

pleading of the American woman for the right and the opportunity to employ the American method of influencing the disposal to be made of herself, her property, her children in civil, economic, or domestic relations is thus seen to be based on a principle as broad as the human race and as old as human society. Her wrongs are thus indissolubly linked with all undefended woe, all helpless suffering, and the plenitude of her "rights" will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of reason and justice and love in the government of the nation.

God hasten the day.

1892

OUTSIDE/INSIDE U.S.A.: EXPANSION AND IMMIGRATION



IN FOCUS

Expansion and Immigration

WHEN DID THE UNITED STATES BECOME AN IMPORTANT ACTOR ON THE WORLD stage? The Spanish-American War is sometimes seen as the turning point. However, it is more accurately regarded as a tipping point, for the nation had long been expanding geographically, commercially, culturally, and in other ways.

By 1898, the year of the war, the United States had been increasing its geographic size by means of purchases (the Louisiana Purchase, the purchase of Alaska), military action (most notably against Native peoples), war (with Mexico), and annexation (of the Republic of Texas). Before the Civil War, some Southerners who wanted to secede from the United States to create a slaveholding confederation wanted to expand into Cuba and Latin America. For decades, the United States had also been moving into the world beyond its borders, new and old. U.S. merchants and those with other commercial interests had long been making their way into the Far East, Caribbean, Pacific Islands, and Latin America. Missionaries dedicated to spreading Christianity in the Far East and Africa brought Euro-American culture and education with them and established organizational networks. Whether deliberately or not, their efforts facilitated an increased U.S. economic and military presence there, too.

The nation was also moving beyond its physical borders militarily and politically. It gained naval bases in Samoa (1878) and naval rights to Pearl Harbor, in Hawai'i (1887), and formally annexed Hawai'i in 1898. U.S. foreign policy asserted that the nation's sphere of influence was even broader than all of this suggests. During the last decade of the century, the Monroe Doctrine, which held that European nations were not to interfere in independent nations of the Americas, was reformulated as a proclamation that the United States was "practically sovereign on this continent." Its "fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition," declared Secretary of State Richard Olney to the British when they seemed on the verge of military defense of British Guiana in a border dispute with Venezuela. Olney's threat was successful: Britain backed down.

But the United States was far from alone in pursuing expansion. In fact, the United States was a latecomer in what has been called "the age of empire." The

principle imperialist European nation in the nineteenth century was Great Britain; others included Belgium, Germany, Portugal, Spain, France, and the Netherlands. It is not surprising that, by the 1890s, sentiment within the United States in support of the nation's assumption of its place as a global power had gathered steam. Supporters came from all segments of the population—elected officials, government policy makers, businessmen, newspaper editors, intellectuals, and ordinary people. This support drew on and intensified the rhetoric of expansion that had been set forth in the Monroe Doctrine. Indeed, in the years preceding the Spanish-American War, that rhetoric became increasingly militant and increasingly widespread. By April 25, 1898, when the United States declared war on Spain, a discourse of militant expansion pervaded the environment of phrases and arguments, images and music, in which U.S. residents lived.

This discourse circulated everywhere—in newspapers, magazines, political speeches, sermons, sheet music, and everyday talk. William Dean Howells' short story "Editha" (in the Howells section of Volume C) calls attention to several of the discourse's prominent motifs: associating manliness with war, characterizing peoples of color as inferior beings in need of whites' protection, defining patriotism as the championing of national policy. "Editha" also references newspaper articles and songs that stirred support for the war.

Another key feature of the discourse (although it is not alluded to in "Editha") was the visual image. Technological advances had made drawings and photographs relatively inexpensive and easy to reproduce, and newspapers and magazines included many of both. The "yellow press"—jingoistic newspapers like William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*—was adroit in using visual images to promote going to war with Spain and, once war was under way, to fuel support for it. Probably the most powerful of these images was the spectacle of the wreck of the battleship U.S.S. *Maine*, which exploded off the coast of Cuba in February 1898, killing more than 275 crew members. Although the cause of the explosion has never been definitively established, it was widely attributed to Spain, especially by the press. Demanding war against Spain, the *World* featured picture after picture of the *Maine* in ruins; other newspapers and magazines did so as well. A slogan—"Remember the *Maine*, To hell with Spain"—also emerged in short order. Originating in a reporter's account of a remark he heard in a tavern, the phrase was reiterated by politicians and editorial page writers and invoked at rallies. Complemented by the visual image of the *Maine*, it became a watchword for waging war with Spain and then for winning it.

The discourse of expansion and war was passionately enthusiastic, but that did not rule out debate and critique. Consider the diverse uses to which another catch phrase associated with the Spanish-American War, "the white man's burden," was put. The phrase was given currency by a poem of that title published by British writer Rudyard Kipling in support of the U.S. victory in the Philippines. "The White Man's Burden" appeared in *McClure's*, an American magazine with a national circulation, only six days after Congress, following heated debate, ratified the Treaty of Paris, which established the global status of the United States. (The Treaty mandated that Spain cede Puerto Rico and several other Caribbean islands, Guam, and the Philippine Islands to the United States and that the United States occupy Cuba until the Spanish departed.) A number

of factors combined to secure a larger readership for the poem—Kipling's rhetorical and technical skill, the poem's timeliness, the prominence of the writer and of *McClure's*. Its viewpoint did not go unchallenged, however. In fact, it served as a flashpoint. As two other poems we reprint here suggest, the phrasing and structure of Kipling's poem were mimicked to critique its core argument that the United States had gone to war to defend the rights of Cubans and Filipinos against Spanish oppression. How long, asks an anonymous versifier, would America have to bear such burdens?

How hypocritical, insists feminist physician Anna Manning Comfort, to claim to advance democracy abroad when U.S. citizens are denied their rights at home. One of Comfort's targets is the widespread abuse of African Americans. In 1898 she could not know it, but the war would lead to new forms of that abuse, for although African American divisions fought in Cuba and Puerto Rico with courage and success, African American military men were subjected to insult and dismissal once the war was won. Even the navy, the branch that had been most receptive to black servicemen, edged blacks out. In 1906 President Theodore Roosevelt, who had praised black troops' bravery during the battle of San Juan hill, accepted the decision of the Secretary of War to disband a black regiment rather than incense whites in the area of Texas where it was to be quartered with the rest of its battalion. The cartoon we reprint from *The Voice of the Negro* is one among many expressions of blacks' anger at this move and at the general surge in racism after the war. For some observers, moreover, the war and its aftermath also cast relationships between racism within the United States and U.S. foreign policy in high relief. In *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), Charles W. Chesnutt ties national acceptance of the intensification of southern whites' reign of terror against blacks to racial rationalizations of America's economic and military control of people of color elsewhere.

Resistance to racism and to empire had little effect on U.S. interventions abroad, however. In 1902, after a three-year war, the United States ousted an independent Philippine republic that had been established after the Filipinos declared their independence from Spain. U.S. troops occupied the country until 1912. (For an influential justification of the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, see the speech that President William McKinley reportedly made to members of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church who visited him at the White House in 1899; it was not published until 1903, two years after his assassination, and its veracity has been disputed.) Between the turn of the century and World War I, U.S. troops were sent to Haiti, Mexico, Panama, Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. While many Americans were enthusiastic about these activities, some were not, and the American Anti-Imperialist League was organized in 1898 to oppose U.S. annexation of Hawai'i and U.S. military action against Filipino self-government. As the petition we include here indicates, women as well as men were active in the League. The League included many well-known figures, among them Jane Addams, Andrew Carnegie, and several writers whose work appears in this volume—Ambrose Bierce, Finley Peter Dunne, William Dean Howells, and Mark Twain. Twain served as the League's vice president from 1901 until his death in 1910 and wrote a number of critiques of war and imperialism. His scathing essay "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" exposes the continuity between the conduct and rhetoric of

imperialist nations and those of the United States. The rationale that his essay tears apart—that Western nations are bringing civilization to “the person sitting in darkness”—is a close relative of the motif of the white man’s burden.

Other pieces in this section speak to the world’s presence in the United States in the form of immigration. Immigrants from southern Italy, eastern Europe, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries came to the United States in record numbers in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth. Poverty, violence, political oppression, religious bigotry, ethnic bigotry, absence of opportunity for education or economic improvement—these were among the reasons they came. To be sure, neither immigration nor many of these motives were of recent origin. The forebears of most U.S. citizens were immigrants from Europe, many of whom had come seeking opportunity of one kind or another. Their immigration had not been restricted, although the Irish—one of the largest groups of immigrants between 1800 and 1880—were met with considerable hostility and some violence, fueled by anti-Catholicism.

Chinese immigrants, however, faced virulent racism and exclusionary laws soon after they began to arrive. Chinese labor had been essential to U.S. development, most memorably in the laying of the transcontinental railroad (completed in 1869), but increasingly they were viewed as a menace to the nation—“the yellow peril.” Violence against them erupted as early as 1849. In 1875 Congress passed the Page Act, which restricted immigration from China, Japan, and “any [other] Oriental country,” and in 1882 it passed the first of several Chinese Exclusion Acts. Speaking in support of such legislation, Maine Senator James G. Blaine expressed the widely held belief that the Chinese were an alien race. “Asiatics” cannot come to the United States and “make a homogeneous element” “with our population,” Blair proclaimed, for to the Chinese, family and home are foreign concepts. “There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearthstone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish, or German, or French home.”

Blaine was characterizing the Chinese as uncivilizable—barbarians, as the thinking of the era had it—but the hatred and violence to which the Chinese were subjected did not serve civilization in the United States itself. In *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (2007), Jean Pfaelzer documents the pogroms, purges, round-ups, and other actions against Chinese Americans that occurred in the Pacific Northwest and California throughout the second half of the century. She also details how resourceful and organized the Chinese were in fighting back, using the courts, economic actions, and other legal means. And from the start, some U.S. citizens regarded the Chinese Exclusion Act, not the Chinese, as a desecration of the nation. Thomas Nast’s 1882 cartoon “*E Pluribus Unum* (Except the Chinese)” pictures the Act as invalidating the U.S. national slogan *E Pluribus Unum* (out of many, one). What the Act achieves, the cartoon shows, is to catapult the nation back into the middle ages by violating the commitment to liberty on which it was founded.

Although immigrants from Europe were not subject to federal restrictions until Congress established immigration quotas in 1921, their reception in the United States was often far from favorable. To be sure, some welcomed them with a humanitarianism captured in Emma Lazarus’ famous sonnet, “The New

Colossus.” Written in 1883 to raise funds for a pedestal for the Statue of Liberty—which quickly became the most important visual icon of the welcome America extended to immigrants—the poem was largely forgotten until the early twentieth century, when it was engraved on a plaque that was affixed to the statue’s base. However, anti-immigration feelings ran very strong, and they underwrote organizations that advocated restrictions on immigration. One of the most visible was the Anti-Immigration League, founded in Boston in 1894. It included among its members the powerful senior senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, a friend of President McKinley and an influential supporter of U.S. expansion, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich, editor of the prestigious *Atlantic Monthly Magazine* from 1880 to 1890. Aldrich’s poem “Strait are the Gates” imagines with horror the aliens who pour into the nation and overwhelm the white race. His “Liberty” is not a statue welcoming huddled masses but a “white goddess” whom he implores to preserve the supremacy of real—that is, Anglo-Saxon—Americans. The similarity of the tropes the two poems use in response to the same general circumstances, as well as their formal similarities, testify that, like expansion, immigration was a vital part of the nation’s discourse by the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Sandra A. Zagarell
Oberlin College

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

1843–1901

from **Interview with President McKinley**

By **General James F. Rusling**

I would like to say just a word about the Philippine business. I have been criticised a good deal about the Philippines, but don’t deserve it. The truth is I didn’t want the Philippines, and when they came to us, as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do with them. When the Spanish war broke out Dewey was at Hongkong, and I ordered him to go to Manila and to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet, and he had to; because, if defeated, he had no place to refit on that side of the globe, and if the Done were victorious they would likely cross the Pacific and ravage our Oregon and California coasts. And so he had to destroy the Spanish fleet, and did it! But that was as far as I thought then.

“When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands perhaps also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I

am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came: (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discredit our 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 by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map-maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States [pointing to a large map on the wall of his office], and there they are, and there they will stay while I am President!"

1903

■ RUDYARD KIPLING ■
1865–1936

The White Man's Burden¹

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, 5
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide, 10
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain,
To seek another's profit 15
And work another's gain.

¹McClure's Magazine 12 (February 1899).

Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine,
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest 20
(The end for others sought)
Watch sloth and heathen folly
Bring all your hope to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden—
No iron rule of kings, 25
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living 30
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden
And reap his old reward—
The blame of those ye better 35
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
"Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?" 40

Take up the White Man's burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloak your weariness.
By all ye will or whisper, 45
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you.

Take up the White Man's burden!
Have done with childish days— 50
The lightly-proffered laurel,
The easy ungrudged praise:
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom, 55
The judgment of your peers.

1899

■ ANONYMOUS IN THE NEW YORK WORLD ■

We've Taken Up the White Man's Burden¹

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

July 15, 1899

■ ANNA MANNING COMFORT 1845–1931 ■

Home Burdens of Uncle Sam¹

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
Yes, Uncle Sam, oh do!
But why seek other countries
Your burdens to renew?
Great questions here confront you.
Then, too, we have a past—
Don't pose as a reformer!
Why, nations look aghast!

5

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
But try to lift more true.
Recall the poor wild Indian
Whom ruthlessly you slew.
Ignoble was our treatment,
Ungenerous we dealt
With him and his hard burden,
'Tis known from belt to belt.

10

15

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
The negro, once our slave!
Boast lightly of his freedom,

¹Reprinted in *The Public* 2 (July 15, 1899).

¹*The Public* 2 (May 13, 1899).

This problem still is grave.
We scoff and shoot and lynch him,
And yet, because he's black,
We shove him out from office
And crowd him off the track.

20

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
Yes, one of them is sex.
Enslaved are your brave women,
No ballot, while you tax!
Your labors and your conflicts
Columbia's daughters share,
Yet still denied the franchise,
Quick give! be just! deal fair!

25

30

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
Start in with politics.
Clean out the rotten platform,
Made up of tricks and tricks,—
Our politics disgraceful,
In church and school and state.
We have no "ruling bosses,"
Oh, no! the country's great.

35

40

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
But, oh, if you are wise
You'll seek not "motes" far distant,
With "beams" in your own eyes.
Why fight the foreign despots,
Or Filipino isles?
Come, "scrap it" with "home tyrants!"
And politicians' wiles.

45

"Take up the white man's burden,"—
Right here in our own times.
Give justice, 'tis demanded
This side of distant climes.
Yes, take the white man's burden,
But take it here at home;
With self, oh, Samuel, wrestle,
And cease the seas to roam!

50

55

1899

from THE VOICE OF THE NEGRO

Buster Brown in a New Role (1906)



BUSTER BROWN IN A NEW ROLE— Courtesy of the Chicago Republic
 Columbia—I consider it most unjust and unworthy of you, Buster, to treat your colored soldiers in that way.
 Buster—But you see, mother, it pleases Tige—that's the point

THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

In Behalf of the Foundation Principles of the Republic

To the Women of the United States:

Believing that, in this national crisis, it is the duty of every American citizen, woman no less than man, to uphold the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and believing that the noble work of the anti-imperialist league should be heartily supported by all true patriots, we invite all women of the United States to join us in helping on that work by sending at once to Miss F. L. Abbot, 43 Larch street, Cambridge, Mass., their signatures (with the names of their town or city and state) for the following petition:—

Mrs. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Mrs. Lewis G. Janes, Alice Freeman Palmer, Margaret Storer Warner, D.A.R.; Sarah Sherman Storer, Annie Longfellow Thorp, Harriet E. Brooks, Mrs. William James, Sarah E. Hunt, D.R.; Fannie L. Abbot, D.R.

Petition

To the President of the United States:

We, women of the United States, earnestly protest against the war of conquest into which our country has been plunged in the Philippine islands. We appeal to the Declaration of Independence, which is the moral foundation of the constitution you have sworn to defend, and we reaffirm its weighty words:

We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal [before the law], that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

And we unqualifiedly approve and support these resolutions of the anti-imperialist league:

First. That our government shall take immediate steps toward a suspension of hostilities in the Philippines and a conference with the Philippine leaders with a view to preventing further bloodshed, upon the basis of a recognition of their freedom and independence as soon as proper guarantees can be had for order and protection of property.

Second. That the government of the United States shall tender an official assurance to the inhabitants of the Philippine islands that they will encourage and assist in the organization of such a government in the islands as the people thereof shall prefer, and that upon its organization in stable manner, the United States, in accordance with its traditional and prescriptive policy in such cases, will recognize the independence of the Philippines and its equality among nations, and gradually withdraw all military and naval forces.

In those eternal truths of the Declaration of Independence lie the principles which we firmly believe ought to govern your action as a faithful servant of the American people. In those resolutions of the anti-imperialist league lies the clear application of those principles to the duty of the hour. In the name of justice, freedom, and humanity, and in the spirit of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, we urge you to obey those principles, and cease at once this war of "criminal aggression" against a brave people fighting for their independence just as our forefathers fought for theirs and ours.

May 30, 1899

■ MARK TWAIN ■
1835–1910

from **To the Person Sitting in Darkness**¹

[Twain comments on a leading Protestant missionary's report that he had obtained payment from destitute Chinese peasants in retribution for murders of missionaries during the Boxer Rebellion in China, and he quotes a newspaper correspondent's statement that the Japanese feel "that the missionary organizations constitute a constant menace to peaceful international relations." He then raises these questions:]

[S]hall we go on conferring our Civilization upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give those poor things a rest? Shall we bang right ahead in our old-time, loud, pious way, and commit the new century to the game; or shall we sober up and sit down and think it over first? Would it not be prudent to get our Civilization-tools together, and see how much stock is left on hand in the way of Glass Beads and Theology, and Maxim

¹North American Review (February 1901).

Guns and Hymn Books, and Trade-Gin and Torches of Progress and Enlightenment (patent adjustable ones, good to fire villages with, upon occasion), and balance the books, and arrive at the profit and loss, so that we may intelligently decide whether to continue the business or sell out the property and start a new Civilization Scheme on the proceeds?

Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked—but not enough, in my judgement, to make any considerable risk advisable. The People that Sit in Darkness are now left is really of but an indifferent quality, and not dark enough for the game. The most of those People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty, and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played. But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years, and must certainly suffer by it, in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth, that the People who Sit in Darkness have noticed it—they have noticed it, and have begun to show alarm. They have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization. More—they have begun to examine them. This is not well. The Blessings of Civilization are all right, and a good commercial property; there could not be a better, in a dim light. In the right kind of a light, and at a proper distance, with the goods a little out of focus, they furnish this desirable exhibit to the Gentlemen who Sit in Darkness:

LOVE,	LAW AND ORDER,
JUSTICE,	LIBERTY,
GENTLENESS,	EQUALITY,
CHRISTIANITY,	HONORABLE DEALING,
PROTECTION TO THE WEAK,	MERCY,
TEMPERANCE,	EDUCATION,
—and so on.	

There. Is it good? Sir, it is pie. It will bring into camp any idiot that sits in darkness anywhere. But not if we adulterate it. It is proper to be emphatic upon that point. This brand is strictly for Export—apparently. Apparently. Privately and confidentially, it is nothing of the kind. Privately and confidentially, it is merely an outside cover, gay and pretty and attractive, displaying the special patterns of our Civilization which we reserve for Home Consumption, while inside the bale is the Actual Thing that the Customer Sitting in Darkness buys with his blood and tears and land and liberty. That Actual Thing is, indeed, Civilization, but it is only for Export. Is there a difference between the two brands? In some of the details, yes.

We all know that the Business is being ruined. The reason is not far to seek. It is because our Mr. McKinley, and Mr. Chamberlain, and the Kaiser, and the Czar and the French have been exporting the Actual Thing with the outside cover left off.² This is bad for the Game. It shows that these new players of it are not sufficiently acquainted with it.

It is a distress to look on and note the mismoves, they are so strange and so awkward. Mr. Chamberlain manufactures a war out of materials so inadequate and so fanciful that they make the boxes grieve and the gallery laugh, and he tries hard to persuade himself that it isn't purely a private raid for cash, but has a sort of dim, vague respectability about it somewhere, if he could only find the spot; and that, by and by, he can scour the flag clean again after he has finished dragging it through the mud, and make it shine and flash in the vault of heaven once more as it had shone and flashed there a thousand years in the world's respect until he laid his unfaithful hand upon it. It is bad play—bad. For it exposes the Actual Thing to Them that Sit in Darkness, and they say: "What! Christian against Christian? And only for money? Is this a case of magnanimity, forbearance, love, gentleness, mercy, protection of the weak—this strange and over-showy onslaught of an elephant upon a nest of field-mice, on the pretext that the mice had squeaked an insolence at him—conduct which 'no self-respecting government could allow to pass unavenged?' as Mr. Chamberlain said. . . . Is this Civilization and Progress? Is it something better than we already possess? These harryings and burnings and desert-makings in the Transvaal—is this an improvement on our darkness? Is it, perhaps, possible that there are two kinds of Civilization—one for home consumption and one for the heathen market?" . . .

[After further detailing British imperialism in South Africa and then the activities of Germany, Twain takes up Russia.] And, next, Russia must go and play the game injudiciously. She affronts England once or twice—with the Person Sitting in Darkness observing and noting; by moral assistance of France and Germany, she robs Japan of her hard-earned spoil, all swimming in Chinese blood—Port Arthur—with the Person again observing and noting; then she seizes Manchuria, raids its villages, and chokes its great river with the swollen corpses of countless massacred peasants—that astonished Person still observing and noting. And perhaps he is saying to himself: "It is yet another Civilized Power, with its banner of the Prince of Peace in one hand and its loot-basket and its butcher-knife in the other. Is there no salvation for us but to adopt Civilization and lift ourselves down to its level?"

And by and by comes America, and our Master of the Game plays it badly—plays it as Mr. Chamberlain was playing it in South Africa. It was a

²William McKinley was elected U.S. president in 1896. He was assassinated in September 1901. British Member of Parliament and leader of the Liberal Party Joseph Chamber-

lain (1836–1914) was an outspoken imperialist; he strongly supported the British war with the Boers in South Africa.

mistake to do that; also, it was one which was quite unlooked for in a Master who was playing it so well in Cuba. In Cuba, he was playing the usual and regular American game, and it was winning, for there is no way to beat it. The Master, contemplating Cuba, said: "Here is an oppressed and friendless little nation which is willing to fight to be free; we go partners, and put up the strength of seventy million sympathizers and the resources of the United States: play!" Nothing but Europe combined could call that hand: and Europe cannot combine on anything. There, in Cuba, he was following our great traditions in a way which made us very proud of him, and proud of the deep dissatisfaction which his play was provoking in Continental Europe. Moved by a high inspiration, he threw out those stirring words which proclaimed that forcible annexation would be "criminal aggression;" and in that utterance fired another "shot heard round the world." The memory of that fine saying will be outlived by the remembrance of no act of his but one—that he forgot it within the twelvemonth, and its honorable gospel along with it.

For, presently, came the Philippine temptation. It was strong; it was too strong, and he made that bad mistake: he played the European game, the Chamberlain game. It was a pity, it was a great pity, that error; that one grievous error, that irrevocable error. For it was the very place and time to play the American game again. And at no cost. Rich winnings to be gathered in, too; rich and permanent; indestructible; a fortune transmissible forever to the children of the flag. Not land, not money, not dominion—no, something worth many times more than that dross: our share, the spectacle of a nation of long harassed and persecuted slaves set free through our influence; our posterity's share, the golden memory of that fair deed. The game was in our hands. If it had been played according to the American rules, Dewey would have sailed away from Manila as soon as he had destroyed the Spanish fleet—after putting up a sign on shore guaranteeing foreign property and life against damage by the Filipinos, and warning the Powers that interference with the emancipated patriots would be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States.³ The Powers cannot combine, in even a bad cause, and the sign would not have been molested.

Dewey could have gone about his affairs elsewhere, and left the competent Filipino army to starve out the little Spanish garrison and send it home, and the Filipino citizens to set up the form of government they might prefer, and deal with the friars and their doubtful acquisitions according to Filipino ideas of fairness and justice—ideas which have since been tested and found to be of as high an order as any that prevail in Europe or America.

But we played the Chamberlain game, and lost the chance to add another Cuba and another honorable deed to our good record.

The more we examine the mistake, the more clearly we perceive that it is going to be bad for the Business. The Person Sitting in Darkness is almost sure

³George Dewey (1837–1917), admiral of the U.S. Navy. He led the navy to victory against Spain in the Battle of Manila Bay (1898)

without any American losses, though one American died of heat stroke.

to say: "There is something curious about this—curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land."

The truth is, the Person Sitting in Darkness is saying things like that; and for the sake of the Business we must persuade him to look at the Philippine matter in another and healthier way. We must arrange his opinions for him. I believe it can be done; for Mr. Chamberlain has arranged England's opinion of the South African matter, and done it most cleverly and successfully. He presented the facts—some of the facts—and showed those confiding people what the facts meant. He did it statistically, which is a good way. He used the formula: "Twice 2 are 14, and 2 from 9 leaves 35." Figures are effective; figures will convince the elect.

Now, my plan is a still bolder one than Mr. Chamberlain's, though apparently a copy of it. Let us be franker than Mr. Chamberlain; let us audaciously present the whole of the facts, shirking none, then explain them according to Mr. Chamberlain's formula. This daring truthfulness will astonish and dazzle the Person Sitting in Darkness, and he will take the Explanation down before his mental vision has had time to get back into focus. Let us say to him:

"Our case is simple. On the 1st of May, Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet. This left the Archipelago in the hands of its proper and rightful owners, the Filipino nation. Their army numbered 30,000 men, and they were competent to whip out or starve out the little Spanish garrison; then the people could set up a government of their own devising. Our traditions required that Dewey should now set up his warning sign, and go away. But the Master of the Game happened to think of another plan—the European plan. He acted upon it. This was, to send out an army—ostensibly to help the native patriots put the finishing touch upon their long and plucky struggle for independence, but really to take their land away from them and keep it. That is, in the interest of Progress and Civilization. The plan developed, stage by stage, and quite satisfactorily. We entered into a military alliance with the trusting Filipinos, and they hemmed in Manila on the land side, and by their valuable help the place, with its garrison of 8,000 or 10,000 Spaniards, was captured—a thing which we could not have accomplished unaided at that time. We got their help by—by ingenuity. We knew they were fighting for their independence, and that they had been at it for two years. We knew they supposed that we also were fighting in their worthy cause—just as we had helped the Cubans fight for Cuban independence—and we allowed them to go on thinking so. Until Manila was ours and we could get along without them. Then we showed our hand. Of course, they were surprised—that was natural; surprised and disappointed; disappointed and grieved. To them it looked un-American; un-characteristic; foreign to our established traditions. And this was natural, too; for we were only playing the American Game in public—in private it was the European. It was neatly done, very neatly, and it bewildered them. They could not understand it; for we had been so friendly—so affectionate, even—with

those simple-minded patriots! We, our own selves, had brought back out of exile their leader, their hero, their hope, their Washington—Aguinaldo; brought him in a warship, in high honor, under the sacred shelter and hospitality of the flag; brought him back and restored him to his people, and got their moving and eloquent gratitude for it.⁴ Yes, we had been so friendly to them, and had heartened them up in so many ways! We had lent them guns and ammunition; advised with them; exchanged pleasant courtesies with them; placed our sick and wounded in their kindly care; entrusted our Spanish prisoners to their humane and honest hands; fought shoulder to shoulder with them against "the common enemy" (our own phrase); praised their courage, praised their gallantry, praised their mercifulness, praised their fine and honorable conduct; borrowed their trenches, borrowed strong positions which they had previously captured from the Spaniard; petted them, lied to them—officially proclaiming that our land and naval forces came to give them their freedom and displace the bad Spanish Government—fooled them, used them until we needed them no longer; then derided the sucked orange and threw it away. We kept the positions which we had beguiled them of; by and by, we moved a force forward and overlapped patriot ground—a clever thought, for we needed trouble, and this would produce it. A Filipino soldier, crossing the ground, where no one had a right to forbid him, was shot by our sentry. The badgered patriots resented this with arms, without waiting to know whether Aguinaldo, who was absent, would approve or not. Aguinaldo did not approve; but that availed nothing. What we wanted, in the interest of Progress and Civilization, was the Archipelago, unencumbered by patriots struggling for independence; and War was what we needed. We clinched our opportunity. It is Mr. Chamberlain's case over again—at least in its motive and intention; and we played the game as adroitly as he played it himself. . . . [Twain recounts the pretense for the American attack on the Filipinos after Spain is defeated and discusses the Americans' conduct during the war. He then takes on reports by General Arthur MacArthur, who led American forces in the Philippines].

Of course, we must not venture to ignore our General MacArthur's reports—oh, why do they keep on printing those embarrassing things?—we must drop them trippingly from the tongue and take the chances:

During the last ten months our losses have been 268 killed and 750 wounded; Filipino loss, three thousand, two hundred and twenty-seven killed, and 694 wounded."

We must stand ready to grab the Person Sitting in Darkness, for he will swoon away at this confession, saying: "Good God, those 'niggers' spare their wounded, and the Americans massacre theirs!"

⁴Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy (March 22, 1869–February 6, 1964), leader in the Philippine fight for independence and first president of the independent Philippines. He was a U.S. ally during the war against Spain but was

later deemed an enemy. His 1901 capture by Americans and subsequent declaration of loyalty to the United States (for which his life was spared) ended the First Republic of the Philippines.

We must bring him to, and coax him and coddle him, and assure him that the ways of Providence are best, and that it would not become us to find fault with them; and then, to show him that we are only imitators, not originators, we must read the following passage from the letter of an American soldier-lad in the Philippines to his mother, published in *Public Opinion*, of Decorah, Iowa, describing the finish of a victorious battle:

"WE NEVER LEFT ONE ALIVE. IF ONE WAS WOUNDED, WE WOULD RUN OUR BAYONETS THROUGH HIM."

Having now laid all the historical facts before the Person Sitting in Darkness, we should bring him to again, and explain them to him. We should say to him:

"They look doubtful, but in reality they are not. There have been lies; yes, but they were told in a good cause. We have been treacherous; but that was only in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True, we have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have turned against the weak and the friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back and slapped the face of a guest; we have bought a Shadow from an enemy that hadn't it to sell; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this. The Head of every State and Sovereignty in Christendom and ninety per cent. of every legislative body in Christendom, including our Congress and our fifty State Legislatures, are members not only of the church, but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust. This world-girdling accumulation of trained morals, high principles, and justice, cannot do an upright thing, an unfair thing, an ungenerous thing, an unclean thing. It knows what it is about. Give yourself no uneasiness; it is all right."

Now then, that will convince the Person. You will see. It will restore the Business. Also, it will elect the Master of the Game to the vacant place in the Trinity of our national gods; and there on their high thrones the Three will sit, age after age, in the people's sight, each bearing the Emblem of his service: Washington, the Sword of the Liberator; Lincoln, the Slave's Broken Chains; the Master, the Chains Repaired.

It will give the Business a splendid new start. You will see.

Everything is prosperous, now; everything is just as we should wish it. We have got the Archipelago, and we shall never give it up. Also, we have every reason to hope that we shall have an opportunity before very long to slip out of our Congressional contract with Cuba and give her something better in the place of it. It is a rich country, and many of us are already beginning to see that the contract was a sentimental mistake. But now—right now—is the best time to do some profitable rehabilitating work—work that will set us up and make us comfortable, and discourage gossip. We cannot conceal from ourselves that, privately, we are a little troubled about our uniform. It

is one of our prides; it is acquainted with honor; it is familiar with great deeds and noble; we love it, we revere it; and so this errand it is on makes us uneasy. And our flag—another pride of ours, our chiefest! We have worriedly in that strange sky, waving its welcome and benediction to us—we have caught our breath, and uncovered our heads, and couldn't speak, for a moment, for the thought of what it was to us and the great ideals it stood the flag out there, and the uniform. They are not needed there; we can manage in some other way. England manages, as regards the uniform, and so can we. We have to send soldiers—we can't get out of that—but we can disguise them. It is the way England does in South Africa. Even Mr. Chamberlain himself takes pride in England's honorable uniform, and makes the army down there wear an ugly and odious and appropriate disguise, of yellow stuff such as quarantine flags are made of, and which are hoisted to warn the healthy away from unclean disease and repulsive death. This cloth is called khaki. We could adopt it. It is light, comfortable, grotesque, and deceives the enemy, for he cannot conceive of a soldier being concealed in it.

And as for a flag for the Philippine Province, it is easily managed. We can have a special one—our States do it: we can have just our usual flag, with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and cross-bones.

And we do not need that Civil Commission out there. Having no powers, it has to invent them, and that kind of work cannot be effectively done by just anybody; an expert is required. Mr. Croker can be spared.⁵ We do not want the United States represented there, but only the Game. By help of these suggested amendments, Progress and Civilization in that country can have a boom, and it will take in the Persons who are Sitting in Darkness, and we can resume Business at the old stand.

1901

UNITED STATES CONGRESS

from **The Page Act**

The Page Act (1875), which restricted Chinese immigration to the U.S., was the first federal law to specify classes of people of a particular race and to

⁵Richard Croker (1841–1922), corrupt and powerful New York City political figure.

deny them entry into the U.S. Reflecting contemporary anti-Chinese stereotypes, the law singled out contract laborers, or "coolies," women seeking to enter "for lewd and immoral purposes" (i.e., prostitution) and people convicted of a felony or prostitution in any Northeast Asian country.

From The Page Act. FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS. SESS. II. CH. 141. 1875. CHAP. 141.-An act supplementary to the acts in relation to immigration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in determining whether the immigration of any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country, to the United States, is free and voluntary... it shall be the duty of the consul-general or consul of the United States residing at the port from which it is proposed to convey such subjects, in any vessels enrolled or licensed in the United States, or any port within the same, before delivering to the masters of any such vessels the permit or certificate provided for in such section, to ascertain whether such immigrant has entered into a contract or agreement for a term of service within the United States, for lewd and immoral purposes; and if there be such contract or agreement, the said consul-general or consul shall not deliver the required permit or certificate.

SEC. 2. That if any citizen of the United States, or other person amenable to the laws of the United States shall take, or cause to be taken or transported, to or from the United States any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country, without their free and voluntary consent, for the purpose of holding them to a term of service, such citizen or other person shall be liable to be indicted therefore. . . .

SEC. 3. That the importation into the United States of women for the purposes of prostitution is hereby forbidden; and all contracts and agreements in relation thereto, made in advance or in pursuance of such illegal importation and purposes, are hereby declared void; and whoever shall knowingly and willfully import, or cause any importation of, women into the United States for the purposes of prostitution, or shall knowingly or willfully hold, or attempt to hold, any woman to such purposes, in pursuance of such illegal importation and contract or agreement, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and, on conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned not exceeding five years and pay a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars.

SEC. 4. That if any person shall knowingly and willfully contract, or attempt to contract, in advance or in pursuance of such illegal importation, to supply to another the labor of any cooly or other person brought into the United States in violation of section two thousand one hundred and fifty-eight of the Revised Statutes, or of any other section of the laws prohibiting the cooly-trade or of this act, such person shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and, upon conviction thereof, in any United States court, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars and imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for aliens of the following classes to immigrate into the United States, namely, persons who are undergoing a

sentence for conviction in their own country of felonious crimes other than political or growing out of or the result of such political offenses, or whose sentence has been remitted on condition of their emigration, and women "imported for the purposes of prostitution." Every vessel arriving in the United States may be inspected under the direction of the collector of the port at which it arrives, if he shall have reason to believe that any such obnoxious persons are on board; and the officer making such inspection shall certify the result thereof to the master or other person in charge of such vessel, designating in such certificate the person or persons, if any there be, ascertained by him to be of either of the classes whose importation is hereby forbidden. When such inspection is required by the collector as aforesaid, it shall be unlawful without his permission, for any alien to leave any such vessel arriving in the United States from a foreign country until the inspection shall have been had and the result certified as herein provided; and at no time thereafter shall any alien certified to by the inspecting officer as being of either of the classes whose immigration is forbidden by this section, be allowed to land in the United States, except in obedience to a judicial process issued pursuant to law. If any person shall feel aggrieved by the certificate of such inspecting officer stating him or her to be within either of the classes whose immigration is forbidden by this section, and shall apply for release or other remedy to any proper court or judge, then it shall be the duty of the collector at said port of entry to detain said vessel until a hearing and determination of the matter are had, to the end that if the said inspector shall be found to be in accordance with this section and sustained, the obnoxious person or persons shall be returned on board of said vessel, and shall not thereafter be permitted to land, unless the master, owner or consignee of the vessel shall give bond and security, to be approved by the court or judge hearing the cause, in the sum of five hundred dollars for each such person permitted to land, conditioned for the return of such person, within six months from the date thereof, to the country whence his or her emigration shall have taken place, or unless the vessel bringing such obnoxious person or persons shall be forfeited, in which event the proceeds of such forfeiture shall be paid over to the collector of the port of arrival, and applied by him, as far as necessary, to the return of such person or persons to his or her own country within the said period of six months. And for all violations of this act, the vessel, by the acts, omissions, or connivance of the owners, master, or other custodian, or the consignees of which the same are committed, shall be liable to forfeiture, and may be proceeded against as in cases of frauds against the revenue laws, for which forfeiture is prescribed by existing law.

Approved March 3, 1875.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS

from **Chinese Exclusion Act: An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to Chinese**

Whereas, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States. . . .

That for the purpose of properly identifying Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and in order to furnish them with the proper evidence of their right to go from and come to the United States of their free will and accord, as provided by the treaty between the United States and China dated November 17, 1880, the collector of customs of the district from which any such Chinese laborer shall depart from the United States shall, in person or by deputy, go on board each vessel having on board any such Chinese laborer and cleared or about to sail from his district for a foreign port, and on such vessel make a list of all such Chinese laborers. . . .

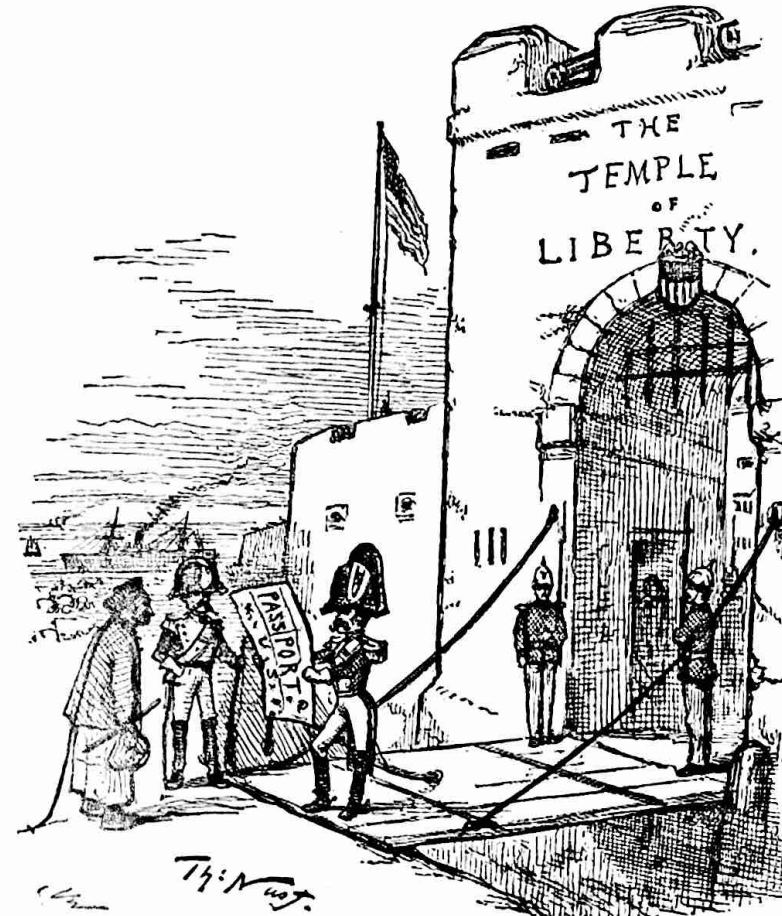
That in order to the faithful execution of articles one and two of the treaty in this act before mentioned, every Chinese person other than a laborer who may be entitled by said treaty and this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government in each case, such identity to be evidenced by a certificate issued under the authority of said government, which certificate shall be in the English language or (if not in the English language) accompanied by a translation into English, stating such right to come, and which certificate shall state the name, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, and place of residence in China of the person to whom the certificate is issued and that such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States. . . .

That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

May 6, 1882

THOMAS NAST
1840-1902

E Pluribus Unum (Except the Chinese)



E PLURIBUS UNUM (EXCEPT THE CHINESE).

EMMA LAZARUS
1849–1887

The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name 5
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
“Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!” cries she
With silent lips. “Give me your tired, your poor, 10
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

1883

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH
1836–1907

Unguarded Gates¹

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates
And through them presses a wild, motley throng—
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav, 5
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,

¹*The Atlantic Monthly* 75 (March 1895).

Those, tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In the street and alley what strange tongues are loud,
Accents of menace alien to our air,
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew! 10

O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of hate,
Lift the down-trodden, but with hands of steel 15
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome, 20
And where the temples of the Caesars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

1894