

UNIT NINE READINGS

Becoming a World Power

CHAPTER **American** **28 Expansion** **Overseas** (1898–1914)

180 America's Anglo-Saxon "Mission"

A great change took place in American foreign policy in the late 1800's. The nation's traditional isolationist policy was replaced by a policy of expansionism. During these years a number of well-developed arguments in favor of American expansion overseas as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

One of the most influential of these writers was Josiah Strong, a Congregational minister. His arguments in favor of American expansion were based, however, on two false beliefs. One was the concept of an Anglo-Saxon "race," which to Americans meant the people of Great Britain and their descendants. The other belief, called social Darwinism, applied the theories of scientist Charles Darwin—especially the theory of the "survival of the fittest"—to peoples and nations.

Americans misused Darwin's theories to claim that the earth should belong to the fittest—the strong, and the fit—that is, to the American people.

READING FOCUS

1. According to Strong, what "great ideas" form the basis of civilization?
2. What is America's Anglo-Saxon mission?

Every race which has deeply impressed itself on the human family has been the representative of some great idea—one or more—which has given direction to the nation's life and form to its civilization. The Anglo-Saxon is the representative of two great ideas, which are closely related. One of them is that of civil liberty. Nearly all of the civil liberty in the world is enjoyed by Anglo-Saxons: the English, the British colonists, and the people of the United States. Some peoples, such as the Swiss, are allowed by their neighbors to maintain it. Others, such as the French, have experimented with it. But, in modern times, the peoples whose love of liberty has won it, and whose genius for self-government has preserved it, have been Anglo-Saxons.

The other great idea represented by the Anglo-Saxon is that of a pure, spiritual Christianity.

It is not necessary to argue that the two great needs of human beings are, first, civil liberty, and second, a pure, spiritual Christianity. These are the forces which, in the past, have contributed most to advancing the human race. They must continue to be, in the future, the most efficient aids to its progress. It follows, then, that Anglo-Saxons, as the great representative of these two ideas, have a special relationship to the world's future. They are divinely commissioned to be, in a sense, their brother's keeper.

Another important fact is the Anglo-Saxon's rapidly increasing strength in modern times. In 1700 this race numbered less than 6

Adapted from Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis.

million persons. In 1800, Anglo-Saxons (I use the term somewhat broadly to include all English-speaking peoples) had increased to about 20 million. In 1880 they numbered nearly 100 million, having increased almost five times over in 80 years.

In 100 years the United States has increased the size of its territory ten times. There can be no reasonable doubt that North America is to be the great home of the Anglo-Saxons, the principal seat of their power, the center of their life and influence. Our continent has room and resources and climate, it lies in the pathway of the nations, and it belongs to the zone of power. Already, among Anglo-Saxons, we lead in population and wealth.

Moreover, our social institutions are stimulating. In Europe the various classes of society are, like the layers of the earth, fixed and rigid. There can be no great change without a terrible upheaval, a social earthquake. Here, society is like the waters of the sea, constantly moving. All people are free to become whatever they can make of themselves. They are free to transform themselves from rail-splitters or tanners into the nation's President. Our aristocracy, unlike that of Europe, is open to all comers. Wealth, position, influence, are prizes offered for energy. Every farmer's child, every apprentice and clerk, every friendless and penniless immigrant, is free to enter the contest. Thus many causes combine to produce here the most forceful and tremendous energy in the world.

What is the significance of such facts? It seems to me that God, with great wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. Up until now in the history of the world there has always been unoccupied land westward. Into this the crowded countries of the East have poured their surplus populations. But there are no more new worlds. The unoccupied farmlands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken.

The time is coming when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence will be felt here as it is now felt in Europe and Asia. Then the world will enter upon a new stage of its history—the final competition of races. The Anglo-Saxon is being trained for this. Long before our numbers reach a billion, the expansionist tendency inherited by this race, and strengthened in the United States, will assert



One view of America's "Anglo-Saxon Mission"

itself. Then this race of unequaled energy, with all its numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representative of liberty and Christianity—having developed aggressive traits to force its institutions upon all people will spread itself over the earth. If I predict correctly, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa, and beyond. And can anyone doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the "survival of the fittest"?

Is there room for reasonable doubt? This race, unless weakened by alcohol and tobacco, is destined to drive out many weaker races, absorb others, and mold the remainder, until, in a very true and important sense, it has Anglo-Saxonized humankind.

READING REVIEW

1. (a) Name the two great ideas that Strong said formed the basis of civilization. (b) According to Strong, how did the Anglo-Saxons represent these ideas?
2. What evidence did Strong offer to support his prediction that Americans would "Anglo-Saxonize" the human race?

181 An American Soldier's Memory

Americans entered the Spanish-American War in 1898 with great enthusiasm. But the Americans were almost as unprepared for war as the Spaniards. American soldiers were sent off to war without proper equipment. In a climate where temperatures often were above 100 degrees Fahrenheit (38° Celsius), American forces were issued heavy woolen uniforms. Their weapons were outdated Springfield rifles that were almost useless, and their food supplies often consisted of spoiled canned meat. Diseases such as malaria, typhoid, dysentery, and yellow fever were widespread.

Of the 5,400 men who died in the war, over 5,000 died from disease. Only 400 lost their lives in battle. Jacob Judson, an Illinois militia officer who received his training for combat near Tampa, Florida, wrote this account of the war more than fifty years later.

READING FOCUS

1. Why did American soldiers suffer so many unnecessary hardships during the Spanish-American War?
2. How did Judson feel about his experience in the Spanish-American War?

We of the Spanish War who are still living can look back on our war experience, and can thank our Heavenly Father for being alive today. It's remarkable what our bodies can stand, when I think back on our Picnic Island days

Adapted from a letter by Jacob Judson, Illinois National Guard, April 15, 1956; now in the Manuscript Collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

Army training camp in Tampa, Florida, 1898



in Tampa, Florida—untrained men in a heavy rain, a fierce storm blowing our tents out into the sea, no protection, our clothing soaked to the skin. At sea they gave us canned corned beef that stunk so we had to throw it overboard. Then our landing at Sebony in Cuba, camping at the foot of a hill, with large land crabs crawling over us at night. After that our long march toward San Juan Hill through jungles and swamps, joining up with Rough Riders on Kettle Hill, heavy rains pouring down, no tents for cover, every man for himself, standing in trenches in a foot of water and mud, day and night. When off duty, we massaged our feet to get them back in shape. When the sun came out, our boys would help each other by wringing out wet clothes and blankets, quickly cutting down branches from trees, and constructing an overhead protection by laying on palm leaves. Abel Davis and I found a spot under a tree not far from Teddy Roosevelt's tent.

For lack of proper food men grew weak. Our food ration consisted of a slice of salt pork, hardtack, and some grains of coffee that we had to crack between stones or rocks. Then came the issue of wool-lined underwear in a tropical climate, and orders to burn the underwear we brought from home. After that, you would see the boys in the river streams, their backs covered with boils. Wool-lined underwear and salt pork do not go in a tropical climate.

Then came malaria. It was my duty in the mornings to take our sick boys to the division hospital. There were no doctors in attendance, just a hospital corps sergeant who issued pills out of one bottle for all sicknesses. Sick men lay on cots, their mouths, ears, and noses full of flies. I would go over to these poor boys and with my finger clear their mouths of flies—not so much as a piece of paper to cover their faces. Other boys lay day and night on the edge of the sinks; because of malaria they had no control of their bowels. Morning sick detail would come along and take away any that had died. Their bodies would be buried on a hillside. If heavy rains washed away the soil, a second burial was necessary.

I was one of the fortunate boys. It had been my privilege to train Abel Davis when he joined up with the First. We were very close pals. Abel Davis had a brother who was a doctor in Chicago. This doctor gave Abel a box

containing medicines for malaria and other tropical sicknesses, so when I came down with malaria Abel took care of me. There were very few doctors; most of them were down with malaria themselves. Abel pulled me through. Then he came down with the malaria himself, and I used his medicines until he got better. If it was not for that box of medicines, I think both Abel's bones and mine would lie in Cuban hills today.

Colonel Teddy Roosevelt said "The Spanish War was but a drop in the bucket as compared with the war following." This statement was no doubt true. The next war had troops spread all over Europe. But the soldier [in World War I] had full modern equipment, proper clothes, healthy, nourishing food, and the very best medical care, none of which was given the Spanish War soldier.

When the war ended and we landed at Montauk, Long Island, our boys were thin, underweight, and yellow as lemons. It took us years to recover. So I say: Let us thank God for taking care of us all these years.

READING REVIEW

1. (a) From Judson's account, what hardships could have been prevented? (b) What could have been done by the United States government and military to alleviate some conditions which distressed the American soldiers?
2. What was Judson's attitude toward his experiences in the army?
3. Do you think that his description was accurate? Cite evidence from the reading to support your opinion.

182 In Defense of Imperialism

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

READING FOCUS

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

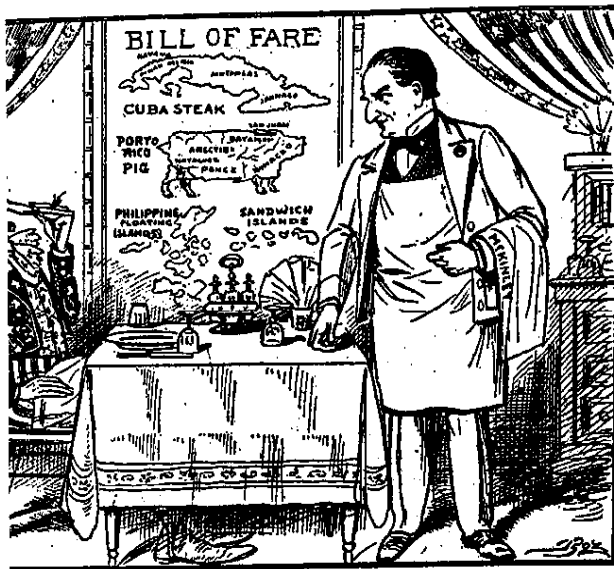
It is a noble land that God has given us—a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land set like a guard between the two oceans of the globe. It is a mighty people that God has planted on this soil. It is a people descended from the most masterful blood of history and constantly strengthened by the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

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

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

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

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



Uncle Sam takes a look at the menu.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

READING REVIEW

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

183 A Criticism of Imperialism

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

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

READING FOCUS

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

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

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

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

1. All the former acquisitions were on

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



A political cartoon about American imperialism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

READING REVIEW

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

184 The White Man's Burdens

In 1899 Rudyard Kipling, a British writer, wrote a poem called "The White Man's Burden." The poem, written and published in the United States, immediately became a popular defense of expansionism and imperialism. Kipling wrote that the "white man's burden," or responsibility, was to take up the task of governing what Kipling described as childlike and untamed people. He argued that it was the duty of more advanced nations to bring civilization to the backward peoples of the earth.

The poem was imitated and made fun of by many Americans, especially those who were against expansion in the Philippines. The first

stanza of Kipling's seven-stanza poem appears here. Following it are poems which are imitations and answers to his poem.

READING FOCUS

1. What was Kipling's opinion of the conquered people?
2. What was the purpose of the poems which follow the Kipling poem?

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

* * * *

Pile on the brown man's burden
To gratify your greed;
Go, clear away the Negroes
Who progress would impede;
Be very stern, for truly
'Tis useless to be mild
With new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.
Pile on the brown man's burden,
And if ye rouse his hate,
Meet his old-fashioned reasons
With Maxims up-to-date;
With shells and dum-dum bullets,†
A hundred times make plain
The brown man's loss must ever
Imply the white man's gain.

* * * *

Take up the sword and rifle,
Send forth your ships with speed,
To join the nations' scramble,
And vie with them in greed;
Go find your goods a market;
Beyond the western flood,
The heathen who withstand you
Shall answer it in blood.

† A Maxim was a machine gun; dum-dum bullets expanded on impact.

First poem from "The White Man's Burden" by Rudyard Kipling, 1899. Second, third, and fourth poems adapted from Little Brothers by Leon Wolff.

Take up the sword and rifle,
 Still keep your conscience whole—
 So soon is found an unction [remedy]
 To soothe a guilty soul.
 Go with it to your Maker,
 Find what excuse ye can—
 Rob for the sake of justice,
 Kill for the love of man.

* * * *

We've taken up the white man's burden
 Of ebony and brown;
 Now will you tell us, Rudyard,
 How we may put it down?

READING REVIEW

1. What was Kipling's attitude toward the conquered people?
2. (a) What was the point of the first poem that imitated the Kipling poem? (b) of the second? (c) of the last, four-line poem?
3. Cite two examples from the poems which satirized the white man's reasons for continuing to follow an expansionist policy.

185 From The Hawaiian Viewpoint

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

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

READING FOCUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Americans owned the first large sugar plantations in Hawaii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

READING REVIEW

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

CHAPTER **Expansion in**
29 the Caribbean
(1898–1914)

186 A Canal Builder
at Work

Americans in the early 1900's were proud of their great achievement in building the Panama Canal. Much of the credit for this feat belonged to Colonel Goethals, who was appointed chief engineer by Theodore Roosevelt in 1907. Goethals had to deal with a labor force of 30,000 workers, overcome landslides that delayed the work, and solve enormous engineering problems. Offices, schools, houses, recreation centers, machine shops, and dining halls—all had to be built. Goethals spent time each day listening to workers' complaints, and he soon won the respect and dedication of the workers. In this section Arthur Bullard, who traveled to Panama in 1909, told about the building of the canal.

READING FOCUS

1. Why was Goethals a successful leader?
2. What was Bullard's opinion of Goethals?

"Tell me something about Colonel Goethals." My friend was a keen observer who had already given me much information about life and work in the Canal Zone.

"You want to know about the old man?" he said after a moment's thought. "Well, the most distinctive picture of him I have is this. I used to live at Culebra. One night I was sitting out on the porch, smoking. There were only a few lights here and there in the Administration Building. One by one they went out, all except that in the old man's office. It was almost ten o'clock when his light went out. It was the dry season. A full moon, as big as a dining-room table, was out—a gorgeous night. The old man

Adapted from Arthur Bullard, Panama: The Canal, the Country and the People.

came out and walked across the grass to his house. He didn't stop to look up at the moon; he just walked along, his head a little forward, still thinking. And he hadn't been in his own house ten minutes before all the lights were out there. He'd gone to bed. The only time the colonel isn't working is from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M., when he's asleep."

That seems to be the thing which impresses our men down here most of all about the boss. He is always on the job.

Just what is the job?

Strictly speaking, it is administrative, rather than constructive, engineering. The type of the canal was decided upon before the present commission was installed. They have had but few changes of importance to make: widening the channel in the Cut, increasing the size of the locks, and moving the Pacific locks inland, beyond the range of a hostile fleet. Their work has been the perfecting of details and the carrying out of what had been already determined.

Colonel George Washington Goethals, the Chief Engineer and Chairman of the Panama Canal Commission, is now at the head of this great national job of ours. A visitor to the Isthmus who has not included the colonel among the sights has missed more than half of what there is to see down here. You will not have to wait long before you are brought into the throne room, and are face to face with the most absolute autocrat in the world.

Many people have described Colonel Goethals as having a boyish face. But they must have seen him with his hat on, for his hair is white. If, as they say, his face looks 20 and his hair 60, I could not see it, for his eyes—which dominate—look 40. He is broad-shouldered and erect. Above everything, he looks alert and fit. Although he does not spare himself, he has not lost a day from malaria.

Of course, the first thing you do will be to hand him your perfectly useless letter from your representative in Congress. Useless, because even if you have no letter he will show you every courtesy he can without interfering with the job. And he will not interfere with the job even if you bring letters from all the members of Congress.

Like every man who accomplishes a great amount of work, he believes in routine.

Six mornings a week he is "out on the line." He took me along on one of these inspection

trips. It was before seven when we reached Pedro Miguel, and we walked back through the Cut to Empire. It was four hours of bitter hard walking, for the colonel kept to no well-worn path. Whatever interested him he wished to see close up. The colonel said, "The only way to keep your health in this climate is to take a little exercise every morning." Doubtless it is true, but I had rather die quickly than keep alive at that rate.

He spends his afternoons on routine desk work, signing papers, approving reports, and so forth. It is part of his system that he discourages oral reports. Everything comes to him on paper. If he wants to talk with any of his subordinates, he generally does it during his morning trips—on the spot. Perhaps the phrase he uses most frequently is, "Write it down."

The afternoon office work is often interrupted by callers. The stream of tourists grows steadily, and the colonel realizes that it is we, the people of the United States, who are doing this canal job. Anyone who is sufficiently interested to come down and look it over is welcome.

The most remarkable part of Colonel Goethals' routine is his Sunday Court of Low, Middle, and High Justice. The colonel holds a session every Sunday morning. I had the good fortune to be admitted one Sunday morning to the audience chamber.

The first callers were a Negro couple from Jamaica. They had a difference of opinion as to the ownership of \$35 which the wife had earned by washing. Colonel Goethals listened until the fact was established that she had earned it, then ordered the man to return it. He started to protest something about a husband's property rights under the English law. "All right," the colonel said, decisively. "Say the word, and I'll deport you. You can get all the English law you want in Jamaica." The husband decided to pay and stay.

Then came a Spanish worker who had been hurt in an accident. The colonel called in his chief clerk and told him to help the unfortunate man prepare his claim. "See that the papers are prepared correctly and have them pushed through."

A man came in who had just been thrown out of the service for brutality to the men under him. This action was the result of an investigation before a special committee. The

man wanted his job back. The colonel read over the papers in the case, and when he spoke, his language was vigorous. "If you have any new evidence, I will instruct the committee to reopen your case. But as long as this report stands against you, you will get no mercy from this office. If the men had broken your head with a crowbar, I would have stood up for them. We don't need slave drivers on this job."

Then a committee from the Machinists' Union wanted an opinion on some new shop rules. A nurse wanted a longer vacation than the regulations allow. A man and his wife were dissatisfied with the house they had been given. A supervisor of steam shovels came in to ask advice about applying for another job under the Panama government. The end of the canal work is approaching and the farsighted men are beginning to look into the future. "Of course I can't advise you," the colonel said. "You know I would hate to see you go. But if you decide that it is wise, come in and see me. I may be able to give you some introductions which will help you." (And, as everyone knows that a letter of introduction from the chairman of the commission would look like an order to the Panama government, there is another man who will want to vote for Goethals for President in 1916!)

An American Negro introduced some humor. He was convinced that his services were of more value than his foreman felt they were. The colonel preferred to accept the foreman's judgment in the matter. The dissatisfied worker announced that he was the best blacksmith's helper on the Isthmus and that he planned to appeal this decision. The colonel's eyes twinkled. "To whom are you going to ap-

Construction of the Panama Canal





One view of America's role in Colombia's affairs

peal?" he asked. For the fact is that the decisions made in these Sunday sessions will not be changed before the Day of Judgment.

The procession kept up till noon—pitiful, patience-trying foolishness, with occasional humor. "Once in a while," the colonel said, "something turns up which is really important for me to know. And, anyway, they feel better after they have seen me, even if I cannot help them. They feel that they got a fair chance to state their troubles. They are less likely to cause discontent. But it is a strain."

READING REVIEW

1. Why was it necessary for Goethals to be an "absolute autocrat" in supervising the construction of the Panama Canal?
2. (a) What phrase did Goethals use most frequently? (b) Why did he require his subordinates to do this?
3. (a) What was the purpose of the Sunday Court of Low, Middle, and High Justice? (b) How did this practice speed up the ultimate completion of the Panama Canal?

187 Colombia's Protest on America's Actions

The actions taken by the United States to obtain the right to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama increased the Latin American nations' distrust of their neighbor to the north. Colombia, which was forced to give up the territory of Panama, felt especially threatened. However, that small nation realized that it could not resist the power of the United States. Consequently, lead-

ers of Colombia's government, who were seeking payment for their former territory of Panama, appealed to world opinion for support.

The following selections are from a pamphlet written by Colombia's foreign minister, Francisco José Borrero, to present his nation's case. A year after the canal was officially opened in July 1920, the United States paid \$25 million to Colombia, which in turn recognized the independence of Panama.

READING FOCUS

1. Why was Colombia angered by America's action in 1903?
2. What did Urrutia suggest the United States do to insure the safety of the Panama Canal?

Until 1903 the relations between Colombia and the United States were most friendly. Good will toward Colombia was always recognized by the United States, not only in negotiations about the Panama Canal but in all matters.

The statement that Colombia ever opposed the opening of the Panama Canal is absolutely untrue. On the contrary, the entire diplomatic history of Colombia, from the time of its freedom from Spain, shows how great was its desire to see the canal built. Out of regard for self preservation, it did try to bring this about without harming its own sovereignty.

With the canal now open, Colombia cannot ignore the fact that this great work is one of the chief factors in the future material development of the world. But as long as the agreement giving a lawful title to the United States is not carried out, Colombia will also maintain that the work, great as it is, stands as a monument to an even greater crime. It will insist that Colombia and Colombia alone is the lawful owner of the Isthmus of Panama. If the formal opening of the canal should take place before a final settlement is arrived at, Colombia will be forced once more to protest to the other nations of the world, against the violation of its sovereignty.

In the eyes of the people of Colombia and of all America, the Panama Canal stands for the victory of might over right, the triumph of

Adapted from Francisco José Urrutia. A Commentary on the Declaration of the Rights of Nations. Washington, D.C.: 1916.