and so in 1898, you supported U.S. intervention in Cuba and the resulting war with Spain. Now that the war is over, however, you see the war as a tool of imperialism, which you oppose, and you are currently a member of the American Anti-Imperialist League. Your opposition to imperialism is based on the perceived threat to American labor – would low-paid offshore workers replace the American craftsman or lower domestic wages? You also believe European-Americans are superior to Asians and have previously supported the Chinese Exclusion Act and barred Asian immigrants and industrial workers from joining the AFL.



From the historical record:

Excerpt from “Imperialism and its Wrongs”, a speech by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, 1898.

It is worse than folly, aye, it is a crime, to lull ourselves into the fancy that we shall escape the duties which we owe to our people by becoming a nation of conquerors, disregarding the lessons of nearly a century and a quarter of our national existence as an independent, progressive, humane and peace-loving nation. We cannot with safety to ourselves, or justice to others keep the workers and the lovers of reform and simple justice divided, or divert their attention, and thus render them powerless to expose abuses and remedy existing injustice...

If the Philippines are annexed what is to prevent the Chinese, the Negritos and the Malays coming to our country? How can we prevent the Chinese coolies from going to the Philippines and from there swarm into the United States and engulf our people and our civilization? If these new islands are to become ours, it will be either under the form of Territories or States. Can we hope to close the floodgates of immigration from the hordes of Chinese and the semi-savage races coming from what will then be part of our own country? Certainly, if we are to retain the principles of law enunciated from the foundation of our Government, no legislation of such a character can be expected...

If we attempt to force upon the natives of the Philippines our rule, and compel them to conform to our more or less rigid mold of government, how many lives shall we take? Of course, they will seem cheap, because they are poor laborers. They will be members of the majority in the Philippines, but they will be ruled and killed at the convenience of the very small minority there, backed up by our armed land and sea forces. The dominant class in the islands will ease its conscience because the victims will be poor, ignorant and weak. When innocent men can be shot down on the public highway as they were in Lattimer, Pa., and Virden, Ill., men of our own flesh and blood, men who help to make this homogenous nation great, because they dare ask for humane conditions at the hands of the moneyed class of our country, how much more difficult will it be to arouse any sympathy, and secure relief for the poor semi-savages in the Philippines, much less indignation at any crime against their inherent and natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

You are ...

A Filipina activist

You are a Filipina activist involved in the movement for Philippine independence. You and your family have long been involved in the cause for independence, beginning with your father Natalio, a businessman who had a history of publicly criticizing Spanish colonial rule. When the Spanish-American War broke out, you did not immediately adopt the more overt anti-imperialist stance of your brothers, since Filipino nationalism was at the time both male-dominated and sexist. Although the Philippines traditionally enjoyed a greater degree of gender equality compared to other nations of the region, Spanish colonial rule had introduced social norms that placed women in a lower position. Influenced by Spanish social structures, many prominent Filipino nationalists did not view women as political equals in the struggle for independence. However, now that the war is over, and another with the United States seems to be on the horizon, you are being pulled into a very personal role in opposition to American imperialism. One of your brothers is imprisoned in Hong Kong for distributing literature opposing American control. Soon, you will go to the United States to plea personally to the American president for your brother's freedom and the American Anti-Imperialist League is sponsoring your voyage. You know that many American women are starting to exercise their political voice in support of female suffrage, and you hope to appeal to like-minded women on your journey by highlighting the ways in which American imperialism is exacerbating gender inequality in the Philippines. You are especially opposed to the notion of "benevolent assimilation" and wish to debunk American stereotypes of Filipinos as "uncivilized savages" incapable of self-rule.



From the historical record:

Clemencia López delivered a speech (excerpted below) to the annual meeting of the New England Women's Suffrage Association in 1902.

I believe that we are both striving for much the same object — you for the right to take part in national life; we for the right to have a national life to take part in. . . . Mentally, socially, and in almost all the relations of life, our women are regarded as the equals of our men. . . . this equality of women in the Philippines is not a new thing. It was not introduced from Europe. . . Long prior to the Spanish occupation, the people were already civilized, and this respect for and equality of women existed. . . in the name of the Philippine women, I pray the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association do what it can to remedy all this misery and misfortune in my unhappy country. You can do much to bring about the cessation of these horrors and cruelties which are today taking place in the Philippines, and to insist upon a more human course. . . you ought to understand that we are only contending for the liberty of our country, just as you once fought for the same liberty for yours..

You are ...

An undecided Senator

The United States Senate has opened a series of hearings regarding the ratification of the Treaty of Paris. The majority of Republicans support the treaty and the annexation of the Philippines, although there is a minority in the party who wish to exclude the acquisition of the Philippines from the final document. Southern Democrats tend to favor expansion and support the treaty as is, although some of the more conservative members of the party are not eager to extend the benefits of American government to "non-whites". Liberal Democrats also favor the treaty because it would end the war with Spain and grant independence to Cuba. A minority of Senators across party lines oppose the treaty altogether, arguing that it would make us "a vulgar, commonplace empire" (Sen. George F. Hoar) and not the exceptional republican model we wish the world to see us as. You are here today to listen to arguments from either side and decide for yourself whether the U.S. is justified in annexing the Philippines.



From the historical record:

Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass.) in U.S. Senate, Mar. 7, 1900

Our immediate duty is to suppress this disorder [the Philippine rebellion against the U.S.], put an end to fighting, and restore peace and order. That is what we are doing...

Our Constitution gives full right and authority to hold and govern the Philippines without making them either economically or politically part of our system, neither of which they should ever be.

It has been stated over and over again that we have done great wrong in taking these islands without the consent of the governed...The Declaration of Independence was the announcement of the existence of a new revolutionary government upon American soil. Upon whose consent did it rest?... All negroes...were not consulted....Were women included in the word 'governed'?

Under the guidance of Thomas Jefferson...we took Louisiana without the consent of the governed, and ruled it...Who is there today who will stand up and say that Thomas Jefferson did not do well and rightly when he bought Louisiana?

Then came the Mexican War, and by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo we received a great cession of territory from Mexico....There were many Mexicans living within the ceded territory. We never asked their consent...

The downfall of the Republic has been constantly... foretold many times since the foundation of the Government, ...and always when a great expansion of territory took place. Never has it come true.

Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, 1899.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist

that the subjugation of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our Government.

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right.

Imperialists assume that with the destruction of self-government in the Philippines by American hands, all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of "criminal aggression" in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.

Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the Republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their Government in times of grave National peril applies to the present situation. If an Administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, organize a truth-suppressing censorship and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for reelection all who in the White House or in Congress betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that "no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government-that is despotism." "Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."