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The Philippine-American War

A Unit of Study for Grades 7-12

JAMES A. WILLIAMS
CHARLES F. PENNACHIO



Organization of American Historians
and the
National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA

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This publication is the result of a collaborative effort between the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles and the Organization of American Historians to develop teaching units based on primary documents for United States History education at the pre-collegiate level.

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INTRODUCTION

APPROACH AND RATIONALE

The National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA (NCHS) and the Organization of American Historians (OAH) have developed the following lessons for teaching with primary sources. This unit, like others copublished by NCHS and OAH, is the fruit of a collaboration between an academic historian and an experienced teacher of United States history. These units represent specific “dramatic episodes” in history at which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of these selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the greater historical narrative. By studying a crucial turning point in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic episodes that bring alive this decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions for tomorrow’s history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from government documents, artifacts, magazines, newspapers, films, and literature contemporary to the period under study. What we hope you achieve by using primary source documents in these lessons is to have your students connect more intimately with the past. In this way, we hope to recreate for your students a sense of “being there,” a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian’s craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation, and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

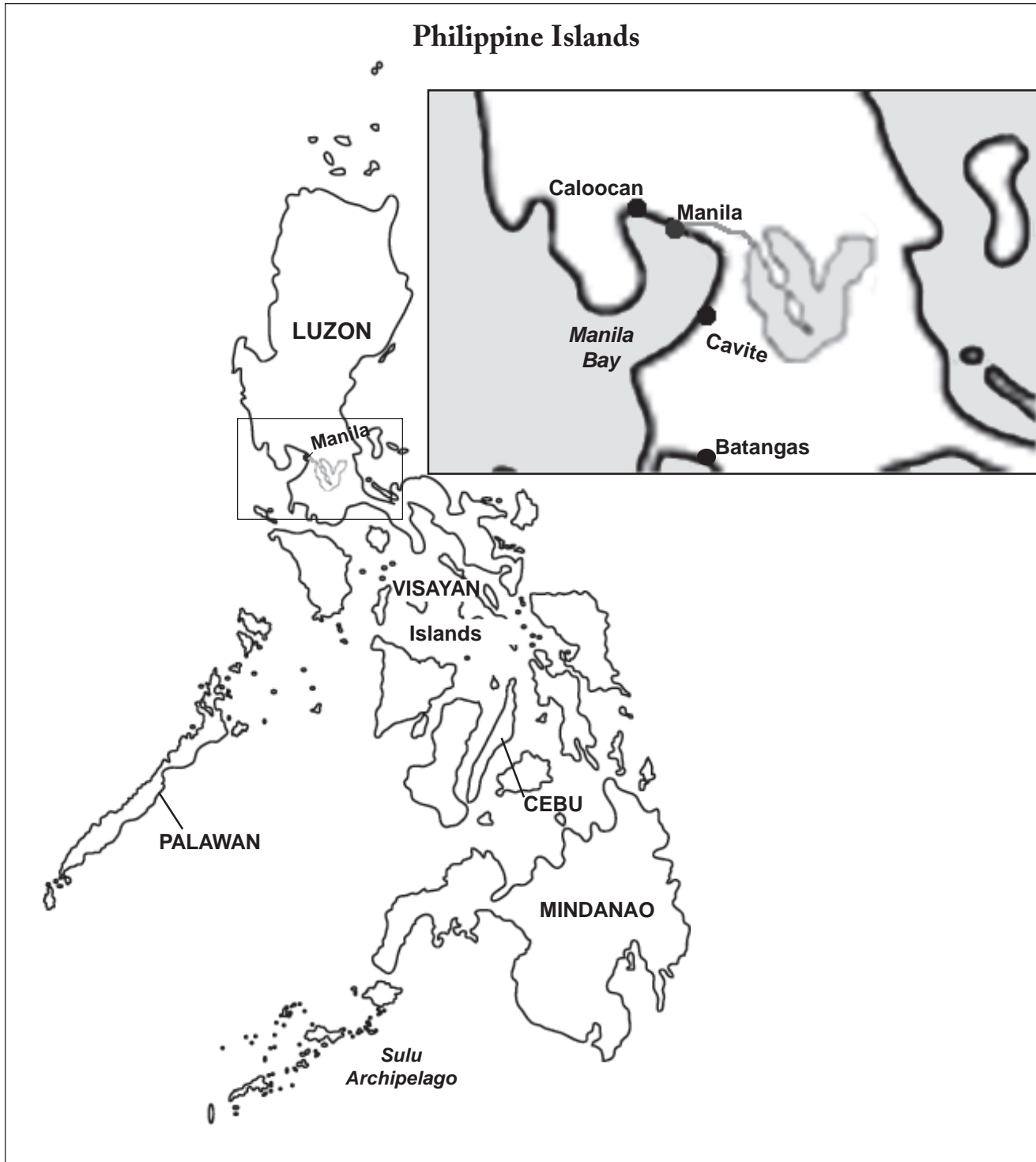
CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) Unit Objectives, 2) Correlation to the National History Standards, 3) Teacher’s Background Materials, 4) Lesson Plans, and 5) Student Resources. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used to supplement your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for grades 7–12, they can be adapted for other grade levels. The teacher’s background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific “dramatic moment” to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of sufficient grade level.

The lesson plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary sources of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular

Introduction

course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings but rather give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates, but rather as an endless treasure of real-life stories, and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.



TEACHER BACKGROUND MATERIALS

I. UNIT OVERVIEW

The sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana harbor in April, 1898, caused outrage in the United States and precipitated the war between the United States and Spain. This armed conflict lasted only four months and resulted in few American casualties from military engagements. This brief, “splendid little war,” as diplomat John Hay called it, ended with a peace treaty that transferred the Spanish overseas empire in the Caribbean and in the Pacific to the United States. Cuba received independence but was forced to agree to accept America’s rights to intervene in its affairs. The United States government quietly annexed Puerto Rico and Guam. However, in the Philippine Islands, a bloody conflict broke out between Filipino forces battling for independence and American troops sent there to quell what they and many other American citizens viewed as a rebellion. This war lasted far longer than the Spanish–American conflict and resulted in many more deaths.

Most secondary school textbooks devote considerable space to the four-month war between Spain and the United States. Few such books, however, focus on the long and brutal conflict that followed in the Philippines. The Philippine–American War deserves the attention of both students and teachers for several reasons. First, it was a longer and more costly conflict than the previous war with Spain. Second, the Philippine–American War illustrates the conflicting views that Americans had about their goals in foreign policy, including questions of strategic national interest and the role and place of American cultural values abroad. It elicited a thorough debate on the merits of the policies of the United States. Third, depending on one’s perspective, the war forecasts or does not forecast many of the problems that the United States faced in the later military entanglements in Korea and Vietnam. Fourth, this conflict marks the beginning of a long-term commitment to an American presence in Asia and global involvement outside the Western Hemisphere. Fifth, the resulting occupation has had profound effects on the Filipino government and society.

This unit will examine the causes of the conflict between the American government and the Filipino independence fighters, the arguments for and against annexation of the Philippines, and the nature and impact of the resulting military conflict.

II. UNIT CONTEXT

The Philippine–American War should be taught as part of a larger unit on United States imperialism in the period from 1890 to 1914. In a typical United States history course, the activities in this unit would be preceded by study of American industrialization in the nineteenth century, the politics of the Gilded Age, the causes of American expansionism, and the events of the Spanish–American War. The unit should prepare students for examination of American foreign policy during the Progressive Era and World War One.

III. CORRELATION WITH THE NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR UNITED STATES HISTORY

The *Philippine-American War* addresses elements of the *National Standards for United States History, Basic Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), Era 6: “The Development of the Industrial United States (1870–1900).” The unit lessons address objective 4B: “The students understand the roots and development of American expansionism and the causes and outcomes of the Spanish-American War.”

IV. UNIT OBJECTIVES

- Students will explain the causes of American imperialist policies and values in the 1890s.
- Students will identify key events that led to armed conflict between Filipino and American military units.
- Students will evaluate the arguments for and against U.S. annexation and subjugation of the Philippine Islands and their people.
- Students will examine the nature of the military conflict between Filipinos and Americans and analyze the consequences and impact of the war.

V. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Philippine-American War, 1899–1902

Teddy Roosevelt, the Rough Riders, and the sinking of the *U.S.S. Maine* are but a few of the images people have about the United States’ 123-day war with Spain, in 1898. What they may not remember is that this was the war that launched the United States as a world power. Victorious over Imperial Spain in both Cuba and the Philippines in the span of months, the United States became the “New Spain” by taking over Spanish territorial holdings in the Caribbean, the Pacific, and in Asia. At the same time that the U.S. acquired overseas possessions in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, it began a century-long debate over its newly assumed role as empire builder. The Spanish-American War may have catalyzed the debate, but the ensuing Philippine-American War—a long, bloody, and costly affair—truly crystallized the argument over America’s new international role. Pro-imperialist arguments held sway until the high costs of war triggered an anti-imperialist backlash, caused an agonizing reappraisal of the assumed benefits of empire-building, and contributed to a long-term amnesia regarding America’s first overseas imperial war.

Nineteenth-Century Background

The American people’s belief that they had a sacred obligation to spread their institutions and way of life (“manifest destiny”) shaped the westward expansion in the 1840s into Texas and the Southwest, Utah and the Great Basin, and California, Oregon, and the Pacific Northwest. The process of empire building resumed soon after the Civil War. In 1867, Secretary of State William

Seward acquired Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million, and, in the early 1870s, the United States debated the annexation of the island of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean. Although the Senate refused to ratify the Santo Domingo treaty, American activity overseas continued with economic interventions in Latin America and with growing interest in gaining islands in the Pacific and a share of the Asian market. Washington negotiated a treaty in 1878 to gain a naval station in Samoa. In July 1898, Congress approved the annexation of Hawaii; and in 1899 Secretary of State John Hay issued his first Open Door note to lay claim to trading rights in China equal to those already enjoyed by other European occupying powers.

1898: America's War with Spain and the Race for Empire



Gun crew, USS Maine
(BB-2/c) 1897
Courtesy of the Hampton Roads Naval Museum

No step in American empire-building was as significant as Washington's war with Spain in 1898 and the resulting global territorial expansion involving Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, Hawaii, and the islands of the Philippines archipelago. America's war with Spain exploded within a larger wave of European and Japanese global expansion, sometimes called the "new imperialism." What became a rush for territorial acquisition sprang from many different motivations, ranging from economic, missionary, and moral imperatives to a policy of pure "realpolitik"—a raw, competitive drive for national power and prestige.

The assumption that white, Anglo-

Saxon, western nations were superior to the "inferior" peoples of the world and therefore had the right to spread their principles, institutions, and religion around the globe was inherent in the missionary rhetoric of European and American imperialism. Many considered this a God-given responsibility (and "burden") to advance the progress of the world.

For the United States, this Great Power race for empire coincided with Spanish mismanagement of colonial Cuba, an island only 90 miles from the U.S. shores. News reports of Spanish atrocities created American sympathy for the Cubans. When the Cuban insurrection escalated in early 1898, President William McKinley sent the battleship *U.S.S. Maine* into Havana Harbor, ostensibly to protect U.S. citizens. In an atmosphere of heightened tension, the *Maine* mysteriously blew up, and American newspapers fanned the angry reaction at home, accusing Spain of treachery. Domestic pressure, therefore, contributed to McKinley's declaration of war on Spain in April. American victory after only four months left the United States in control of the former Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific.



Groups of Filipinos in the Market at Cavite
In José de Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with
Camera and Pencil* (St. Louis: N. D. Thompson, 1899).
Available: <http://xirs.library.wisc.edu/etext/seait/index.html>

1898: The Filipino Independence Movement at a Crossroads

The year 1898 was a major turning point in Philippines history. From the time of the first settlers, dating back to land bridge crossings during the late glacial period, until the Spanish arrived in the early 1500s, separate and interconnected Filipino communities, ruled over by chieftains, developed across the islands. The Spanish period began when Ferdinand Magellan landed on Cebu on 16 March 1521 and claimed the archipelago for Spain. In 1542 the island-chain was named *Islas Filipinas* in honor of Prince Felipe (later Philip II) of Spain. The first permanent Spanish settlement was a fort and church on Cebu in 1565.

While over a thousand islands were inhabited, the capital of Manila increasingly dominated culture and commerce in the course of the next 350 years. Sugar, hemp, and tobacco left Manila Harbor to the markets of China and beyond. Unlike Cuba, however, whose sugar industry generated tremendous wealth for Spain, the Philippines sugar economy yielded little profit. Meanwhile, the Filipino population itself remained mostly rural. Few islanders benefited from the Spanish shipping trade. Filipino men built the ships and served as sailors, but the pay was poor. For those outside of the galleon trade, their economic and social circumstances were even worse. In addition, Spanish missionaries forced the Filipinos to convert to Catholicism and collected taxes on their best land. Filipinos who challenged their oppressive conditions typically ended up in jail or faced execution.

Finally, in the late 19th century, a new group of Filipino activists began to emerge following an 1872 incident. Filipino workers and troops at the Cavite arsenal mutinied against the Spanish for better pay and work conditions. While the uprising was quickly squelched, three local priests who sought equality with Spanish priests were arrested and then executed near Manila Bay. They became the first modern martyrs in the Filipino movement for national independence. The independence struggle blossomed around a group of Filipino doctors, lawyers, and other professionals educated in Europe and the United States. These Western-trained leaders were called “*ilustrados*”—the enlightened ones.



Emilio Aguinaldo
 Courtesy Dover Publications
Dictionary of American Portraits, 1967

The Filipino Revolution, therefore, began in 1896 when, under the flag of the Katipunan, or “Society of the Sons of the People,” some 20,000 Filipinos staged an uprising against their Spanish overlords. Twenty-seven-year-old Emilio Aguinaldo, the son of a wealthy aristocrat, rose quickly to the top of the revolutionary movement, and became president of the Katipunan in the spring of 1897. “Filipino citizens!” he declared. “Let us follow the example of European and American nations. Let us march under the Flag of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity!” With 200,000 Spanish troops tied down in Cuba, Madrid could ill afford a war in the Philippines. Spanish authorities offered Aguinaldo a declaration of peace in exchange for his promise to move the revolutionary leadership to Hong Kong. The Spanish sweetened the peace overture with an undisclosed amount of cash and a commitment to grant certain reforms to the Filipinos. Though Aguinaldo did not believe the Spanish would deliver on their guarantees of

political, land, and economic reforms, he desperately needed the money for food and supplies. Aguinaldo thus agreed to resettle in Hong Kong, where he could then buy guns to smuggle back to freedom fighters in the Philippines.

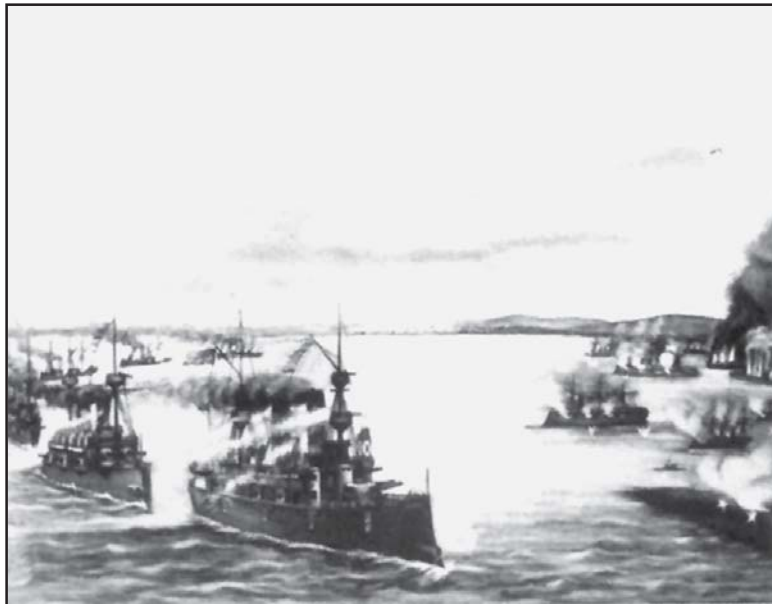
1898–1902:

The Collision of Cultures—U.S. Empire Building and the Filipino Drive for Independence



Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt
 Naval Surface Warfare Center Division
 Available: <<http://www.ih.navy.mil/images/asntr.jpg>>

The Spanish-American battle over Cuba in 1898 soon entangled Washington and Madrid in the Philippine Revolution and the larger struggle over Spain’s colonial possessions in East Asia. The U.S. contest for the Philippine Islands, in particular, turned on the actions of McKinley’s Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt ordered Commodore George Dewey to move the American fleet from Hong Kong to Manila to keep the Spanish navy from leaving the Philippines for Cuba. Whether Roosevelt’s order was accidental, instinctive, or prescient, it enabled subsequent military steps to be that much more effective. Therefore, following President McKinley’s April 22 order to blockade Havana, Cuba, Spain’s declaration of war response on the U.S. in Cuba, and Congress’s own war declaration against Spain, the American Navy was prepared to act half a world away in the Philippines.



Battle of Manila Harbor, 1898

Copy of lithograph (Butler, Thomas & Co.)
Marine Corps, National Archives 127-N-302104

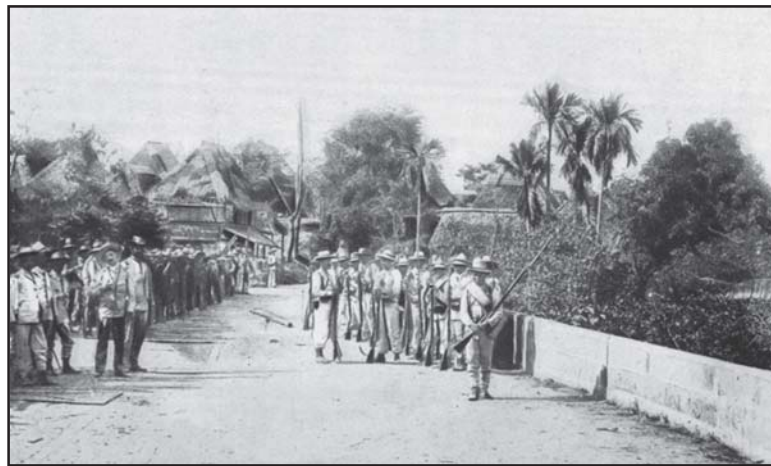
The Americans easily won a showdown against the Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor on May 1, 1898. On that date, Commodore George Dewey directed an American fleet into the Harbor, where he faced the Spanish naval presence. Just after midnight, Dewey's nine modernized ships made five devastating passes at the Spanish fleet. Twelve hours later, the Spanish surrendered their naval base in Manila, as ten of their ships lay ruined. Only one U.S. sailor was killed. That American forces could rout a European power thousands of miles from home made Dewey's victory all the more compelling. Overnight, Dewey became the most famous man in the United States.

Filipino nationalists were ecstatic. Led by General Aguinaldo, and, following years of fighting for independence, they hoped for the honor of liberating Manila and declaring the birth of their sovereign nation. Meanwhile, Dewey—now promoted to rear admiral—waited in Manila for the U.S. Army to arrive. Intent on securing support from Filipino fighters, he sent a ship to Hong Kong to retrieve Aguinaldo. Dewey welcomed the revolutionary leader as a co-equal.

By the time of his arrival back in Manila, Aguinaldo had developed the idea that while the Filipinos desired immediate and complete independence, they also needed the protection of the United States because of threats posed by the German, French, and British navies in the South Pacific. Later, Aguinaldo wrote in his memoirs that Dewey promised to support the revolution. He recorded Dewey saying, "My word is stronger than the most strongly written statement there is." Unfortunately for him, and for the chroniclers of history, the rear admiral provided no such written promise.

Aguinaldo now returned to his family’s mansion in Kawite [Cavite], just southwest of Manila, to plot a strategy to defeat a Spanish force that found itself bottled up inside the walled-in district of Intramuros. As Aguinaldo announced,

Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach. The Americans have extended their protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have severed relations with Spain, owing to the tyranny that nation is exercising in Cuba. The American fleet will prevent any reinforcements coming from Spain. There, where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers.



Philippine Insurgent Troops in the Suburbs of Manila

Francis Davis Millet, *The Expedition to the Philippines*
 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899),161.
 Available: Library of Congress, *The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War*
 <<http://www.loc.gov/tr/hispanic/1898>>

Independence fighters attacked the Spanish position for nearly two months, and had cut off water and food supplies, when Aguinaldo sought his enemy’s surrender of Manila. The Spaniards balked, however, out of pride and out of fear that they would face murder and humiliation. Hoping for the additional leverage of American naval firepower to force a Spanish surrender to the Filipinos, Aguinaldo was disappointed. Instead of backing the Filipino assault on the Spaniards, Dewey directed newly arriving U.S. soldiers to occupy positions along the outskirts of Manila, adjacent to the revolutionary army.

Facing the prospect of defeat to a Great Power or to an upstart Filipino military, the Spanish proposed surrender terms to the United States that involved a mock battle for Manila, and the exclusion of Filipino insurgents. A staged battle would cause harm to few soldiers while enabling the Spanish to maintain a higher sense of national honor. After agreeing with the Americans to such conditions, the Spaniards raised the white flag to the U.S. “conquerors.” American military units obliged by charging the city as the Filipinos watched helplessly. On

Teacher Background Materials

August 14 in the church of San Augustine, the Spanish formally yielded control of Manila to the Americans. Blocked from entering the city, Aguinaldo and his followers rendezvoused in a monastery north of Manila to establish a sovereign government, independent of the United States. It was there that Aguinaldo wrote, “The people struggle for their independence, absolutely convinced that the time has come when they can and should govern themselves.”

While Aguinaldo wrestled with the fate of the movement he led, United States-Spanish peace talks began in Paris on October 1, 1898. No Filipinos or Cubans attended the deliberations, nor were any invited. McKinley clearly wanted Cuba from the Spanish, but he was not yet sure about the Philippines. Ultimately, he decided that he needed the port of Manila in the Philippines in order to have a naval base in the Western Pacific. After considerable debate and reflection, McKinley also recommended annexing the Philippines rather than giving the Filipinos outright independence. Undeterred by American actions in Paris and the White House, as well as the upcoming treaty debate in the United States Senate, the Filipinos approved a constitution in January 1899 based on the republican representative principles embodied in the United States Constitution.



The Honorable John Hay, Secretary of State
Handing to Jules Cambon, the French ambassador,
the \$20,000 due to Spain under the Treaty of Peace.
At the State Department, May 1, 1899.

Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain (New York: Harper and bros, 1899), 434.
Available: <<http://www.loc.gov/tr/hispanic/1898/hay.html>>

The 1898 election kept the Republicans in control of Congress. Five days later, President McKinley's cabled his terms to U.S. treaty negotiators in Paris. Secretary of State John Hay then sent a follow up wire to the representatives: “Insist upon the cession of the whole of the Philippines. If necessary, pay to Spain twenty million dollars.” Spain accepted the amended terms and relinquished the Philippines, Cuba, Guam, and Puerto Rico. The 400-year-old, global Spanish Empire had now vanished. But had the United States also become the “New Spanish Empire” with the transfer of territories?

Empire or No Empire?

The Treaty of Paris, agreed to on December 10, 1898, required U.S. Senate ratification, with approval of at least two-thirds of its members. Despite all that had come before—in newspapers, on

battlefields, and through election rhetoric—was the fundamental question of whether the United States should become an imperial power?

Two days prior to the climactic Senate vote of February 6, 1899, the unofficial headcount showed the treaty opponents two votes ahead. Meanwhile, in Manila, as American and Filipino sentries kept close watch on one another across a neutral divide, a U.S. Army private saw two Filipino soldiers crossing the San Juan Bridge into American-controlled ground. The private called out for the Filipinos to “halt” immediately. One Filipino soldier either did not comprehend “halt” or he chose to ignore the command. Whereupon, as he proceeded onto American ground, U.S. soldiers opened fire and Filipinos forces replied in kind. Sixty U.S. soldiers and 700 Filipinos died in the shootout. When the story reached the U.S. Senate, an emotional wave to “support our boys in the Philippines” caused the defection of two Democrats, and the body narrowly ratified the treaty.

The United States had officially acquired its first colonies—and also its first colonial rebellion. As a result of McKinley’s decision and the Senate’s action, the U.S. Army battled Filipino nationalist insurgents for four years, from 1898 to 1902. This was a timetable ten times longer than the war with Spain. In sum, the American-Philippine war was a drawn-out series of encounters that caused the deaths of over 4,000 Americans (compared to 385 in Cuba) and at least 50,000 Filipinos, many of whom were civilians dislocated by American policies. (It should be pointed out that fighting did not completely cease in 1902, as occasional skirmishes flared up until Philippine independence in 1946.)



Rear Admiral George Dewey

Henry Neil, *Exciting Experiences in Our Wars with Spain and the Filipinos*. (Chicago: Book Pub. Union, 1899), 234. Available: Library of Congress, *The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War* <<http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898>>

In early 1899, as Rear Admiral Dewey doubled his order of ammunition to deal with the Filipino insurrection, the U.S. public and press rallied to the effort. As the *New York Times* wrote in February 1899:

The insane attack of these people upon their liberators! It is not likely that Aguinaldo himself will exhibit much staying power. After one or two collisions, the insurgent army will break up.

To avoid a similar revolt in Cuba, U.S. officials appealed to rebel leaders to demobilize their troops, based on the hope that the United States would follow through on the proposed Teller Amendment (Henry Teller, D, CO), which promised eventual independence for Cuba. The Teller Amendment did pass in 1902. For Filipinos in 1899; however, they received no assurances of long-term independence, no Teller Amendment. Instead, they continued to resist. Within two months, they had killed or wounded 500 U.S. soldiers. By August, the U.S. government met Dewey’s request for 60,000 more troops. Aguinaldo responded, in kind, with an open call for guerilla warfare.

Anti-Imperialism

At the same time, the Anti-Imperialist League that had begun only months before grew in membership. Among the most vocal of anti-imperialists were members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). As Bessie Scovel of the WCTU put it:

Again and again has my blood boiled
at the hundreds of American saloons being established
throughout our new possessions.
And, shame of shames, our military authorities in the
Philippines have introduced the open and official
sanction of prostitution!



Cover of meeting held in Chicago by the American Anti-Imperialist League.

Chicago Liberty, cover.

<<http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898>>

What particularly unsettled Temperance Union members were the repeated stories of sexually transmitted diseases coming out of South Asia. They were appalled to discover that their “pure boys” had left behind their loving mothers and strong values, gone to the Philippines, and returned home sick, wounded, or dead. The founder of the Anti-Imperialist League, Edward Atkinson, also published pamphlets on venereal disease and sent them to troops in the Philippines. In part, Atkinson wanted to prove that empire building would undermine traditional American principles, such as free speech. When the Postmaster General had the pamphlets confiscated en route to the Philippines, Atkinson publicly proclaimed, “You see? This is what happens. If we seize the Philippines to go and become an imperialist power, we’ll no longer have our freedoms.”

Costs of Empire Building

By late summer 1899, when stepped-up American troop reinforcements faced Aguinaldo’s equally serious pledge to wage guerrilla-style war, the price tag for empire-building shot up. Casualty figures in the Philippines also worried President McKinley. Three thousand Americans and 15,000 Filipinos had been killed. U.S. generals in Manila were ordered to censor reporters’ dispatches that contained any unfavorable news. Yet, American reporters in the Philippines blamed the generals and not the President for this censorship.

At the same time, Filipino fighters wore common dress, blended into the larger population, and engaged in nighttime raids, sniper assaults, and setting booby-traps. Stunned American soldiers reacted in a variety of ways. A. A. Barnes of the Third U.S. Artillery reported:

Last night one of our boys was found shot and his stomach cut open. Immediately orders were received to burn the town and kill every native in sight. I am probably growing hard-hearted for I am in my glory when I can sight my gun on some dark skin and pull the trigger.

An anonymous soldier wrote:

I don't believe the people in the United States understand the condition of things here. Even the Spanish are shocked. I have seen enough to almost make me ashamed to call myself an American.

Theodore Conley of the *Kansas Regiment* commented:

Talk about dead Indians! Why they are lying everywhere. The trenches are full of them.

In June 1900, the Republicans gathered in Philadelphia for their national convention. President McKinley was easily re-nominated, largely because the nation prospered after a devastating depression in the 1890s. Teddy Roosevelt was selected as his running mate, not because he was Governor of New York State, but because he was a war hero and could add excitement to the Republican ticket.

The election of 1900, a rematch of the 1896 race between McKinley and his Democratic rival, William Jennings Bryan, revolved as much around the question of economy as the on-going war in the Philippines. Bryan, in fact, hoped to defeat the incumbent president by repeatedly raising the war and turning the election into a referendum on McKinley's foreign policy. McKinley won in a landslide on the basis of returning America to prosperity following a brief depression while Bryan's strategy of attacking U.S. imperialism—and the Philippines War in particular—backfired. The Republicans could now argue that McKinley's reelection signaled not only popular approval for the president's handling of the economy but also resounding support for the empire-building campaign in the Philippines and elsewhere.

Shortly after his second inaugural address, in March 1901, President McKinley offered Cuba limited self-government under the terms of the Platt Amendment, a congressional document that previously made Cuba a U.S. protectorate. However, the grant of Cuban autonomy was quite restricted, as the United States retained the right to intervene in Cuba's affairs, at any point, and to establish an indefinite naval presence at Guantánamo Bay. The Cubans ultimately acceded to American pressure and barely voted the Platt Amendment into their constitution.

During precisely the same time frame, in the Philippines, U.S. soldiers infiltrated rebel headquarters outside of Manila and captured Emilio Aguinaldo, the military and spiritual leader of the Filipino independence movement. While the war against American troops continued in the southern Philippines, the battle around Manila died down considerably in the summer of 1901. In tapping William Howard Taft as the first civilian governor of the Philippines, President McKinley defined "Big Bill" Taft's purpose in terms of "benevolent assimilation." Taft referred

to the Filipinos as his “little brown brothers.” Treating the Philippines as a quasi-laboratory for Progressive Era reforms, Taft’s colonial government set up American-style schools and American education methods, including English language emphasis. In order to reinforce the process of Americanization, Taft adopted a draconian law that banned any form of anti-American behavior, whether written, spoken, or represented in art, music, or Philippine flag-waving. Still, Filipinos continued to struggle for independence at all levels.

In September 1901 President McKinley, when visiting the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, spoke about the nation’s new role and position in the world.

We have a vast and intricate business built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of this country has its stake. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable.

McKinley was the first president to tell Americans they had global responsibilities as well as global economic opportunities. The next afternoon while at a public reception, the anarchist-assassin, Leon Czolgosz, fired his concealed gun into the president’s stomach. Unable to recover from the severe laceration, William McKinley died eight days later, to be replaced by Vice President Theodore Roosevelt.

Ten days into the Roosevelt presidency, Americans stationed in Balangiga, 400 miles southeast of Manila, came under attack. As Yankee troops sat to breakfast that morning, armed Filipinos emerged from hiding places and hacked forty-eight soldiers to death. While most Filipinos viewed the event as a blow for independence, the twenty-four American survivors—and a horrified U.S. public—interpreted the daylight raid as an unprovoked atrocity. In direct response, General Jacob Smith commanded U.S. forces to pursue revenge across the larger island of Samar. “I want no prisoners,” ordered Smith. “I want all persons killed who are capable of bearing arms against the United States.” “I’d like to know the limit of age to respect, sir,” requested his subordinate, Littleton Waller. “Ten years,” replied General Smith. American troops, therefore, set about to torch villages, destroy property, and slaughter men, women, and children.

South of Manila, in the province of Batangas, the Americans assembled all non-insurgents into military zones of protection. The similarities to Spanish methods in Cuba were unmistakable, as anyone found outside of these zones was assumed to be hostile, and were killed or imprisoned. A leader of the anti-imperialist faction in the U.S. Senate, George Hoar, pushed for a thorough investigation into the American reprisals. In the process, three Army officers, including General Jacob Smith, found themselves court-martialed.

From Surrender to Independence

In April 1902, following more than three years of warfare, Filipino leaders conceded defeat to the United States. For their part, the exhausted Americans had lost most of the zeal that had led to late nineteenth-century imperialism. Even President Roosevelt, once a champion of U.S. empire-building, admitted that his nation was ill-suited for imperialism. On reflection, he opined that the Philippines had become America’s Achilles heel. While the United States would use military force, time and again, across Latin America, and in portions of Asia, the Pacific, and elsewhere, it did so primarily for the purpose of constructing and maintaining a largely informal,

economic empire. The Spanish-American War (1898) and the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) from which it sprang are among the exceptions that prove the rule of U.S. empire-building, at least in the early twentieth century. Given the unexpected difficulties of the Philippines conflict, the United States assiduously avoided open-ended military campaigns until the Second World War.

During World War II, Japan conquered the Philippines. Sixty-thousand Americans and more than a million Filipinos died while driving the Japanese from the islands. Soon after, on July 4, 1946, the United States granted the Filipinos their independence.

VI. UNIT LESSONS

Lesson 1: Causes of the Philippine-American War

Lesson 2: The United States Senate Debates the Annexation of the Philippines

Lesson 3: Warfare in the Philippines

Lesson 4: The Impact of the War

TIME LINE

Date	Event
February 15, 1898	Explosion sinks the battleship <i>USS Maine</i> in Havana Harbor, Cuba
April 25, 1898	United States declares war on Spain
May 1, 1898	Commodore George Dewey's United States naval forces defeated the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay
May 24, 1898	General Emilio Aguinaldo establishes a provisional government in the Philippines
June 12, 1898	Philippines proclaims independence.
June 30, 1898	United States volunteer troops arrive in the Philippines.
August 12–13, 1898	Spain and the United States sign a Protocol of Peace establishing terms for a peace treaty. Spanish forces in Manila surrender to American military units.
December 10, 1898	United States and Spain sign the Treaty of Paris, ending the war and transferring the Philippines to the United States.
February 4, 1899	Fighting begins between United States forces and Filipino Nationalists.
February 6, 1899	United States Senate ratifies the Treaty of Paris.
November 12, 1899	General Aguinaldo dissolves the Filipino army and commences guerilla warfare against the American forces.
March 13, 1901	American forces capture General Aguinaldo.
July 4, 1901	United States establishes an American civilian government in the Philippines.
July 4, 1902	President Theodore Roosevelt issues a proclamation ending the Philippine–American War.

DRAMATIC MOMENT

The following narrative describes the opening shots fired in the Philippine-American War.



American Troops on Ramparts at Manila
Edward H. Hart, ca. 1898–1901
Library of Congress, LC-D4-21488

“About eight o’clock, Miller and I were cautiously pacing our district. We came to a fence and were trying to see what the Filipinos were up to. Suddenly, near at hand, on our left, was a low but unmistakable Filipino outpost signal whistle. It was immediately answered by a similar whistle about twenty-five yards to the right. Then a red lantern flashed a signal from block-house number seven. We have never seen such a sign used before. In a moment, something rose up slowly in front

of us. It was a Filipino. I yelled, “Halt!” and made it pretty loud, for I was accustomed to challenging the officer of the guard in approved military style. I challenged him with another loud “Halt!” Then he shouted “Halto!” to me. Well, I thought the best thing to do was to shoot him. He dropped. If I didn’t kill him, I guess he died of fright. Two Filipinos sprang out of the gateway about fifteen feet from us. I called, “Halt!” and Miller fired and dropped one. I saw that another was left. Well, I think I got my second Filipino that time.”

Private William Grayson, in Edwin Wildman, *Aguinaldo: A Narrative of Filipino Ambitions* (Norwood, MA, Norwood Press, 1901).



Pasig River Suspension Bridge, from north side
Manila, Philippine Islands
Underwood & Underwood (New York, 1899)
The Bancroft Library Pictorial Collection, *Stereographs of the West*
Available: <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org>>

LESSON ONE

CAUSES OF THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR

A. OBJECTIVES

- To examine the causes of the conflict between the United States government and Philippine citizens during the period 1899–1902.
- To evaluate the relative importance of factors causing the conflict.
- To analyze primary source documents to determine their main ideas and points of view.

B. ACTIVITIES (Suggested Time: 60–90 minutes)

Activity One: Discussion of Causes

1. Distribute copies of the *Causes of the Philippine-American War (Student Handout 1)*. Explain that the items listed are different reasons that historians use to explain this conflict. Ask the students to read the items on the list.
2. Discuss the meaning of each cause listed on the handout. Ask students to cite examples from other periods in American history when the causes of conflict were evident.

Activity Two: Primary Source Interpretation

1. Distribute *Documents Related to the Causes of the Conflict (Student Handout 2)*. Explain to students that they will work in cooperative groups to examine these documents to determine which causes were evident in the conflict over the Philippines. Following that, they will determine, from the documents, which cause seemed to be most important.
2. Distribute *Comparison Chart: Causes of the Conflict (Student Handout 3)*. Explain that students will review the documents and determine in which categories of causes they best fit. Documents may fit in more than one category. They are to place the name of the document in the appropriate block on the chart, giving the author and a phrase explaining how it relates to the overall cause.
3. When students have completed the chart, have them consider the question: Which factor, in your view, was most important in causing the conflict? Ask them to explain their reasons.

Activity Three: Discussion of Work Completed

1. When the cooperative groups have completed the tasks noted above, ask students to provide oral examples of documents that fit the categories on the comparison chart. What documents could be put in more than one category? Why?
2. Discuss the evaluative question at the bottom of the comparison chart. Which factor was most important in causing the conflict?

C. EVALUATION

Evaluate student work and understanding of the lesson by utilizing either or both of the following methods:

1. Listening to student responses in oral discussion.
2. Collecting and evaluating the comparison chart and the answer to the summary question.

Causes of the Philippine-American War

Geopolitical	Nations exhibit a desire for national power and/or they fear that their nation's security is threatened by a foreign power. This may be manifested by calls for larger or more modern armed forces, the establishment of overseas bases, or the need to build political support for a future military conflict.
Economic	Nations enunciate policies that seek to increase the economic prosperity of their country and its citizens. This may include demands for access to additional products and/or raw materials from foreign nations or the increased development of markets for their nation's goods in foreign lands.
Racial Ideology	Nations express the belief that certain cultural, ethnic or race-based societies are superior to others. National leaders may then argue that their own civilization exhibits better government, superior cultural values, a more enlightened economic system, and/or a higher religious order.
Missionary Zeal	Nations may offer humanitarian assistance to those societies that they perceive as less fortunate. This desire to help may be mixed with a belief in the superiority of one's government, cultural values, economy or religious views. As a price for accepting aid from the powerful missionary nation, the recipient nation may be "convinced" to adopt certain values and practices characteristic of the dominant power.
Nationalism	Nations strive to be free of foreign influence and interference. They desire to be recognized by other countries as an independent state, based upon the nation's defining qualities—its particular blend of government, culture, economy and/or religion. Once national sovereignty has been achieved, it then follows that "nationalistic" nations act to increase their prestige through the fulfillment of expansive political, territorial, economic and/or cultural objectives. More often than not, the effort to impose the "idea" or ideology of one nation upon another is an exercise in self-righteousness.
Militarism	Nations may see warfare as an end in itself to develop manly character and patriotism. Once war has been initiated, the honor of the nation must be upheld and citizens should "rally around the flag" to maintain national unity against foreign foes. Attacks upon a nation's troops must, in this view, be avenged by further military action.

NOTE: The above categories represent viewpoints held by political leaders, social leaders, media centers, and common citizens. These interest groups often held more than one of the above perspectives simultaneously. Also, disagreements existed between members of those same groups.

Documents Related to the Causes of the Conflict

NOTE: Filipino sources are noted with an asterisk (*) at the end of each bibliographic reference.

The Filipino is the true child of the East. His moral fiber is as the web of the pineapple gauze of which the women make their dresses. He will cheat, steal, and lie beyond the orthodox limit of the Anglo-Saxon. His unreliability and the persistence with which he disobeys orders are irritating beyond description; besides this, his small stature and color invite abuse.

—John Bass, “Dispatch,” *Harper’s Weekly* 42 (October 15, 1898), 1008.



Escolta Street, Manila, 1899

Library of Congress, LC-USZ61-57
Available: University of Wisconsin-Madison,
South East Asian Image and Text Project

<<http://xirs.library.wisc.edu/etext/seait.search/PH00069.html>>

I am reliably informed that the natives of these islands are no farther advanced in civilization than they were 300 years ago.

—A. J. Luther, Letter of July 27, 1898, in Trumbull White, *Pictorial History of Our War With Spain for Cuba’s Freedom* (Freedom Publishing Company, 1898), 546.

The natural resources of the Philippines are very good, and under a civilized administration, these islands would be rich and prosperous. But the mildew of Spanish administration is upon everything.

—Trumbull White, *Pictorial History of Our War With Spain for Cuba’s Freedom* (Freedom Publishing Company, 1898), 399.



A Country House in Luzon

Margherita Arlina Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines* (New York: F.T. Neely), 1898.

Available: Library of Congress,
<<http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/luzon.html>>

In the West Indies and the Philippines alike we are confronted by most difficult problems. It is cowardly to shrink from solving them in a proper way; for solved they must be, if not by us, by some stronger and more manful race.

—Theodore Roosevelt, “The Strenuous Life,” *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Century, 1900), 115.

I want to get this country out of war and back to peace. . . . I want to enter upon a policy which shall enable us to give peace and self-government to the natives of these islands.

—Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., in Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit* (New York: Riverside Press, 1931), 400.

Damn, damn the Filipinos!
Cut-throat Khadiac *ladrones!* (thieves)
Underneath the starry flag
Civilize them with a *Krag* (rifle)
And return us to our beloved home!

—[Popular U.S. Military Marching Song] Available: Philippine-American War Centennial Initiative, *Their Own Ruin: The Story of the 1898 U.S. Philippine Annexation & Philippine-American Wars* “Voices of Imperialism and War” 1998. <<http://www.phil-am-war.org/voices.html>>

It is as a base for commercial operations that the islands seem to possess the greatest importance. They occupy a favored location, not with reference to one part of any particular country of the Orient, but to all part. . . . Together with the islands of the Japanese Empire, the Philippines are the pickets of the Pacific, standing guard at the entrances to trade with the millions of China and Korea, French Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the Islands of Indonesia to the South.

—Frank A. Vanderlip “Facts About the Philippines,” *The Century: A Popular Quarterly*, 56 (August 1898): 555.
Available: Cornell University Library, *Making of America* <<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=ABP2287-0056-118>>

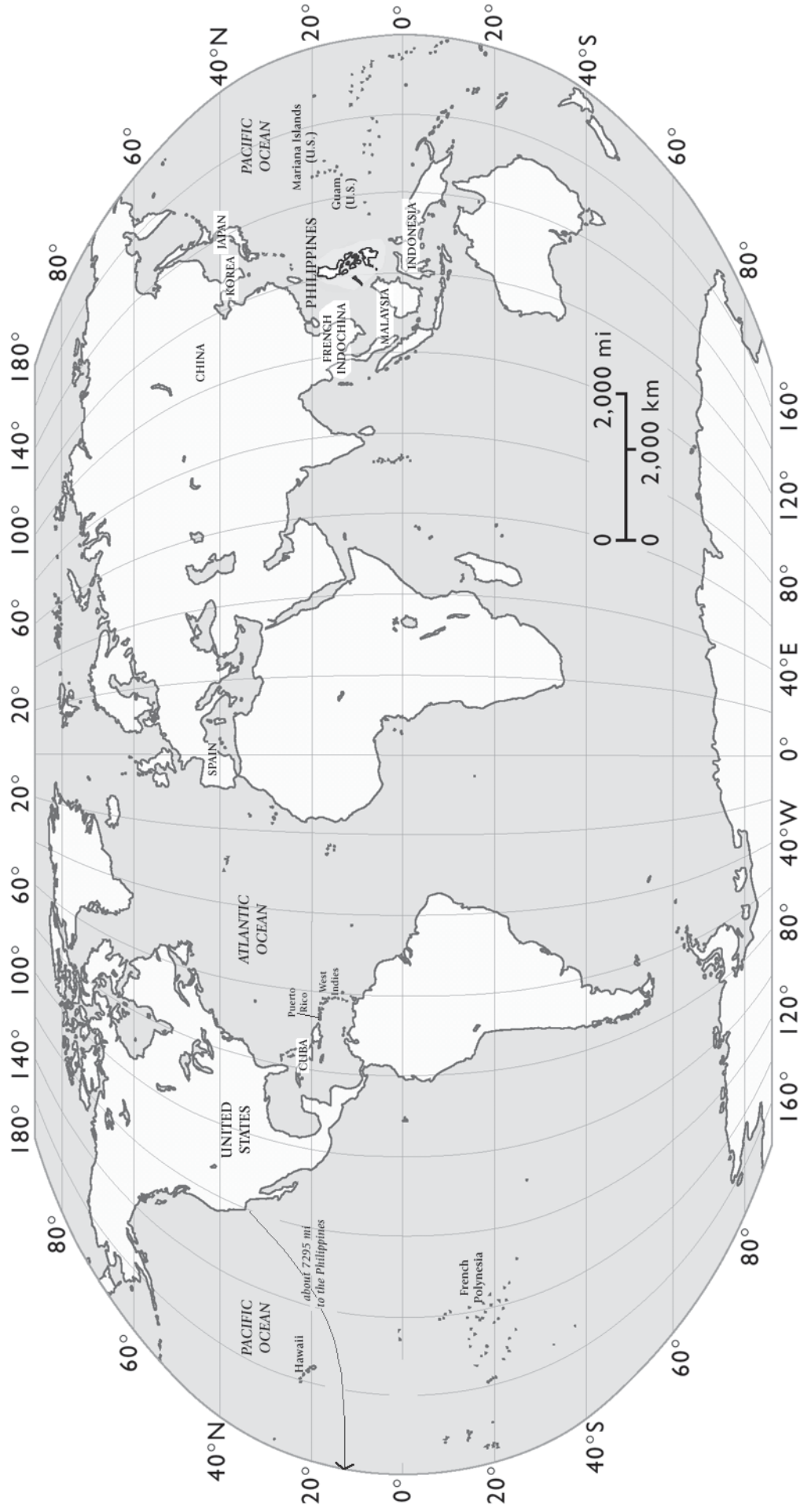
Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more, Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies and the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumer of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer . . . the Philippines gives us a base at the door of all the East. . . . No land in America surpasses in fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon [major island in the Philippines].

—Albert Beveridge, *Congressional Record*, 56th Congress, 1st sess., 1900, 33: 704–12.

The closing years of the century seem to be, in all lands save our own, not of war, but of a strenuous making ready for it. Alsace and Lorraine, the Eastern Question in its many varied phases, and the jealous rivalry as to colonies and dependencies, make Continental Europe but a camp, with more than three million men under arms.

—Commodore G.W. Melville, “Our Future in the Pacific: What We Have There to Hold and Win,” *The North American Review* 166 (March 1898): 281.
Available: Cornell University Library, *Making of America* <<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=ABQ7578-0166&byte=112663541>>

The World of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars





Pedro Paterno

Available: Philippine National Commission
for Culture and the Arts
Centennial Traveling Exhibit
<<http://www.ncca.gov.ph>>

Since it is their desire, may the responsibility of the war and its consequences fall on the great nation of the United States of America. We have done our duty as patriots and human beings, showing the great powers of the world that the present cabinet has the diplomacy necessary to protect our cause as well as the arms required to defend our rights.

—Pedro Paterno, “Proclamation of War” (June 2, 1898).

Available: MSC Communications Technologies, *The Philippine Centennial Celebration*.

<<http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial/pa990602.html>>*

True, we might have thought it hopeless to attempt the improvement of conditions in the Philippines, had not fate placed the power in our hands. Granted, if you will, that we cannot right the wrongs of all oppressed nations, yet we cannot refuse to accept the responsibility which logic of events has thrust upon us.

—Dean Worcester, “Knotty Problems in the Philippines,” *The Century: A Popular Quarterly*, 56 (October 1898), 873.

Available: Cornell University Library, *Making of America* <<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=ABP2287-0056&byte=57182538>>

Merritt’s most difficult problem will be how to deal with insurgents under Aquinaldo, who has become aggressive and even threatening toward our army.

—Admiral George Dewey, cable to Secretary Long, in David Traxel, *1898: The Birth of the American Century* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1998), 244.

In the war against Spain the United States forces came here to destroy the power of that nation, and to give the blessings of peace and individual freedom to the Philippine people, that we are here as friends of the Filipinos, to protect them in their homes, their employments, their individual and religious liberty; that all persons who either by active aid or honest endeavor cooperate with the government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes, will receive the reward of its support and protection.

—Elwell S. Otis, “Proclamation,” (Manila, P.I.: Office of the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands, January 4, 1899).

Available: <<http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial/ot990104.html>>



Emilio Aguinaldo, Rebel Leader of the Philippine Forces

Fremont Rickett, *Our Boys in the Philippines: A Pictorial History of the War* (San Francisco: P.F. Rickett, 1899), 20.
Available: Library of Congress,
<<http://www.loc.gov/tr/hispanic/1898/luzon.html>>

In my manifesto of January 8 [1899], first I published the grievances suffered by the Philippine forces at the hands of the army of occupation. The constant outrages and taunts, which have caused the misery of the people of Manila, and finally, the useless conferences and the contempt shown the Philippine government provide the premeditated transgression of justice and liberty.

—Emilio Aguinaldo, “Call to Arms,” 1899, in Thomas Patterson, and Dennis Merrill, eds. *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, Vol. I* (New York: D.C. Heath, 1995), 422.*

When I realized the Philippines had dropped into our laps I confess I did not know what to do with them. . . . 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 turn them over to France and 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 over there 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 do by them.



William McKinley

National Archives, NWDNS-111-SC-96204

—President William McKinley, 1899, in Thomas Patterson, and Dennis Merrill, eds. *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, Vol. I* (New York: D.C. Heath, 1995), 424.

Comparison Chart: Causes of the Conflict

Instructions: Review the documents provided in **Student Handouts 1** and **2**. Place the authors' names of those documents in the appropriate categories below, briefly explaining how their views relate to the category. Some documents may be placed in more than one category.

Geopolitical Influence
Economic Influence
Racial Ideology
Missionary Zeal
Nationalism
Militarism

After completing the chart above, write a paragraph explaining which factor, in your view, was most important in causing the conflict, and why.

LESSON TWO

THE UNITED STATES SENATE DEBATES ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

A. STUDENT OBJECTIVES

- To comprehend the arguments for and against American annexation of the Philippines.
- To understand thoroughly the arguments and point of view of one faction during the United States Senate debate on the Treaty of Paris.
- To work cooperatively with others to develop strategies, arguments, and oral presentations to deliver during the debate.
- To evaluate the merits of the arguments offered by both anti-imperialists and imperialists during the United States Senate debate.

B. ACTIVITIES (Suggested Time: Four class periods of 45–50 minutes each)

Activity One: Historical Background

1. Have the students read the historical background provided in *Situation (Student Handout 4)*. It may be useful to review this reading orally and/or provide a timeline of events in the Philippines (See p. 16).
2. Ask the following questions to determine students' understanding of the context for the United States Senate's debate on the annexation of the Philippines.
 - a. How did the war with Spain begin? How did the United States become involved in the Philippines?
 - b. Why did tensions develop between American forces that arrived in the Philippines and local residents of the islands?
 - c. What did the United States Senate decide to do with the Philippines?

Activity Two: Preparation for the Simulation

1. Explain that a simulation involves student role-playing during a specific time period and location in history. In this case, students will act as members of the United States Senate during the debate over the treaty that ended the war with Spain. Provide students with *Factions in the Senate Debate on the Philippines*, **Student Handout 5**. Emphasize that all participants in the simulation will be expected to:
 - a. Conduct research to prepare for oral participation in the simulation, including finding information related to their assigned group and its point of view.

- b. Work cooperatively with members of their group to develop an outline of the group's arguments and views.
 - c. Accurately portray the views of their historical group, rather than contemporary or personal opinions related to the treaty.
 - d. Following the conclusion of the simulation, participate in a discussion of the activity, and complete a writing assignment related to it.
2. Divide the class into the factions discussed in **Student Handout 5**. The size of the groups should be constructed to approximate their numbers during the 1899 debate. One suggestion is to divide the students as follows:
 - Anti-imperialists 30% of the class
 - Undecided 20% of the class
 - Republican imperialists 25% of the class
 - Bryan Democrats 25% of the class

Provide all or some of the information in **Student Handout 5**, depending on the motivation of the students, their research capabilities, and the time available. For example, if more time is available for student research, limit the information and arguments provided for each faction.

3. Give students time to review the information about their group in **Student Handout 5** as well as the additional information in *Planning to Participate in the Senate Simulation* (**Student Handout 6**), the Treaty of Paris (**Student Handout 7**), and to locate appropriate information through print and electronic sources. A list of useful electronic and print sources is attached to the second handout. Part of this work may be completed as a homework assignment, but students should be given class time to conference and prepare with their group members. Students may use *Student Outline for the U.S. Senate Debate on the Treaty of Paris* (**Student Handout 8**) to organize their ideas.
4. When students have completed research, have them review the *Parliamentary Rules* (**Student Handout 9**). Explain that the Senate operates through a system of rules that govern the behavior of legislators and is organized so that its proceedings remain orderly and understandable. Answer any questions that students have regarding parliamentary procedure as described in the handout.

Activity Three: The Simulation

1. Allow the student groups an additional ten minutes to make final preparations for the simulation prior to beginning. Then, seat the students as Democratic or Republican senators, each political party on a different side of the room. Each person should fill out a small name tag identifying their political party and faction. This should be pinned to each person's clothing to allow others to identify them during the simulation.

2. One student may act as chairperson or act as chairperson yourself. The chairperson should have a gavel to maintain order. Students should begin the simulation with a copy of the parliamentary rules and their own outline of arguments and ideas from their research.
3. Continue the simulation should continue until the Treaty of Paris has been thoroughly reviewed and discussed. Propose and discuss amendments, and take a final vote. Remember that a two-thirds majority is required to ratify a treaty.

Activity Four: Debriefing

1. Following the completion of the simulation, conduct a debriefing discussion to clarify the proceedings and to demonstrate students' level of comprehension. Use the questions from *Debriefing the Simulation* on **Student Handout 8** for an oral discussion. If preferred, first ask students to write responses to them for later discussion.
2. Use any of the following to evaluate student participation and understanding of the ideas and information presented:
 - a. Collect student outlines completed in preparation for the simulation.
 - b. Score students' participation in the simulation. The teacher should develop a rubric for this and familiarize students with requirements prior to beginning the simulation.
 - c. Listen to and evaluate students' comments during debriefing.
 - d. Collect and evaluate students' written responses to debriefing questions.
 - e. Following the simulation, ask students to write a personal viewpoint essay on this question: Should the U.S. Senate have agreed to the annexation of the Philippines as part of the ratification of the Treaty of Paris?

Situation

War broke out between Spain and the United States in April 1898. At the start of the war, the U.S. was most angered by the sinking of the USS *Maine*, an American battleship, in Havana harbor, Cuba, and by repeated reports of inhumane treatment of the Cuban people by the Spanish colonial government. When the United States declared war against Spain, preparations were made for an invasion to liberate Cuba from Spanish rule.



Diving on Maine's Wreck

United States Navy, Photo #NH-46774

<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/events/spanam/events/maineskg.htm>

When the United States declared war against Spain, the Navy Department also dispatched a squadron of American naval vessels to attack Spanish forces in the Philippine Islands, a colonial possession in the Pacific Ocean. Under the command of Commodore George Dewey, the United States Asiatic Squadron left China, sailed to the Philippines, and totally defeated the Spanish fleet in those islands. Shortly after, the American government sent Army regiments to enter the Philippines and complete the defeat of Spanish forces.

Local Filipino citizens, who had been agitating for independence from Spain during the past decade, watched the American takeover with keen interest. When Dewey's forces defeated the Spanish fleet, many hoped to achieve independence for their islands. Led by General Emilio Aguinaldo, these nationalists formed a provisional government and raised an army. The Filipino insurgents hoped that the Americans would turn over the reigns of government to them when Spanish forces surrendered.

Thoroughly demoralized, the Spanish armed forces left in the islands were soon ready to surrender. Disdainful of the local insurgents, they agreed to surrender instead to the American forces. Following a short, mock battle designed to maintain their honor, the Spanish forces surrendered the capital city of Manila to the United States in August, 1898. Angered by being excluded from the victory, the Filipino insurgent army surrounded Manila and the American forces within the city.

In December, 1898, American and Spanish diplomats completed negotiations to end the war between their nations and signed the Treaty of Paris. This document included the transfer of the Philippines to the United States for a sum of twenty million dollars. The Filipino insurgents, still surrounding Manila, were furious that they had been denied independence. They therefore continued to demand national sovereignty.

In January and February of 1899, the United States Senate debated the acceptance of the terms of the Treaty of Paris. While this occurred, tensions ran high between Filipino and U.S. forces in the Philippines. War broke out on February 4 and, by a vote of 57 to 24, the Senate agreed to the Treaty and the annexation of the Philippines on February 6.



Maine Funeral in Havana

United States Navy, Photos #NH-46774 and NH-46765
<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/events/spanam/events/maineskg.htm>

Factions in the Senate Debate on the Philippines



Ben Tillman



George Hoar



Arthur Gorman

1. **Anti-Imperialists:** Led by Senators George Hoar, Ben Tillman, and Arthur Gorman, this combination of Democrats and Republicans strongly opposed the Treaty of Paris and the annexation of the Philippines. They believed that:
 - a. Imperialism would lead to foreign entanglements and conflicts with major powers that had territories and interests in the Pacific area.
 - b. Annexation would allow a variety of non-caucasian racial groups to enter the United States from the Philippines
 - c. Imperialism would lead to unnecessary foreign responsibilities.
 - d. The annexation of the islands would violate our Constitution and the rights guaranteed in it. The Constitution did not mention or sanction the taking of colonies.
 - e. Imperialism violated the principle of governmental authority being derived from “the consent of the governed.”
 - f. Imperialism violated the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, the American Revolution, and the origins of our republic.
 - g. The Filipinos should have the right to create their own government.
 - h. The United States should follow the ideals expressed in the Teller Amendment (Cuba) when dealing with the Philippines, including a promise of eventual independence.
 - i. The campaign to conquer the Philippines would be bloody and financially very costly.

Your group should propose amendments to the treaty to reflect your views.

Photos:

*Biographical Dictionary of the
United States Congress*

<<http://bioguide.congress.gov>>



Albert Beveridge



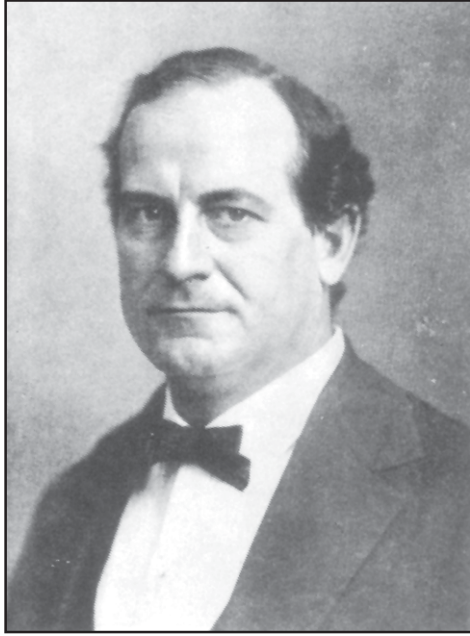
Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr.

Photos:

Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress

<<http://bioguide.congress.gov>>

2. **Imperialists:** Led by Senators Albert Beveridge and Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., this group wholeheartedly supported the adoption of the treaty and the annexation of the Philippines. They opposed granting any independence to the Philippines at this time. They argued that:
- a. Ownership of the Philippines would provide many economic opportunities for the United States in trade, raw materials, and opening markets to nearby nations like China, Japan, and parts of Southeast Asia.
 - b. The Philippines could provide important and useful naval and military bases for American forces. These could provide additional security for the United States.
 - c. It was important to support the president and the armed forces who were already engaged in the Philippines. To do otherwise would be disloyal and unpatriotic.
 - d. The McKinley administration hoped for eventual independence of the Philippines, but that conflict caused by Filipino forces would hinder that progress.
 - e. The rebellion of Filipinos must be stopped before any legitimate government could be constituted.
 - f. The United States government could provide a variety of resources to improve the government and life of the people in the Philippines.
 - g. The majority of Filipinos were too uneducated to make self-government possible at this time.
 - h. The interests of the United States and our society have been, and should continue to be, more important than the concerns or desires of natives living in territory taken by our government.
 - i. The revolutionary “government” led by Aguinaldo is undemocratic and not supported by the majority of Filipinos.
 - j. The annexation of the Philippines will help to make the United States a great power to be respected by all nations.
 - k. If the United States was unwilling to annex the Philippines, another more domineering power would eagerly do so. The Filipinos might suffer far more under another master.



William Jennings Bryan
Library of Congress, LCPP003B-41852

3. **Bryan Democrats:** This faction was composed of supporters of the Democratic presidential candidate in 1896, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan was the leading Democrat during the decade, and many senators followed his views on the Philippines question. Like Bryan, they opposed imperialism on moral grounds. However, Bryan planned to run for president again in 1900. He believed that the public would soon grow tired of the conflict and American casualties in the Philippines. Bryan asked his followers to vote for the treaty and annexation, so that the issue could be made the central one during the 1900 campaign. This group believed that:

- a. The ratification of the treaty would lead to a long and difficult war between United States forces and Filipino citizens. This would turn public opinion against colonialism.
- b. The majority of Filipinos supported the Aguinaldo government and wished that the islands be self-governing.
- c. Long-term imperialism might lead to conflict with other nations and involvement in many costly wars.
- d. Imperialist policies might lead to increased militarism in our government.
- e. Imperialism would be expensive.
- f. The Filipinos had the right to self-government. This could easily be achieved following the 1900 election.
- g. The United States should ultimately follow the tenets of the Teller Amendment (intended for Cuba) in its dealings with the Philippines.
- h. The American people should be allowed to vote for or against imperialism in a referendum, the presidential election of 1900.

Your group should propose amendments to the treaty to reflect your views.

4. **Undecided:** This small group of senators believed that it would be irresponsible to give immediate independence to the Philippine Islands. They felt that:
 - a. Immediate independence was not an option. The Filipinos were unprepared for self-government.
 - b. The Philippines could easily be annexed by another power such as Germany or Japan if the U.S. withdrew.

On the question of annexing the islands, this group was undecided. While other groups are researching their points of view, it will be your task to pose at least ten questions to be raised to the other groups during the debate. These can focus on:

- a. The economic benefits or problems associated with annexation?
- b. The political and military benefits or problems associated with annexation?
- c. The racial arguments made by some senators?
- d. The patriotic and nationalistic arguments made by some senators?
- e. The arguments about the constitutionality of taking the Philippines?
- f. The morality of annexing the islands?
- g. The dangers of foreign entanglements if we accept the islands?
- h. The probable costs of defeating the Philippine forces?

Planning to Participate in the Senate Simulation

Instructions: You will be assigned to a group of senators who acted as a faction of like minds during the debate on the Treaty of Paris in 1899. Your task will be to prepare effectively for and participate in a re-enactment of the Senate debate on this treaty.

All participants will be expected to:

1. Conduct research for oral participation in the simulation, including finding information related to your assigned group and its point of view.
2. Work cooperatively with members of your group to develop an outline of your group's arguments and views.
3. Participate actively in the simulated debate of the treaty.
4. Accurately portray the views of your historical group, rather than contemporary or personal opinions.
5. Following the conclusion of the simulation, participate in a discussion of the results and complete a writing assignment.

To prepare for the simulation, you will work both individually and with your partners to research your position on the issues related to the treaty. Please review the following in preparation for the simulation:

- a. Print resources available in your classroom, the school library, or other libraries.
- b. Electronic resources available through the Internet. Some valuable sites include:

<<http://www.boondocksnet.com>>
<<http://www.thisnation.com/library/beveridge/1900.html>>
<<http://www.phil-am-war.org>>
<<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel.to1914.html>>
<http://www.longman.awl.com/garrity/primarysources_23_2.htm>
<<http://www.Geocities.com/Athens/Crete/9784/GMUMatters.edu>>
<<http://www.filipino-americans.org>>
<<http://www.spanamwar.com>>
<<http://www.smplanet.com/imperialism/splendid.htm>>
<<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook34.html>>
<<http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial>>
<<http://www.historyguy.com>>
<<http://www.cdlib.org/cdl.library.cornell.edu>>
<<http://www.pbs.org/crucible>>
<<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/>>
<<http://historymatters.gmu.edu>>
<<http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/spanexhib/index.html>>
<<http://www.egmediagroup.com/saw>>

Additional sources may be located by conducting a web search using terms such as "Philippine Insurrection," "Philippine-American War," "William McKinley," "Spanish-American War," and other relevant titles.

Treaty of Paris



The Honorable John Hay, Secretary of State signing the memorandum of ratification on behalf of the United States.

At the State Department, May 1, 1899.

Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain
(New York: Harper and bros, 1899), 430.

Available: <<http://www.loc.gov/tr/hispanic/1898/hay.html>>

Article II.

Spain cedes to the U.S. the island of Puerto Rico and the other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas, or Ladrones.

Article IV.

Spain cedes the U.S. the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands . . . The U.S. will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty.

Article V.

The U.S. will, upon signature of the treaty, send back to Spain, at its own cost, the Spanish soldiers taken prisoner after the capture of Manila by American forces. Spain will proceed to evacuate the Philippines immediately.

Article VI.

Spain will, upon signature of the treaty, release all prisoners of war and persons detained or imprisoned for political offenses, in connection with insurrections in Cuba and in the Philippines and the war with the U.S. Reciprocally, the U.S. will release all prisoners of war.

Article IX.

Spanish subjects residing in the territory over which Spain by the present treaty relinquishes her sovereignty, may remain in such territory, retaining all rights of property. They shall also have the right to carry on their industry, commerce and professions.

Article X.

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the U.S. shall be determined by Congress. The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes her sovereignty shall be secure in the free exercise of their religion.

Article XVII.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within six months from the date hereof, earlier if possible.

The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School, "Treaty of Peace Between the United States and Spain" (December 10, 1898). Available: <<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/spain/sp1898.htm>>

Student Outline for U.S. Senate Debate on the Treaty of Paris

Group: _____

Should the U.S. accept the Treaty of Paris and the Treaty of Paris?

A. Position:

B. Arguments:

1. Political:

2. Economic:

3. Social/cultural:

C. Amendments to be proposed:

D. Likely counter-arguments from your opponents and how they will be answered.

Parliamentary Rules

Parliamentary procedure is an organized method of conducting business in large groups, such as clubs, conventions, and political bodies. It is a system of rules that has one primary objective: to get more and better work completed, in a minimum of time, yet allowing all members of the group to participate, understand, and affect decisions.

Every member of the U.S. Senate will have the right to express oneself “on the floor” to all members, without interruption. Senators may speak on the topic in general terms or may make specific motions for actions.

- The President of the Senate will call the meeting to order and will recognize one person to speak.
- All senators must stand and address the President as “Mr. President” to be recognized and speak. The presiding officer will call on opposing factions to allow for full discussion.
- When a senator proposes a specific action, he uses the phrase, “I move that,” followed by the action. These main motions, such as the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, become the central topic of discussion.
- All motions must be seconded. One senator says, “Second.” Motions that are not seconded will die.
- After a motion is made and seconded, it is restated by the presiding officer. At this point, any senator may speak about the proposal.
- Senators may propose changes to main motions called “amendments.” These may be to add words or phrases, to make deletions, or to propose word changes. When proposed, the amendment becomes the immediate topic for discussion. Amendments require a majority vote to pass.
- Senators may also rise and propose motions to recess or to limit debate. The recess requires a majority vote and the limit debate motion requires two-thirds.
- Senators may also rise to make a point of order, noting an infraction of rules. They may rise to raise a point of information if something is unclear.
- The final treaty requires a two-thirds vote.

Debriefing the Simulation

1. What side, pro-annexation or anti-annexation, made the strongest arguments? Why?
2. Why did the classroom Senate pass or defeat the Treaty?
3. What factors influenced the opinions of the undecided senators?
4. How would you modify the simulation to make it more realistic?
5. Did you agree with the point of view of your assigned group? Why or why not?
6. Do you (today) believe that the United States should have annexed the Philippines? Why or why not?

LESSON THREE

WARFARE IN THE PHILIPPINES

A. OBJECTIVES

- To understand the nature of the military conflict between Filipino nationalists and American forces in the period 1899 through 1901.
- To evaluate the relative importance various factors that influenced the outcome of the conflict.

B. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The direct military conflict between the United States armed forces and Filipino fighters began on February 4, 1899, when several American soldiers fired upon local insurgents thought to be too close to American lines. Following this minor incident, Americans began a major offensive against Filipino troops on the following day. United States forces rapidly pushed the Filipinos away from the outskirts of Manila. The conflict would last three and one-half years and result in the death of 4,200 American troops, 20,000 Filipino soldiers, and approximately 200,000 civilians living in the islands. Many of the Filipino civilians and combatants died from starvation or disease.

After defeats in several major battles, it became clear to Filipino nationalist leaders that their forces could not match the size, experience, or equipment of the American forces. General Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipino government on the island of Luzon, decided to pursue a strategy of guerilla warfare. He frequently instructed his forces to avoid large, open-field battles. Instead, they would often retreat to escape capture or heavy losses at the hands of the Americans. The Filipinos subsequently fought in small groups, hitting unsuspecting American troops and then quickly receding into the lush territory so familiar to them. The tactics of the Filipinos frustrated the American soldiers, who hoped to end the conflict rapidly and come home.

The American forces responded to Filipino guerilla warfare with at least four counter-insurgency strategies. First, the Americans offered policies of “benevolent assimilation” to demonstrate to the locals that the U.S. government sought to help them. For example, the American military built roads, improved sanitary systems and established schools. Some Filipinos were grateful for these humanitarian improvements and hoped for more aid under continued American rule.

Second, the American forces actively sought the allegiance of members of the Filipino elite. American strategists believed that, without the support of the educated and powerful elite in Philippine society, the nationalists would lack the leaders necessary to organize and continue the war. The Americans offered political and administrative positions to this group as an enticement to renounce the Aguinaldo government. Americans also encouraged members of the elite to form a political party that called for the eventual independence of the Philippines.

Third, the American government used its better trained and better equipped forces to attack and capture the nationalists. The United States military had modern weapons and fast-moving naval vessels to move easily between the many islands of the Philippines. In contrast, the Filipinos fought with primitive weapons and lacked coordinated actions.

Fourth, the United States Army used harsh policies to capture the nationalists and destroy their will to fight. For instance, American forces placed those Filipinos suspected of disloyalty in camps to deny their ability to help the nationalists. United States troops also engaged in widespread crop destruction to starve independence fighters. And last, the Americans tortured Filipino nationalists and alleged sympathizers in order to obtain intelligence information on the enemy.

Due to the combined effects of the four factors mentioned above, Filipino forces and attacks began to dwindle in 1900. In 1901, Americans captured General Aguinaldo with the help of Filipinos who had deserted the nationalist cause. Following Aguinaldo's capture, Filipino nationalist forces became increasingly fragmented and weakened. Large numbers of them surrendered in 1901 and 1902. President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed an end to the "Philippine Insurrection" on July 4, 1902, but small groups of nationalists continued to fight on for the next five years.

C. **ACTIVITIES (Suggested Time: 45–90 minutes)**

Activity One: Historical Background

1. Provide information to the students regarding the nature of the warfare in the Philippines in the period 1899–1902. Review the **Historical Background** and explain:
 - a. That the nationalists first tried to fight the war via large-scale battles.
 - b. That the nationalists adopted guerilla tactics after several months of defeats.
 - c. That the climate and the geography of the Philippines helped the nationalists to wage guerilla warfare.
 - d. That the Americans faced a difficult task in subduing the nationalists and often became frustrated with their tactics.
 - e. That the U.S. pursued a variety of counterinsurgency strategies to win control of the islands.
2. Ask students the following questions to elicit prior knowledge:
 - a. How did the two opposing sides fight each other in the Civil War? In World War Two?
 - b. Why do you think the Filipino nationalists changed to a guerilla war strategy?
 - c. Describe the methods used when the enemy in a conflict decides to follow guerilla warfare strategies.
 - d. Examine a world map and locate the Philippines. Considering the distance between the U.S. and the Philippines, what problems may geography have posed for the Americans?

- e. Why might the American forces in the Philippines have become frustrated with the nationalists' use of guerilla warfare?

Activity Two: American Efforts to Control the Philippines

1. Distribute *Factors Influencing the Outcome of the War* (Student Handout 11). Students should work in groups of three to review the documents and consider what factors may have contributed to the success of the American side.
2. Then distribute *How Did the United States Win Control of the Philippine Islands?* (Student Handout 12). Ask each student group to review the generalizations provided and locate information from the documents that supports the statements:
 - a. To make the activity more challenging, provide Student Handout 13, with the generalizations removed, and ask each group to develop, from the documents, their own statements regarding causes of the United States victory.
3. Ask the students to write a response to the evaluation question at the bottom of the worksheet, or the entire class may discuss it orally.

D. EVALUATION

1. Use any or all of the following to evaluate students' efforts and understanding:
 - a. Collect and evaluate the chart.
 - b. Collect and evaluate the student responses to the question, "Which of the above factors, in your view, was most important leading to the United States victory by 1902?"
 - c. Ask oral questions to the class and assess students' responses.

Factors Influencing the Outcome of the War

Instructions: Working with one or more partners, you are to review the following documents that relate to the efforts of the U.S. to defeat the nationalist forces in the Philippines in the period, 1899–1902. After this review, locate evidence that supports the generalizations provided on **Student Handout 12**.



Philippine Insurgents Fighting in the Undergrowth

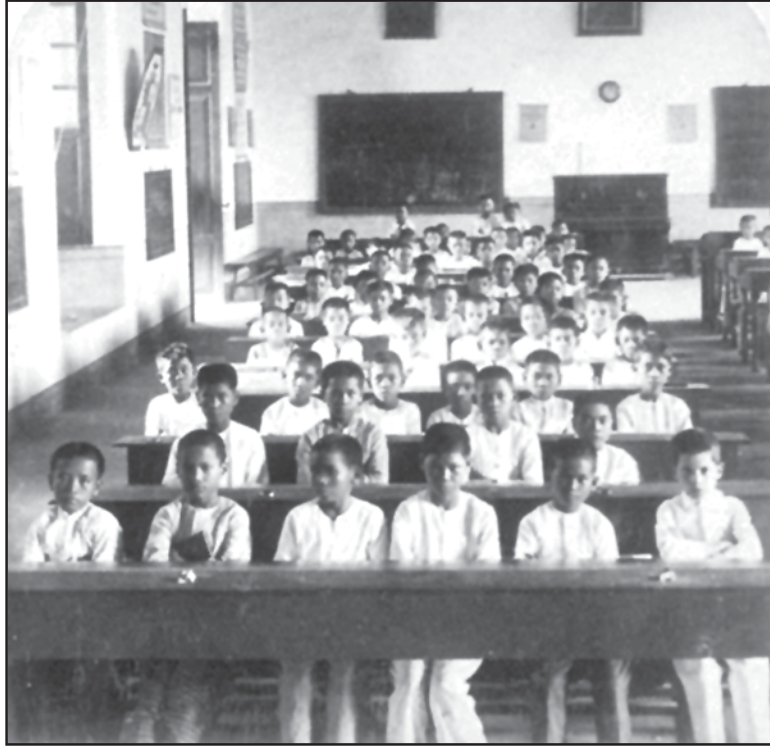
Millet, *The Expedition to the Philippines*, 91

The enemy numbered thousands and had courage, but could not shoot straight. People can never tell me anything about the Rough Riders charging San Juan. If these natives could shoot as accurately as the Spanish, they would have exterminated us. Fighting goes on all along the line; many natives are killed, but we capture very few rifles, as they seem to have men to take them.

—*Soldier's Letters*, pamphlet, "Letter, N. A. J. McDonnell Letter, 22 February 1899" (Anti-Imperialist League, 1899), in Philip S. Foner and Richard Winchester, *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States, Vol. 1* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984), 316–23. Available: <<http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu/d/58>>

General Otis's able administration wrought a wonderful change in the city [Manila]. The weary, forlorn look of those who had great interests at stake gradually wore off; business was as brisk as in old times, and the Custom House was being worked with a promptitude hitherto unknown in the Islands.

—John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899), 627.



“The right way to Filipino Freedom”

Boys in Normal High School, Manila, Philippine Islands.

Underwood & Underwood (New York, 1899) The Bancroft Library Pictorial Collection, *Stereographs of the West*
Available: <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org>>

The work of providing educational facilities for the Filipinos is assumed by the general government of the islands; and to promote that endeavor there has been established a department of public instruction.

There are employed in this department between 2,500 and 3,000 Filipino teachers, and nearly 1,000 American teachers, the latter engaged, primarily, in teaching English to the Filipino teachers in addition to the classes of children instructed by them. On the date of the last report of this department there were maintained in the Archipelago about 2,000 primary schools and 38 secondary schools.

—William Howard Taft, *What Has Been Done in the Philippines: A Record of Practical Accomplishments Under Civil Government* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), 19.

Answer: Well, we were out on this expedition this time; we started one morning at three o'clock and rode around the country to the north of Jaro to San Miguel and came back down the road. It was not the town of San Miguel, but houses built along the road side by side—barrios—and we burned that old string of houses there, it is my impression, to San Miguel. Brown was my scout leader, and I was his squad. I was the only one in the squad present. Brown was acting corporal in the scouts and was ordered to go out with his squad and burn houses there, and he obeyed the order.



On Picket Duty
Caloocan, Philippine Islands
Underwood & Underwood (New York, 1899)
The Bancroft Library Pictorial Collection,
Stereographs of the West
Available: <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org>>

Question: How many houses did you burn at that time and place?

Answer: I could not say how many houses we burned. We burned a great many of them and doubtless a great many we left we did not burn. The troop was traveling right along, and we did not make any observation after we lighted a house.

Question: Why was that barrio burned?

Answer: I think to intimidate the natives. I know after we got through our burning, coming back to San Miguel, we came across the bodies of two American horses, two carcasses of horses that had been ridden by the soldiers that were fired upon.

—Seiward J. Norton, “Testimony in the Hearings of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, 1902,” in Henry Graff, ed., *American Imperialism and the Philippine Insurrection* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1969), 133.

Smallpox has ceased to be an important factor in the death rate, due to compulsory vaccination. . . . During 1902 the Philippine Islands were visited by an epidemic of cholera.

The prompt and energetic work of the board of health in establishing emergency hospitals, detention camps and quarantine regulators resulted in practically stamping out this epidemic within less than a year.

—Taft, *What Has Been Done in the Philippines*, 37.

It seems that ultimately we shall be driven to the Spanish method of dreadful general punishments on a whole community for the acts of its outlaws which the community systematically shields and hides.

—Robert Bullard, *Bullard Papers*, “Diary entry, 17 August 1900” (Library of Congress), in J. M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898–1902* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), 174.

Caloocan was supposed to contain seventeen thousand inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native. Of the buildings, the battered walls of the great church and dismal prison along remain. The village of Maypaja, where our first fight occurred on the night of the fourth, had five thousand people in it that day—now, not one stone remains upon top of another. You can only faintly imagine this terrible scene of desolation. War is worse than hell.

—*Soldier’s Letters*, “Letter, Captain Elliott (Kansas Regiment), 27 February 1899” in Foner and Elliott, 316–23. Available: <<http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu/d/58>>.

Streets were graded, towns drained, and a condition of sanitation introduced that, in the Philippine Islands, is only possible under military rule.

—D. H. Boughton, “How Soldiers Have Ruled in the Philippines,” *International Quarterly* 6 (1902), 225–26, in Gates, 141.

Some (Filipino) soldiers received rudimentary instruction from European manuals, but Aguinaldo never instituted a systematic training program or attempted large-unit maneuvers. . . . The insufficiency of modern firearms was even more critical.

—Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War: 1899–1902* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000), 35.

Your methods have been watched from here and I find that . . . you handle the enemy without gloves and that the result is satisfactory. I have informed all hands that things are in pretty good shape in Jeyte and that it is due to your policy of treating a good man very well indeed and the bad man very harshly.

—*Henry Allen Papers*, “Frank Prescott, letter to Captain Henry Allen, 15 November 1900,” (Library of Congress), in Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 200.

The Law provides that the electors charged with the duty of choosing elective municipal officers shall be male persons above the age of 23, and to have had a legal residence in the municipality in which they exercise the suffrage for a period of six months immediately preceding the election, and who are not citizens or subjects of any foreign power, and who are comprised within one of the following three cases:

- (a) Those who, prior to the thirteenth of August, 1898, held the office of municipal captain, *gobernadorcillo*, *alcade*, lieutenant, *cabeza de barangay*, or member of any *ayuntamiento*.
- (b) Those who own real property to the value of five hundred pesos, or who annually pay thirty pesos or more of the established taxes.
- (c) Those who speak, read, and write English or Spanish.

The law further provides that the following persons shall be disqualified from voting . . .

- (c) Any person who has taken and violated the oath of allegiance to the United States.

—Taft, *What Has Been Done in the Philippines*, 12–13.

It has occurred several times when a small force stops in a village to rest, the people all greet you with kindly expressions, while the same men slip away, go out into bushes, get their rifles, and waylay you further down the road.

—*Jordan Papers*, “John Jordan, letter to his mother, 18 February 1900” (Tennessee Library and Archives), in Gates, 171–2.

By April 16, 1902, more than 120,000 American soldiers had fought or served in the Philippines. Even more superior were the arms used by the Americans, who were well-equipped. US warships were on the coast, ready to fire their big guns when needed. In contrast, the Filipino arms were a motley of rifles. Some had been supplied by the Americans during the Spanish–American War, others smuggled in by Filipino patriots, seized from the Spanish Army, or taken from American soldiers. Artillery was likewise limited. . . . Many Filipino soldiers did not even have guns, but used spears, lances, and bolos (big knives) in fighting.

—Veltisezar Bautista, *The Filipino Americans (From 1763 to the Present): Their History, Culture, and Traditions* (Farmington Hills, MI: Bookhaus Publishers, 1998).



Insurgent Families coming into the
American Lines with Flags of Truce
Philippines

Underwood & Underwood (New York, 1899)
The Bancroft Library Pictorial Collection,
Stereographs of the West
Available: <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org>>

How Did the United States Win Control of the Philippines Islands?

Generalization 1:

The U.S. military and civilian authorities provided humanitarian help that persuaded some Filipinos to accept American rule.

Supporting Evidence

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Generalization 2:

The U.S. military utilized harsh methods to capture and defeat the nationalists and to deny them help from the general population.

Supporting Evidence

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Generalization 3:

The U.S. authorities enlisted the help and loyalty of educated and prosperous Filipinos by offering them jobs in the American government.

Supporting Evidence

1.

2.

3.

Generalization 4:

The U.S. possessed more skilled forces, better equipment, and were more coordinated than their Filipino enemies.

Supporting Evidence

1.

2.

3.

On the back of this paper, write a paragraph discussing which of the above factors was, in your view, most instrumental in achieving the U.S. victory by 1902.

LESSON FOUR

THE IMPACT OF WAR

A. OBJECTIVES

- ☛ To examine the ways that the Philippine-American War changed the citizens of the United States and their view of the world.
- ☛ To evaluate different historical points of view regarding the war and its impact.
- ☛ To determine what questions should be asked today to explain further and better understand the conflict.

B. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Fighting between American forces and Filipino insurgents began on February 4, 1899. Following a series of defeats in large battles, General Emilio Aguinaldo dissolved the regular Filipino army in November, 1899, and established guerilla forces to continue the struggle. American forces captured Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, and he took an oath of allegiance to the U.S. government one month later. The largest portion of Filipino forces surrendered to the American government by April 1902. Resistance among Filipinos continued to dwindle, and President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed an end to the war on July 4, 1902. He also granted amnesty to the Filipino armed forces. Some Filipinos continued to fight against American forces after the proclamation, particularly in the southern islands of the archipelago.

C. ACTIVITIES (Suggested Time: 90 minutes)

Activity One: An End to Fighting

1. Explain that the American government proclaimed an end to the conflict via a proclamation on July 4, 1902. Either ask the students to read the **Historical Background** (above) or summarize it for them.
2. Distribute *Reactions to the Acquisition of the Philippines* and *Graphic Organizer*, (**Student Handouts 13 and 14**). Students should work cooperatively with one or two partners to review the government officials' statements, the newspaper editorials, and the items from popular culture of the period to determine the war's impact on Americans' view of their global role and responsibilities in 1902.
3. Students should extract ideas from the three types of documents listed above and complete *Graphic Organizer*, **Student Handout 14**.

4. Following completion of the graphic organizer, ask students to create an artistic representation of American sentiments in 1902 (editorial cartoon, poster, poem, song lyrics). Use the following questions to lead a class discussion:
 - a. How did the three sources illustrate similar points of view?
 - b. In what ways did the three sources illustrate different points of view?
 - c. How, in your view, did the Philippine-American War change American thinking about the nation's role in the world?

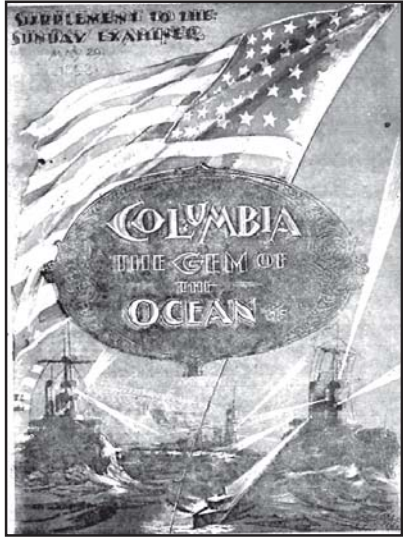
Activity Two: Historians' Interpretation of the War:

1. Distribute **Student Handout 15**, "The Philippine-American War: Where Historians Disagree." Explain that professional historians have been examining and re-evaluating the impact of the Philippine-American War since it occurred.
2. Ask students to role-play professional historians who have been given the task of examining the Philippine-American War from the vantage point of the 21st century. Have them work independently to develop a series of analytical questions that would serve as the basis for a research outline on this topic. The questions can be used as a guide to research that would provide a deeper understanding of the conflict. **Student Handout 15**, summarizing the viewpoints of several contemporary historians, may help students to develop their research outlines.

D. EVALUATION

1. Use any of the following devices to evaluate student effort and understanding of the topic:
 - a. Collect and evaluate the graphic organizer.
 - b. Collect and evaluate the research outline.
 - c. Ask the class oral questions and evaluate students' responses.
 - d. Require students to complete an essay evaluating the long-term impact of the Philippine-American War on United States foreign policy.

Reactions to the Acquisition of the Philippines



“Supplement to the Sunday Examiner”
Columbia, The Gem of the Ocean
 Museum Informatics Project,
 University of California,
19th Century California Sheet Music

O Columbia, the gem of the ocean,
 The home of the brave and the free,
 The shrine of each patriot’s devotion,
 A world offers homage to thee.
 Thy mandates make heroes assemble,
 When liberty’s form stands in view,
 When borne by the red, white and blue,
 When borne by the red, white and blue,
 They banners make tyranny tremble,
 When borne by the red, white and blue.

—David T. Shaw, “Columbia, The Gem of the Ocean” (San Francisco: *The Examiner*, 1898).
 Available: Mary Kay Duggan, *19th-Century California Sheet Music* (Univ. of Calif., Berkeley: Museum Informatics Project), <<http://www.sims.berkeley.edu/~mkduggan/neh.html>>.

It is now admitted by the leaders of the Democratic Party that the question of our holding the Philippines is settled. Anti-Imperialism is dead. A few people who can learn nothing may still whisper about it, but their voices are not heard. No one can stir up any excitement over the matter any more than once can resuscitate the opposition to the annexation of Texas. Right or wrong—and we believe it right—we hold Guam and Puerto Rico and the Philippines for good or evil—and we believe for good.

—“Annexation,” *The Independent*, 58 (26 January 1905).
 Available: <<http://www.boondocksnet.com/sctexts/ind0105.html>>

Awake from thy slumbers, Columbia! Arise,
 And shine in thy might and thy beauty,
 And up with thy standards where liberty cries
 Against rebellion to union on duty.
 And on to the combat freedom and order,
 Whenever the foe lurks molesting thy border,
 And thy cause shall with triumph be blessed from on high,
 Where thy legions shall march or thy banner shall fly.

—T. G. Spear and Charles G. St. Clair, “The Song of the American Volunteer” (San Francisco: Published for the author, 1898).
 Available: Duggan, <<http://www.sims.berkeley.edu/~mkduggan/neh.html>>

The two most powerful forces in the new century will be Russia and the North American republic; and to a great extent the fate of the English empire will depend on what these countries do or do not do. Of these two colossal empires, the American republic occupies a favored position. In population, it indeed does not equal Russia but it surpasses that country in energy and practical intelligence, and is the superior of all other nations numerically, having more than forty percent more inhabitants than Germany and a still greater lead over England. To this must be added the fact that it possesses an advantage over Britain in having a compact territory, which even in the time of war could supply its own needs and wants undisturbed by any foe; and over Russia and Germany it has this advantage, that its borders touch upon military powers against which it must not keep on its guard.

—“America as a Political Factor in the Twentieth Century,” *Literary Digest* 22 (March 9, 1901). Available: Jim Zwick, ed. “New Century Perspectives,” *Boondocksnet.com*, <http://www.boondocksnet.com/century/century_america.html>

As to our ability to establish a stable government in the Philippines, we have certain things in our favor. The people of those islands have no other traditional allegiance and no other governmental traditions. They wish to break all connection between Church and State and to try a representative form of government. . . . The dangerous element is a spirit of faction begotten of generations of oppression and misrule, yet education and good government may in time regenerate a race not without good qualities and not without ambition.

—Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson, “Our Rule in the Philippines,” *North American Review*, 170 (February 1900), 272–84. Available: Library of Congress, *American Memory*, “The Nineteenth Century in Print: Periodicals” <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpcoop/mahtml/title/lists/nora_V170I519.html>

Still, every man who believes in developing the islands must admit that it cannot be done successfully while the Filipinos are there. They are indolent. They raise only enough food to live on; they don’t care to make money; and they occupy land which might be utilized to much better advantage by Americans. Therefore the more of them killed, the better.

It seems harsh. But they must yield before the superior race, and the American syndicate. . . . We repeat—the American people, after thought and deliberation, have shown their wishes. **THEY DO NOT WANT THE FILIPINOS. THEY WANT THE PHILIPPINES.**

—*San Francisco Argonaut* 50 (May 16, 1902), 342, in Thomas Bailey and David Kennedy, *The American Spirit*, Vol. 2 (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1994), 189.



The first step towards lightening the White Man's Burden is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness. Pear's soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap. Pear's Soap.

—“Lightening the White Man's Burden: Pear's Soap” *McClure's Magazine* (Oct. 1899). Available: Zwick, “Historical Graphics Gallery,”

<http://www.boondocksnet.com/gallery/ads_pears.html>.

The Filipino exhibition was one that attracted a great deal of attention and gave much satisfaction. The concert that the civilized residents or Visayans gave drew fine audiences all day long. They gave exhibitions of their national dances, sang their native songs, accompanied by their own orchestra in very good time, and acted little pantomime plays. When they wound up their show by playing and singing the Star-Spangled Banner in very good English and perfect time, they aroused their audiences to an enthusiastic pitch. When you were informed that the performers knew no English six months previously, their present attempts seemed really remarkable.



Carabao Milk Peddler
Manila, early 1900s
Library of Congress
LC-A512-113

The Negrotos and Igorotes were, of course, of a much lower intelligence. They could ascend a lofty tree in their grounds with the agility of a monkey and slide down again as quickly as a snake. The naked little rats who shot at nickels with bow and arrow had learned to bid the people who got in line of their shots to “stand back” and to exclaim “pretty, good” when their aim proved true. Jake Haines adopted a little wild scion of the Igorotes for a couple of days and had his picture taken as protector of the infant. (from a visit to the St. Louis Fair)

—Clifford Paynter Allen, “Pilgrimage of Mary Commandery, No. 36, Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, to the Twenty-Ninth Triennial Conclave of the Grand Encampment at San Francisco: Monday, September 19, 1904” (Philadelphia: Thompson Printing, 1904). Available: Library of Congress, *American Memory*, “‘California as I Saw It:’ First-Person Narratives of California's Early Years, 1849–1900” <<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/cbhtml/cbhome.html>>

Graphic Organizer

Reactions of Americans at Home to the Impact of War

Attitudes Toward the Filipinos

Attitudes Regarding America's Role in the World

Nationalistic Attitudes

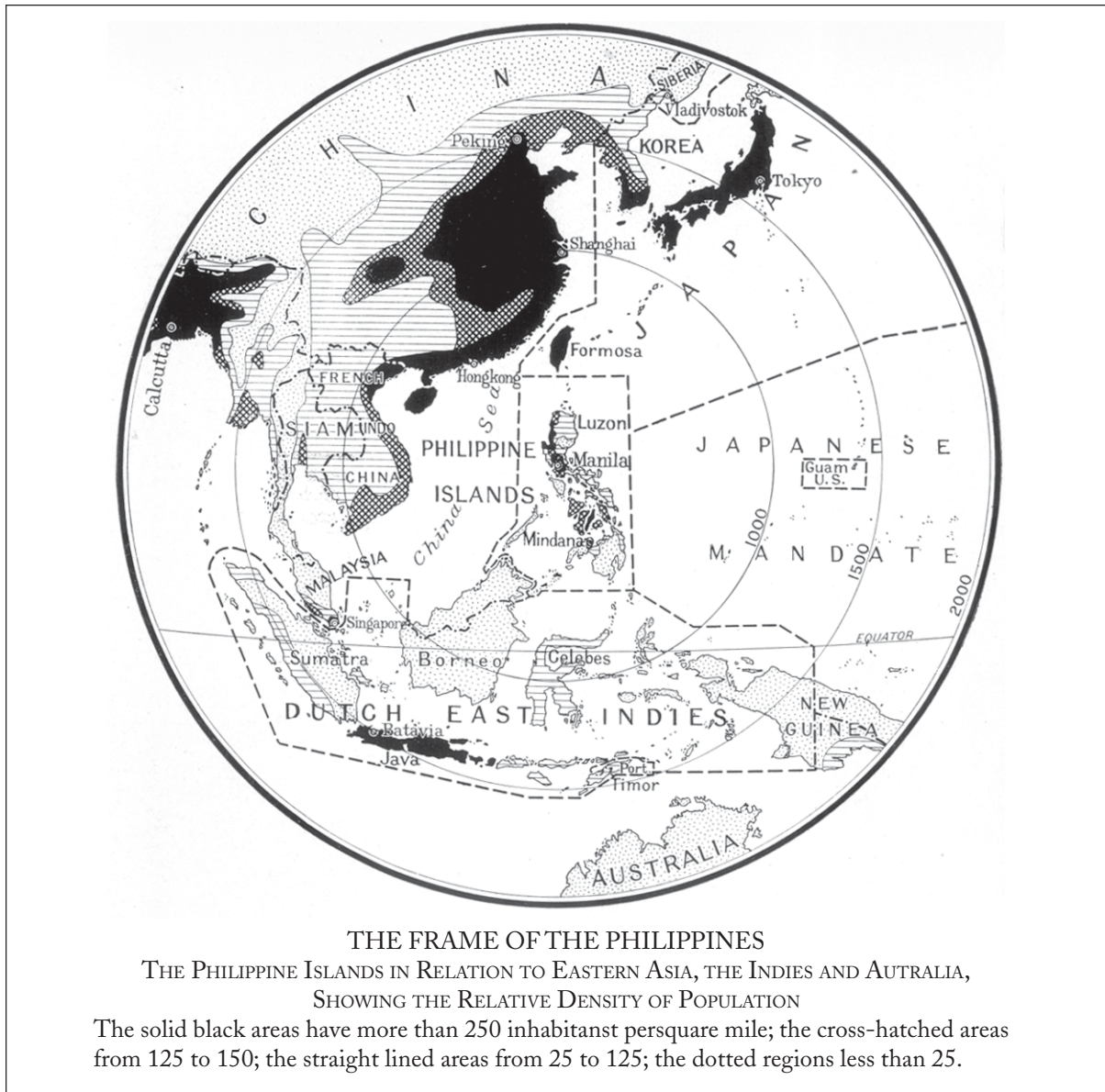
The Philippine-American War: Where Historians Disagree

Admiral George Dewey's decisive defeat of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, on May 1, 1898, fired the passions of American nationalism. But even before the euphoria of victory wore off, the United States faced the question of what to do with the Philippine Islands. When President William McKinley decided in October to annex the entire archipelago, when the defeated Spanish signed the Treaty of Paris in December to cede the land, and when the U.S. Senate narrowly approved the Treaty in February 1900, the Filipinos became, as McKinley put it, America's "little brown brothers." At the time, many famous Americans—such as the writer Mark Twain, the business tycoon Andrew Carnegie, and Democratic Party leader William Jennings Bryan—opposed territorial acquisition. As anti-imperialists, they argued that empire building would destroy the American principle of self-determination, violate the nation's anti-colonial tradition, shift too much foreign policy power from congress to the president, waste precious tax dollars and soldiers' blood, and saddle the U.S. with a population of "undesirables." Pro-empire forces—led by notables such as McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Sen. Albert J. Beveridge—argued, on the other hand, that acquiring the Philippines would advance U.S. security interests, spread American values, and propel Washington into a greater leadership role in world affairs. More specifically, imperialists said the new territory would foster trade with China, offset the European presence in Asia, and directly benefit Filipinos with "superior" American ideas and values.

Similar to the pro- and anti-imperialist arguments of 1898–1899, historians have waged their own battle of interpretations concerning the causes, course, and consequences of the U.S.-Philippines War. While more recent scholars generally agree that the Americans ruled the Philippines with conflicted feelings and that Filipinos did not always benefit directly from American rule, those same scholars commonly disagree over questions of democracy and development, moral and monetary motivations, and the degree to which racial prejudices and cultural differences caused wartime conflicts.

Among earlier historians, pro-imperialist works such as Charles B. Elliott's *The Philippines to the End of the Military Regime: America Overseas* (1917), W. Cameron Forbes' *The Philippine Islands* (1928), and James A. LeRoy's *The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation, With an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule* (1914) saw the Americans in an idealistic light. Building on an earlier argument by Josiah Strong in 1900, a Congregational clergyman and passionate spokesman for overseas missionary work, Elliott, Forbes, and LeRoy justified the crushing of Aguinaldo's independence movement. Because Anglo-Saxons were the only legitimate law givers, nonwestern sovereignty could be achieved only by first establishing Western-style colonial governments. Anti-imperialist treatments, on the other hand, like Albert G. Robinson's *The Philippines: The War and the People* (1901), and Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco's *The Conquest of the Philippines* (1926) portrayed the Americans as greedy, racist, and self-serving empire-builders. Perhaps even worse, they argued, was that the Americans practiced the same, cruel methods of European expansion which they had previously condemned.

The works of more modern writers have tended to lean more on documented evidence and less on ideological passions. Whereas the works of early twentieth-century authors were often inflamed by nationalist or anti-nationalist perceptions and not as well-grounded on the facts and



Nicholas Roosevelt, *The Philippines* (New York: J. H. Sears, 1926), frontispiece.

findings of others, late twentieth-century scholars have used government records, personal papers, and discoveries of previous historians more systematically. As a result, the differences of opinion among later students of the U.S.-Philippines War are more nuanced and complex, while being less emotional and strident. There are, however, exceptions.

H.W. Brands' *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (1992) chronicles the Philippine-United States relationship from the Spanish-American War to the closing of the Subic Bay naval base in 1992. In weaving together a discussion of domestic and international forces, Brands sheds light on the causes of war—economic depression, domestic turmoil, 'great power' ambition, and jingoism. He also points out the longer-term legacy of war and occupation: post-independence corruption and the longer-term failure to produce genuine democracy in the Philippines. Kenton J. Clymer's *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898–1916: An*

Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality (1986) argues that missionaries were the most prominent of non-state actors spreading American cultural beliefs from 1890–1916; missionaries went to the Philippines (and elsewhere) in this era as “conscious agents of change, of radical transformation.” While laboring tirelessly on educational and medical projects, missionaries sought to impose religious codes that they believed were superior to Filipino Catholicism and native religion.

John M. Gates’ *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1899–1902* (1973) reevaluates assumptions underlying U.S. military “pacification” in the Philippines, while Willard B. Gatewood’s *Smoked Yankees and the War for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers 1898–1902* (1971) points out that only one ethnoracial group, African-Americans, identified with the Filipino independence fighters. Gatewood reasons that American blacks did so out of an “affinity of complexion.”

Kristin Hoganson’s *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (1998) focuses on the ambitions and mobilizing strategies of pro-imperialist forces. Hoganson concludes that gender not only performed the role of “cultural motive” to justify economic, strategic, and, moral justifications for war, it also functioned as a “coalition-building political method” for like-minded expansionists. Stanley Karnow’s *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (1989) argues that, although American reforms reflected admirable intentions, because the U.S. government relied on upper-class Filipinos to institute social and economic changes, prior inequalities and authoritarian rule actually worsened over time while the agrarian economy grew ever more dependent on U.S. markets. In the process of creating colonial dependency, Karnow continues, the Americans imposed their cultural ideas and values on the Filipino people. In particular, he emphasizes McKinley’s concern for “law and order” and his low regard for the Filipinos as key determinants in deciding to take the islands and to “educate . . . uplift and civilize and Christianize them.”

Walter LaFeber’s *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860–1898* (1963) argues that American annexation of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines should be seen as a pattern in constructing strategic and economic outposts en route to the huge China market. By dramatic contrast, Brian McAllister Linn’s *The Philippine War, 1899–1902* (2000) stands as the most authoritative study providing a “nationalist” defense of American policy. A leading military historian of the U.S.–Philippines War, McAllister provides an unapologetic, impassioned defense of American policy. In the process, Linn questions virtually all economic and moral assumptions underlying the “imperialist” critique, of which LaFeber is a leading voice.

Glenn A. May’s *Battle for Batangas: A Philippine Province at War* (1991) argues that most Filipinos did not support the Aguinaldo-led war effort. May offers evidence that at least some people opposed Aguinaldo’s message and methods, while others recognized the reality of U.S. power and the futility of resistance. May’s earlier work, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900–1913* (1980) underscores the incoherence and limited nature of attempts at Americanization. Stuart Creighton Miller’s *“Benevolent Assimilation”: The Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903* (1982) argues first, that the imperialism of presidents McKinley and Roosevelt was not a new departure in the history of American

foreign relations; second, that a common racist thread connects the U.S. wars against Native Indians and Filipinos; and third, that American public support for war in the Philippines was, at least initially, fervent and widespread.

Judith Papachristou's article "American Women and Foreign Policy, 1898-1905: Exploring Gender in Diplomatic History" (1990) concludes that, by utilizing methods that were "indirect and persuasive," women foreign policy activists made their various opinions known on the Philippine question. Among the topics they addressed were annexation, war policy, economic imperialism, political decision-making, and moral questions concerning prostitution, intemperance, and the general "perniciousness of male values." Julius W. Pratt's *America's Colonial Experiment: How the United States Gained, Governed, and In Part Gave Away a Colonial Empire* (1964) argues that the U.S. presence in the Philippines produced culturally "constructive activities" and "useful reforms and achievements" through educational, religious, and civic organizations.

Emily S. Rosenberg's *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion 1890-1945* (1982) places the Philippines War, among other contemporaneous events, in the context of "discourses on American liberalism." Rosenberg focuses, in particular, on free market capitalism and the free exchange of ideas—both of which "masqueraded as universal truths but were selectively applied to bolster national advantage." Daniel B. Schirmer's *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War* (1972) holds American civilian, military, and corporate leaders directly responsible for initiating hostilities with Filipino independence fighters. In response, sophisticated leaders of organized labor and minority groups opposed U.S. control of the Philippines precisely because of the pro-imperialist collaboration between industry and government.

Peter W. Stanley's *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (1974) argues that because American missionaries had greater exposure to the Philippines and had greater influence over general perceptions of Filipinos, they also exercised disproportionate control over policy formation. He served as editor on a later volume, *Reappraising an Empire: New Perspectives on Philippine-American History* (1984), that provides a series of essays by authors who raise different questions about the cultural and economic effects of America's presence in the Philippines and who, likewise, arrive at different conclusions.

Richard E. Welch, Jr.'s *The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (1979) evaluates different elements of public opinion on the outbreak, continuation, cessation, and overall impact of the American war in the Philippines. By examining issues of ideology, economics, morality, race, nationalism, and media influence, the author sees both continuity and discontinuity within the history of American foreign relations. Walter L. Williams makes a direct link between U.S. Indian policy on the American continent and U.S. policy toward the Philippines in his article "United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism" (1980). Williams finds that a "clear pattern of colonialism toward Native Americans" also "served as a precedent for imperialist domination over the Philippines and other islands occupied during the Spanish-American War."

William Appleman Williams is the dean of the "revisionist" or "imperialist" school of U.S. foreign policy history [see: *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1972)]. Williams argues that corporate interests, determined to expand the domestic economy by securing markets abroad,

aggressively pushed for the American war in and occupation of the Philippines. In failing to prevent economic depressions at home while continuing to fight overseas, U.S. policy makers “tragically” looked to external sources rather than reassessing Washington’s own flawed policies and practices. Leon Wolff’s *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century’s Turn* (1961) asserts that remarkable young Filipino men, influenced through “contact with books and ideas from the western world,” directed the independence movement and fought fiercely to reject the “dictum that they were serfs or, at best, second-class citizens.”

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