CHAPTER 21

TOWARD EMPIRE

SUMMARY
As the American frontier “closed,” many in America pushed for new frontiers of an empire for exploration, settlement, and new markets.

*America Looks Outward*
In contrast to prior expansion into contiguous territories intended for settlement and equal annexation, the United States in the 1890s acquired island colonies intended as naval bases and commercial outposts for the expansion and protection of American markets.

*Catching the Spirit of Empire*
Immediately after the Civil War, Americans were concerned almost exclusively with domestic concerns leading to a sense of isolationism. After the 1870s, however, Americans, linked to the world through new communication technologies, began to take a greater interest in international affairs, and even expansion. Still, few Americans were interested in imperialism.

*Reasons for Expansion*
Stimulated by a closing frontier and an expanding economy at home, the United States became increasingly interested in the worldwide scramble for colonies in the latter nineteenth century. Advocates of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority exhorted expansion of American trade and dominion as both our duty and destiny in “civilizing” the less advanced regions of the world.

*Foreign Policy Approaches, 1867-1900*
During this era, American policymakers were rarely consistent, but basically sought to avoid entanglements in Europe while expanding American trade, and perhaps territory, in Latin American and Asia. The United States reasserted the Monroe Doctrine and promoted Pan-American interests.

*The Lure of Hawaii and Samoa*
The Hawaiian and Samoan Islands attracted Americans primarily as stepping stones to the valuable trade of the Far East and as strategic locations for South Pacific naval bases. American residents in Hawaii instigated a revolution and the creation of a republican government in 1893, but the United States resisted annexation of the islands until 1898. After first acquiring a naval station in Samoa in 1878, the United States divided the island chain with Germany in 1899.

*The New Navy*
Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, naval strategist and historian, convinced many Americans of the need for an expanded navy to guarantee the nation’s wealth and power in international affairs. Benjamin F. Tracy, secretary of the navy under President Benjamin
Harrison, pushed Congress to begin a build-up program that would move the United States from twelfth among world navies in 1889 to third by 1900.

**War with Spain**
The brief war with Spain increased American confidence, strengthened the office of the presidency, dramatically enlarged the United States’ empire, and made the United States the dominant force in the twentieth century.

**A War for Principle**
In 1895, economic depression and discontent with Spanish rule led to revolution in Cuba. Spain responded with a policy of brutal repression. Exaggerated accounts of Spanish atrocities by America’s “yellow press,” the publication of a letter written by the Spanish ambassador in Washington insulting President McKinley, and the sinking of the American battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor all contributed to a growing clamor for United States intervention in the war on behalf of Cuban independence. Dissatisfied with Spain’s response to Cuban and American demands, President McKinley called for war in April 1898. The passage of the Teller Amendment assured Americans that the war was not a war for the acquisition of Cuba.

**“A Splendid Little War”**
Congress and the American public responded enthusiastically to war. More soldiers volunteered to fight than could be trained, fed, or equipped. The war lasted only ten weeks and resulted in relatively few American deaths—more to tropical diseases than battle—prompting the soon-to-be secretary of state John Hay's famous observation of the conflict as “a splendid little war.” Many of the units that fought in the war were National Guard units, and they mirrored many of the changes in American society.

**“Smoked Yankees”**
Certain that African-American men could resist tropical diseases, United States military officials recruited them as soldiers. Although subjected to segregation and discrimination, these “smoked Yankees” (as the Spanish troops referred to them) responded bravely and played a crucial role in the American invasion and takeover of Cuba.

**The Course of the War**
American military operations began with a stunning naval victory directed by Commodore George Dewey over the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, resulting in the U. S. occupation of the Philippine Islands. In the Caribbean, the United States invaded Cuba, captured Santiago, occupied Puerto Rico, and destroyed Spain’s only remaining battle fleet, forcing Spain’s surrender in August 1898. Only 379 Americans died in battle, but more than 5,200 died of disease or accidents.

**Acquisition of Empire**
The treaty ending the Spanish-American War called for Spanish recognition of Cuban independence; Spanish cession of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands to the United States; and U.S. payment of $20 million to Spain.
The Treaty of Paris Debate
Promptly submitted to the Senate for ratification, the Treaty of Paris set off a storm of debate throughout the country. Members of an Anti-Imperialistic League argued that American acquisition of colonies would prove to be undemocratic, costly, and potentially harmful to the interests of labor and racial harmony. Proponents of imperialism repeated the economic, strategic, and intellectual arguments justifying American expansionism. The Senate ratified the treaty in February 1899, with only two votes to spare.

Guerrilla Warfare in the Philippines
Demanding independence, Filipino insurgents led by Emilio Aguinaldo fought a guerrilla war against American takeover of the islands. Proving much more difficult and costly than the war against Spain, the Philippine-American War (1899-1902) convinced American leaders of the need to prepare the island archipelago for eventual self-government.

Governing the Empire
In a series of cases from 1901 to 1904, the Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution does not automatically “follow the flag” but that Congress could extend American constitutional provisions to territories as it saw fit. Hawaii, Alaska, Guam, and Puerto Rico were organized as dependencies. Hawaii and Alaska both became territories soon after and later states. Puerto Rico also became a territory by the Foraker Act of 1900. Cuba was granted “independence,” but forced to include the Platt Amendment in her constitution, allowing for special privileges for the United States, including the right of intervention.

The Open Door
By the end of the nineteenth century, outside powers had carved China into spheres of influence, threatening to reduce or even eliminate American economic interests there. Through a series of diplomatic notes written in 1899-1900, Secretary of State John Hay urged an “Open Door” policy in China that preserved for China some semblance of national authority over its territory and trade. The “Open Door” policy would allow the United States access to commercial opportunities equal to the other foreign powers.

Conclusion: Outcome of the War with Spain
The war with Spain propelled McKinley and the Republicans to new heights of popularity and solidified American confidence. From 1867 to 1900, the United States had transformed itself from a relatively small, isolationist nation to a bona fide world power.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to:

1. Analyze how and why United States territorial expansion in the 1890s differed from the nation’s earlier expansionist moves.

2. Explain the economic, strategic, and intellectual factors sparking American interest in overseas expansion in the latter nineteenth century.

3. Illustrate how the United States reasserted the Monroe Doctrine and promoted Pan-American interests during this era.

4. List the territories acquired by the United States during this era and explain the various processes of acquisition.

5. Describe the causes, major events, and consequences of the Spanish-American War.

6. List and explain the factors contributing to the growth of American newspapers in the 1890s, noting especially the popularity of “yellow journalism.”

7. Evaluate the performance of President McKinley in resolving international problems.

8. Discuss the treatment and performance of African-American soldiers during the Spanish-American War.

9. Contrast the arguments offered for and against ratification of the treaty ending the Spanish-American War and providing for American colonies.

10. Describe the causes, course, and consequences of the Philippine-American War (1899-1902).

11. Describe the processes by which civil government was established in American territories.

12. Explain the origin and purpose of the Open Door policy in China.
GLOSSARY

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms:

1. **contiguous** touching; adjoining. “Most of these lands were contiguous with existing territories . . .”

2. **aberration** departure from a moral standard or a normal state. “Historian Samuel F. Bemis described the overseas expansion of the 1890s as 'the great aberration . . .'”

3. **impregnable** incapable of being taken; unconquerable. “they could enunciate bold policies . . . while remaining virtually impregnable to foreign attack.”

4. **imperialistic** marked by a policy of extending control of one nation or another. “The idea of imperialistic expansion was in the air . . .”

5. **Pan-American** involving all of the American nations in unified activities. “. . . they based policy on . . . Pan-American unity against the nations of the Old World.”

6. **protectorate** relationship of superior authority assumed by one nation over another; the dependent nation in such a relationship. “its political clauses effectively made Hawaii an American protectorate . . .”

7. **insular** relating to an island; isolated; detached. “The war with Spain . . . altered older, more insular patterns of thought . . .“

8. **junta** a committee for political purposes, especially the planning or controlling of a revolutionary action. “Cuban insurgents established a junta in New York City . . .”

9. **yellow journalism** a technique of newspapers or journals featuring sensationalism as a way to stir attention and increase sales. “But 'yellow' journalism did not cause the war.”

10. **autonomy** the quality or state of self-government. “The new government . . . agreed to offer the Cubans some form of autonomy.”

11. **deference** respectful regard for another's wishes, opinions, or position. “there was an easygoing familiarity, tempered by the deference that went with hometown wealth . . .”

12. **archipelago** a group of islands. “the president can see but one plain path of duty – the acceptance of the archipelago . . .”
13. **assimilation** absorption into the cultural tradition of a population or group. “. . . anti-imperialists argued against assimilation of different races . . .”

14. **guerrilla tactics** irregular warfare by independent bands; especially harassment and sabotage. “Aguinaldo and his advisers shifted to guerrilla tactics . . .”

15. **spheres of influence** territorial areas within the political influence or interests of one nation are paramount. “Japan, England, France, Germany, and Russia eyed it covetously, dividing the country into 'spheres of influence . . .”

**IDENTIFICATION**

Briefly identify the meaning and significance of the following terms:

1. Theodore Roosevelt

2. James G. Blaine

3. Queen Liliuokalani

4. “yellow journalism”

5. Alfred Thayer Mahan

6. The *Maine*

7. Anti-Imperialist League

8. Emilio Aguinaldo
A. Match the following nations with the appropriate description:

____ 1. Philippine Islands  a. agreed to arbitration of the Alabama claims in the Treaty of Washington in 1871

____ 2. China  b. concluded a treaty with Secretary of State Seward for the sale of Alaska to the U.S.

____ 3. Russia  c. erupted in guerrilla warfare after U.S. refused to recognize its independence

____ 4. Venezuela  d. forced to accept a constitutional provision allowing future United States intervention

____ 5. Britain  e. accepted United States arbitration in a border dispute with British Guiana

f. subjected to international forces intent upon quelling an internal rebellion
B. Match the following policy statements with the appropriate description:

_____ 1. Monroe Doctrine  a. established civil government in Puerto Rico, organizing the island as a territory in 1900

_____ 2. Teller Amendment  b. denied European nations the right to meddle in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere

_____ 3. Platt Amendment  c. preserved for China some semblance of national authority in matters of trade

_____ 4. Open Door  d. provided for the organization of civil government in the Philippines

_____ 5. Foraker Act  e. empowered the United States to intervene in Cuba to maintain orderly government

f. pledged that the United States had no intention of annexing Cuba

COMPLETION

Answer the question or complete the statement by filling in the blanks with the correct word or words.

1. In 1898, Theodore Roosevelt recruited an intriguing mixture of college athletes and western frontiersmen for his volunteer cavalry unit known as the __________________________.

2. The biological theories of ______________________, when applied by various writers to human and social development, seemed to call for the triumph of the fit and the elimination of the unfit.

3. Congregational minister and fervent expansionist _________________________ argued that Americans were members of a God-favored race destined to lead the world.

4. The Hawaiian Islands were known as the __________________________ because the trading ships of many nations stopped there.

5. American Minister John L. Stevens ordered the marines to assist American rebels in their 1893 revolt against the native government in ________________.

6. In 1899, the United States and Germany divided up the _______________ Islands.
7. One of the foremost champions of an expanded American navy was President Harrison's secretary of the navy from 1889 to 1893, ___________________________.

8. On May 1, 1898, the American fleet under Commodore __________________ easily crushed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.

9. Prominent industrialist and anti-imperialist _________________________ offered to buy Filipino independence with a personal check for $20 million.

10. A public health campaign headed by United States army surgeon ________________________________ wiped out yellow fever in Cuba.

**TRUE/FALSE**

Mark the following statements either T (True) or F (False).

_____ 1. Theodore Roosevelt felt than an occasional war was necessary for the United States to prove its power and test the national spirit.

_____ 2. American business people generally opposed United States acquisition of overseas colonies for fear that foreign products would undercut American prices.

_____ 3. Secretary of State James G. Blaine negotiated reciprocity treaties with Latin American countries in hopes of diverting their trade from Europe to the United States.

_____ 4. As president, Grover Cleveland consistently opposed an imperialistic policy for the United States.

_____ 5. A fact-finding mission sponsored by President McKinley in mid-1897 revealed that the press had greatly exaggerated the extent of problems in Cuba.

_____ 6. McKinley’s goal in declaring war against Spain was to acquire Cuba as an American colony.

_____ 7. The Spanish American War was inevitable, given Spain’s intransigence in refusing to consider any negotiation of the Cuban issue.

_____ 8. Racial theories of the latter nineteenth century contributed to racial harmony and understanding within the United States, easing the burdens of discrimination and segregation suffered by African Americans.
9. Riding a wave of patriotism and prosperity in 1900, McKinley defeated Bryan for president in a rematch election by an even larger margin than in 1896.

10. American proclamation, and lack of military enforcement, of the Open Door policy in China would lead to later controversy between the United States and Japan.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

1. During the early nineteenth century, some Americans urged abolition of the foreign service because
   a. our friendship with powerful Britain rendered the service unnecessary.
   b. there existed a shortage of candidates willing to enter the diplomatic field.
   c. the profession itself stirred dangers of entanglement in world struggles.
   d. American policy was too vulnerable to the whims of an uninformed electorate.

2. Proponents in favor of overseas expansion by the United States in the latter nineteenth century argued that
   a. increasing American production necessitated the acquisition of additional markets.
   b. a worldwide scramble for empire might eliminate American opportunities for growth.
   c. it was our duty to extend civilization and Christianity to less privileged peoples.
   d. all of the above

3. Evangelical Protestants in the latter nineteenth century
   a. believed that the Bible was subject to multiple interpretations.
   b. emphasized the here-and-now as well as the hereafter.
   c. often favored expansionism as a way to reach the lost souls of foreign “heathens.”
   d. argued that religion was best discussed in small, private settings.

4. The Inter-American Conference held in 1889 provided for the
   a. automatic arbitration of disputes in the Western Hemisphere.
   b. union of the United States and Latin America in a customs-free trade partnership.
   c. exchange of political, scientific, and cultural information among member nations.
   d. all of the above

5. The United States reasserted the Monroe Doctrine as a foreign policy by
   a. negotiating reciprocity treaties with the nations of Latin America.
   b. insisting that Britain submit its dispute with Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana to United States arbitration.
   c. insisting that Britain pay the United States for damages caused by Confederate raiders built and outfitted in British shipyards during the Civil War.
   d. entering the Spanish-American War on behalf of Cuban independence.
6. Hawaii was annexed to the United States when
   a. a treaty was negotiated with the islands in 1875.
   b. American residents revolted in 1893 and formed a republic.
   c. President Cleveland served his second term as president.
   d. a joint resolution was passed by Congress during the Spanish-American War.

7. Military strategist and historian Alfred Thayer Mahan advocated an American policy of
   a. increasing imports of agricultural and manufactured goods.
   b. constructing railroads in Central and South America.
   c. expanding the nation's merchant marine and navy.
   d. all of the above

8. President Grover Cleveland responded to Cuba's war against Spain by
   a. supporting U.S. annexation of Cuba.
   b. offering to mediate the struggle.
   c. urging U.S. intervention in the war on Cuba's behalf.
   d. favoring recognition of Cuban independence.

9. In 1898, the American battleship Maine was
   a. sent to Manila as a gesture of strength and good will.
   b. captured by Spanish authorities in Havana.
   c. probably sunk as a result of an accidental internal explosion.
   d. sabotaged by Cuban revolutionaries.

10. In leading the country toward war, McKinley might properly be labeled a
    a. weak and indecisive president.
    b. victim of the war hysteria sweeping the country.
    c. wily manipulator for imperial gains.
    d. moderate in weighing both American interests and international considerations.

11. During the Spanish-American War, African-American soldiers
    a. played a major role in the Cuban campaign.
    b. were utilized only in back-up and support positions.
    c. encountered little or no discrimination during training at home.
    d. refused to volunteer for military actions.

12. The Spanish-American War resulted in a
    a. long and costly military effort for the United States.
    b. sharp sense among Americans of deception and betrayal by their government.
    c. series of particularly embarrassing American naval defeats.
    d. greater loss of American lives to tropical diseases than battle.
13. Many anti-imperialists opposed American annexation of the Philippines because they feared that
   a. too many uneducated Filipinos would vote.
   b. defense of the territory might lead us into war.
   c. too many Americans would move to the islands.
   d. expanded trade in the Philippines would hurt our trade with China.

14. The Filipinos
   a. cooperated with Americans to drive the Spanish from their islands.
   b. willingly accepted American rule upon defeat of the Spanish.
   c. were granted independence by the United States in 1901.
   d. rejected suggested improvements offered by the Taft Commission for the Philippines.

15. United States Secretary of State John Hay's Open Door policy
   a. provoked the Boxer Rebellion of Chinese nationalists intent on ridding their country of foreign influences.
   b. called for China to grant the United States a sphere of influence with exclusive mining concessions.
   c. demanded the elimination of excessive Chinese tariffs and trade restrictions.
   d. guarded against the partition of China into foreign colonies and the consequent loss of American trading opportunities.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

To check your understanding of the key issues of this period, solve the following problems:

1. What factors of the latter nineteenth century contributed to an increasing interest by Americans in events abroad, preparing them for a larger role in the world?

2. Discuss the underlying as well as the immediate causes of the Spanish-American War. Why did Secretary of State Hay refer to the conflict as “a splendid little war”?

3. Detail the arguments presented by American anti-imperialists against ratification of the Treaty of Paris in 1898-1899. Why did they fail?

4. The author notes that “historians rarely write of the Philippine-American War.” Speculate on why this is so. Does the Philippine-American War seem similar to any other American war? Explain.

5. Why is the debate over whether or not the United States Constitution “follows the flag” into American territories important? How does Cuba’s winning of her independence following the Spanish-American War reflect on the debate?
6. Explain the concept of the Open Door policy in China. Would it prove to be a successful policy for the United States?

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Read the following selections: “The March of the Flag” (1898) by Albert Beveridge and “On Empire and the Philippines” (1898) by William Graham Sumner. Answer the questions following the reading selections.

Albert Beveridge, "The March of the Flag" (1898)

It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would enclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny.

It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil; a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually revitalized by the virile, man-producing working folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their Heaven-directed purposes-the propagandists and not the misers of liberty.

It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage wilderness; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous seasoning we find ourselves to-day.

Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind?

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellowman? Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for their deity-as China has, as India has, as Egypt has?

Shall we be as the man who had one talent and hid it, or as he who had ten talents and use them until they grew to riches? And shall we reap the reward that waits on our discharge of our high duty; shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, our factories make, our merchants sell-aye, and, please God, new markets for what our ships shall carry?

Hawaii is ours, Puerto Rico is to be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Frémont carried to the coast.

The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know that our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, human, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them?

And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened, self-governing people, do we owe no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them, with Germany, England, Japan, hungering for them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy? . . . Then, like men and not like children, let us on to our tasks, our mission, and our destiny.

Wonderfully has God guided us. Yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown His providence was above us. At New Orleans and on ensanguined seas His hand sustained us. Abraham Lincoln was His minister and His was the altar of freedom the Nation's soldiers set up on a hundred battle-fields. His power directed Dewey in the East and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands, as He delivered the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires two centuries ago. The American people can not use a dishonest medium of exchange; it is ours to set the world its example of right and honor. We can not fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. we can not retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.
William Graham Sumner, from "On Empire and the Philippines" (1898)

There is not a civilized nation that does not talk about its civilizing mission just as grandly as we do. The
English, who really have more to boast of it in this respect than anybody else, talk least about it, but the Phariseism
with which they correct and instruct other people has made them hated all over the globe. The French believe
themselves the guardians of the highest and purest culture, and that the eyes of all mankind are fixed on Paris, whence
they expect oracles of thought and taste. The Germans regard themselves as charged with a mission, especially to us
Americans, to save us from egoism and materialism. The Russians, in their books and newspapers, talk about the
civilizing mission of Russian in language that might be translated from some of the finest paragraphs of our
imperialistic newspapers.

The first principle of Mohammedanism is that we Christians are dogs and infidels, fit only to be enslaved or
butchered by Moslems. It is a corollary that wherever Mohammedanism extends it carries, in the belief of its votaries,
the highest blessings, and that the whole human race would be enormously elevated if Mohammedanism should
supplant Christianity everywhere.

To come, last, to Spain, the Spaniards have, for centuries, considered themselves the most zealous and self-
sacrificing Christians, especially charged by the Almighty, on this account, to spread the true religion and civilization
over the globe. They think themselves free and noble, leaders in refinement and the sentiments of personal honor, and
they despise us as sordid money-grabbers and heretics. I could bring you passages from peninsular authors of the first
rank about the grand role of Spain and Portugal in spreading freedom and truth.

Now each nation laughs at all the others when it observes these manifestations of national vanity. You may
rely upon it that they are all ridiculous by virtue of these pretensions, including ourselves. The point is that each of
them repudiates the standards of the others, and the outlying nations, which are to be civilized, hate all the standards of
civilized men.

We assume that what we like and practice, and what we think better, must come as a welcome blessing to
Spanish-Americans and Filipinos. This is grossly and obviously untrue. They hate our ways. They are hostile to our
ideas. Our religion, language, institutions, and manners offend them. They like their own ways, and if we appear
amongst them as rulers, there will be social discord in all the great departments of social interest. The most important
thing which we shall inherit from the Spaniards will be the task of suppressing rebellions.

If the United States takes out of the hands of Spain her mission, on the ground that Spain is not executing it
well, and if this nation in its turn attempts to be schoolmistress to others, it will shrivel up into the same vanity and self-
conceit of which Spain now presents an example. To read our current literature one would think that we were already
well on the way to it.

Now, the great reason why all these enterprises which begin by saying to somebody else, "We know what is
good for you better than you know yourself and we are going to make you do it," are false and wrong is that they
violate liberty; or, to turn the same statement into other words, the reason why liberty, of which we Americans talk so
much, is a good thing is that it means leaving people to live out their own lives in their own way, while we do the same.

If we believe in liberty, as an American principle, why do we not stand by it? Why are we going to throw it
away to enter upon a Spanish policy of dominion and regulation?

1. What arguments does Beveridge use to support an American policy of imperialism?

2. How does Beveridge respond to the anti-imperialist argument that "we ought not to
govern a people without their consent?"

3. Does Sumner seem to think Americans are better or worse than other peoples?

4. How does Sumner respond to the ideas of Beveridge and other imperialists?

5. Why do you think so many Americans of 1898 tended to agree with Beveridge’s
rather than Sumner’s views on the issue of colonial expansion? Faced with a
similar issue today, how do you think current Americans would respond?