Alfred T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660-1783*

Alfred T. Mahan was a United States naval officer and historian. In *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660-1783*, Mahan described factors needed to support sea power and the role sea power had played in wars during the 17th and 18th centuries. The book was published in 1890 while Mahan was president of the U.S. Naval War College, and the naval strategies it describes were adopted by many different countries.

....Having therefore no foreign establishments, either colonial or military, the ships of war of the United States, in war, will be like land birds, unable to fly far from their own shores. To provide resting-places for them, where they can coal and repair, would be one of the first duties of a government proposing to itself the development of the power of the nation at sea.... it may safely be said that it is essential to the welfare of the whole country that the conditions of trade and commerce should remain, as far as possible, unaffected by an external war. In order to do this, the enemy must be kept not only out of our ports, but far away from our coasts.

**READING QUESTIONS**

1. The author claims that American warships will be like __________________________________________ in times of war.

2. During a war, would it be good or bad for a country’s ships to *only* be able to sail close to land? ________________________________________________________________

3. The author says one of the first duties of the government is to provide places for ships to __________________________________________________________.

4. One outcome of the Spanish-American War was that the United States gained possession of Guam and the Philippines, which could be used to support American ships. Based on this outcome, do you think this author would have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not? ________________________________________________________________

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### Reasons to Support War

### Reasons to Not Support War

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**Reflection Question**

Now that you have read different viewpoints on the Spanish-American War, what is your opinion? Would you have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?

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Senator Redfield Proctor, Speech to the US Senate on March 17, 1898

Senator Redfield Proctor served as the Governor of Vermont from 1878-1880, Secretary of War from 1889-1891, and as a Republican senator from 1891 to 1908. He visited Cuba in March 1898 to observe conditions there during the revolution, and upon his return to Washington, D.C. delivered a speech to the U.S. Senate describing what he witnessed.

It is not within the narrow limits of my vocabulary to portray it. I went to Cuba with a strong conviction that the picture had been overdrawn; that a few cases of starvation and suffering had inspired and stimulated the press correspondents, and that they had given free play to a strong, natural and highly cultivated imagination.

I could not believe that out of a population of one million six hundred thousand, 200,000 had died within these Spanish forts, practically prison walls, within a few months past, from actual starvation and disease caused by insufficient and improper food.

....To me the strongest appeal is....the spectacle of a million and a half of people, the entire native population of Cuba, struggling for freedom and deliverance from the worst misgovernment of which I ever had knowledge.

Reading Questions

1. Did the author expect to see the conditions he saws in Cuba or was he surprised?

2. Why did so many Cubans die in the Spanish forts?

3. One outcome of the Spanish-American War was that Cuba gained its independence from Spain. Based on this outcome, do you think this author would have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?
A SPLENDID LITTLE WAR?

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Albert Beveridge, *The March of the Flag*

Albert Beveridge was a historian and Republican senator from Indiana, serving from 1899-1911. The following excerpt comes from a campaign speech he delivered September 16, 1898.

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

And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened, self-governing people, do we owe no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them, with Germany, England, Japan, hungering for them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy?

**Reading Questions**

1. The author claims that a government needs the consent of its people only if those people are capable of ________________________________.

2. The author claims that if the United States doesn’t govern the Philippines, which other three countries will try to take them over? ________________________________.

3. One outcome of the Spanish-American War was that the United States gained possession of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Based on this outcome, do think this author would have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?

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**William Graham Sumner, *The Conquest of the United States by Spain***

*William Graham Sumner was a social scientist and professor. Sumner taught at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut from 1872-1909. The following excerpt comes from a speech he delivered at Yale University on January 16, 1899.*

....Spain was the first, for a long time the greatest, of the modern imperialistic states. The United States, by its historical origin, its traditions, and its principles, is the chief representative of the revolt and reaction against that kind of a state. I intend to show that, by the line of action now proposed to us, which we call expansion and imperialism, we are throwing away some of the most important elements of the American symbol and are adopting some of the most important elements of the Spanish symbol.

We have beaten Spain in a military conflict, but we are submitting to be conquered by her on the field of ideas and policies. Expansionism and imperialism are nothing but the old philosophies of national prosperity which have brought Spain to where she now is. Those philosophies appeal to national vanity and national cupidity. They are seductive, especially upon the first view and the most superficial judgment, and therefore it cannot be denied that they are very strong for popular effect. They are delusions, and they will lead us to ruin unless we are hardheaded enough to resist them....

**READING QUESTIONS**

1. The author says the United States represents __________________________ and __________________________ against imperial powers.

2. The author describes Spain as following the philosophies of __________________________ and __________________________.

3. One outcome of the Spanish-American War was that the United States expanded and gained possession of Guam and the Philippines. Based on this outcome, do you think this author would have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?

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### A SPLENDID LITTLE WAR?

**Reasons to Support War**

**Reasons to Not Support War**

### REFLECTION QUESTION

Now that you have read different viewpoints on the Spanish-American War, what is your opinion? Would you have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?

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A SPLENDID LITTLE WAR?

William Jennings Bryan, *The Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism*

William Jennings Bryan was a prominent Democratic politician and orator from Nebraska who served in the House of Representatives from 1891-1895, as Secretary of State from 1913-1915, and unsuccessfully ran for president in 1896, 1900, and 1908. The following excerpt is from a speech he delivered at the Democratic National Convention in July 1900.

…Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos but they must also calculate its effects upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate [reject] the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here. …

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

READING QUESTIONS

1. The author claims that if the United States builds an empire in the Philippines, it will weaken the principle of ___________________________ in America.

2. Why do you think the author claims that Filipinos who read the Declaration of Independence and Constitution would “mock us for our inconsistency?” ___________________________

3. One outcome of the Spanish-American War was that the United States gained possession of the Philippines, who had already been fighting for independence from Spain. Based on this outcome, do you think this author would have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?

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Ella Wheeler Wilcox, *When the Regiment Came Back*

Ella Wheeler Wilcox was an author and poet. She began writing poetry at a young age, and hundreds of her poems were published in newspapers, magazines, and books. The following poem was published in her collection *Poems of Power*, in 1902.

All the uniforms were blue,  
All the swords and rifles new,  
When the regiment went marching down the street.

All the men were hale and strong,  
As they proudly marched along,  
Through the cheers, that drowned the music of their feet.

Oh! the music of their feet,  
Keeping time to drums, that beat,  
Oh! the splendor of the sight,

As with swords and rifles new,  
And in uniforms of blue,  
The regiment went marching to the fight.

When the regiment came back,  
The guns and swords were black  
And the uniforms were faded into gray.

And the faces of the men,  
Who marched through the street again,  
Seemed like the faces of the dead, who lose their way.

For the dead, who lose their way  
Cannot look more gaunt or gray.  
Oh! the sorrow and the anguish of the sight.

Oh! the weary lagging feet,  
Out of step with drums that beat,  
When the regiment came marching from the fight.

**Reading Questions**

1. In the first half of the poem, does the author describe the soldiers positively or negatively?

2. In the second half of the poem, does the author describe the soldiers positively or negatively?

3. One outcome of the Spanish-American War was that 385 Americans died in battle and more than 2,000 died from disease. Based on this outcome, do you think this author would have supported the United States going to war? Why or why not?
A SPLENDID LITTLE WAR?

### Reasons to Support War

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